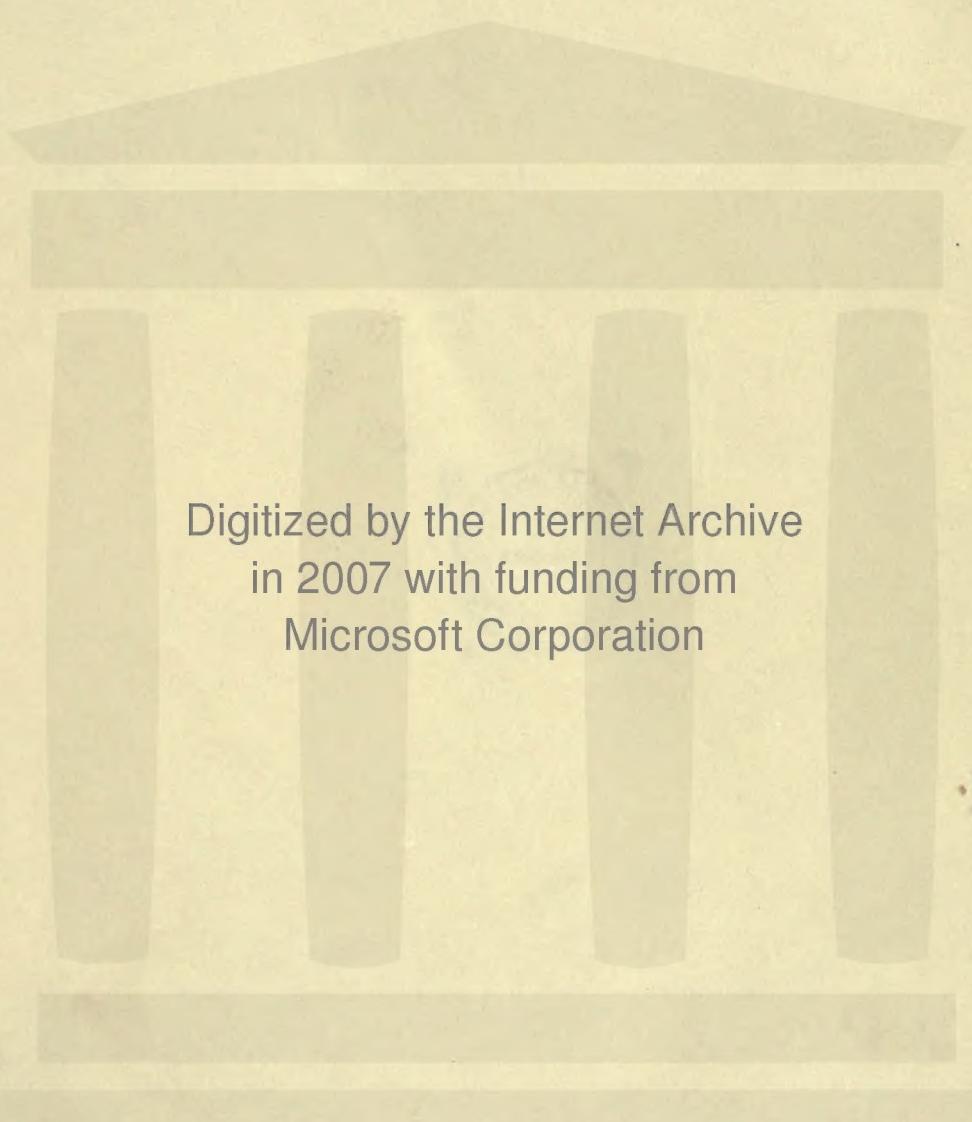


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FASTI HELLENICI

VOL. I.

FASTI HELLENICI

THE
CIVIL AND LITERARY
CHRONOLOGY OF GREECE

FROM
THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS
TO
THE LVTH OLYMPIAD

BY
HENRY FYNES CLINTON, Esq. M. A.

VOL. I.

Burt Franklin: Research and Source Works Series 119



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THE present volume completes the original design.

It has happened that this, which, with reference to the subject, is the first in order of time, has been the last in the order of publication. But this will be no disadvantage to the work. It will rather facilitate our inquiries, that our foundations were laid in times of authority before we proceeded to survey the remote and uncertain ages.

That favour which the former volumes experienced from the Delegates of the Oxford University Press has been continued to the present; and the author at the close of his undertaking renews his expressions of gratitude to the Members of that Board for their liberality and kindness.

WELWYN, HERTS, APRIL 21, 1834.

highly language and civilization similar to those of the Hittites.

In descriptive texts of excavations there abound such traits however good and striking as to render all of them well used and save to inform us well and satisfactorily nothing (line 4). There are also a great number of adjectives and epithets which seem to indicate the fact that the language and

style and word boundaries resemble greatly and closely those of the neighboring cities of Hattusas and Karkheh. In every such sentence however it is to note also in addition to this that there will exist no break save to indicate all of the time to successive
sentences.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE times before *Pisistratus*, forming the first of the three periods into which we have divided Grecian chronology, may themselves be distributed into three portions; the first extending to the Trojan war, the second containing the space from the fall of Troy to the first Olympiad, and the third the interval from the first Olympiad to the fifty-fifth. In treating these we must be guided by the degree of our knowledge. The two first portions, where the sources of information are scanty, are briefly surveyed. In the first, little more is attempted than to ascertain the races of which the early inhabitants were composed, and to trace the families to which the leaders of the Greek nation were ascribed. In the second I have endeavoured to fix the dates of some leading epochs. In these parts of the volume, to bring the subject within a small compass, a short outline of the various positions, and the results at which I have arrived, are stated in the text; while the discussion of particular questions and an exhibition of the testimonies at large are reserved for the notes.

In these two divisions of the subject, the times before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, some remarkable periods might have been preserved. It might have been remembered and recorded that the war of Troy lasted to the tenth year; that *Orestes* returned to Argos in the eighth year after the death of *Agamemnon*; that the Bœotians occupied Bœotia in the 60th year, and the Dorians Peloponnesus in the 80th year, after the fall of Troy; or that the Ionic migration commenced 60 years after the return of the *Heraclidæ*. The duration of some remarkable reigns might also possibly have been transmitted. But it is not likely that the years of any entire series of reigns were accurately preserved. Accordingly, not relying upon the dates which are given by the later chronologers, I have attempted to draw together the scattered relics of the early traditions, and to exhibit the early times as they are related by the ancients themselves, in the form of genealogies. The positions of the chronologers are examined, and compared with those other accounts which the genealogies supply.

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But the authority even of these has been called in question by many able and learned writers, who reject *Danaüs*, *Cadmus*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and many others, as fictitious persons. It is evident that any fact would come from the hands of the poets embellished with many fabulous additions; and fictitious genealogies were undoubtedly composed. Because, however, some genealogies were fictitious, we are not justified in concluding that all were fabulous. Niebuhr argues that the traditions preserved by the poets would be obscured in two or three generations. This might have happened if the poetry of the Greeks had been rude songs recited merely by the populace. But this was not the character of the early poetry of Greece. The compositions were recited by persons whose profession it was to lay them up in their memories and to transmit them. The ἀοιδὸς was a person of importance and dignity. In poetical language he was inspired by the gods; in plain description he was one who had leisure for intellectual pursuits, who was exempted from the necessity of labour and spared the toils of war; and who cultivated poetry as his peculiar province. What he composed was not left in the hands of the rude multitude, but was committed to other poets who were his successors in the art^a.

We may also observe that national vanity, one cause of corrupting genealogies and falsifying traditions, could have no place in the early times of Greece. In later times, when the Greeks began to distinguish mankind into barbarian and Greek, this feeling would operate. But that distinction had not then been made. The country was occupied by independent and rival tribes, Ionians and Æolians and Achæans and Dorians. The traditions which celebrated the heroes of one tribe would be cautiously received by the others. Variations in the tale occurred. Thus the character and death of *Sciron* were related by the Athenians solely to the honour of *Theseus*; but the Megarians described them very differently^b. These variations, however, would establish the general fact in which all agreed. And especially we may receive the traditions which were admitted by those who had no interest or concern in the admission. Some of the early traditions acknowledged obligations to foreign countries. They had to tell that they received the arts of life through *Danaüs* and *Cadmus* and *Pelops* from nations more civilized than themselves: these traditions, so little flattering to national vanity, were not such as a people would be apt to fabricate. In estimating, then, the

^a See this subject touched upon below at p. 358. j. 372. 373.

^b Plutarch. Thes. c. 10.

historical value of the genealogies transmitted by the early poets, we may take a middle course ; not rejecting them as wholly false, nor yet implicitly receiving all as true. The genealogies contain many real persons, but these are incorporated with many fictitious names. The fictions, however, will have a basis of truth : the genealogical expression may be false, but the connexion which it describes is real. Even to those who reject the whole as fabulous, the exhibition of the early times which is presented in this volume may still be not unacceptable ; because it is necessary for the right understanding of antiquity that the opinions of the Greeks concerning their own origin should be set before us, even if these are erroneous opinions ; and that their story should be told as they have told it themselves.

The names preserved by the ancient genealogies may be considered of three kinds ; either they were the name of a race or clan converted into the name of an individual, or they were altogether fictitious, or lastly they were real historical persons. An attempt is made in the four genealogical tables inserted below^c to distinguish these three classes of names. Those which appear to be the names of nations converted into the names of persons are there exhibited in capitals ; the fictitious names are in italics. Of those who are left in the third class all are not entitled to remain there. But I have only placed in the two first classes those names concerning which there seemed to be little doubt. The rest are left to the judgment of the reader.

The following are examples of the name of a people converted into the name of a person. The brothers *Lydus*, *Mysus*, and *Car*, in Herodotus^d ; *Caucon* in Strabo^e ; *Pelasgus*, of whom there were five^f ; *Achæus*, of whom two are recorded^g ; *Lelex*, of whom three occur^h. To the same class I would ascribe *Epeüs*, *Ætolus*, and *Eleüs*ⁱ ; *Phlegyas*, *Minyas*, and *Orchomenus*^k ; *Ion*^l, *Dorus*^m, *Arcas*ⁿ, *Æolus*^o, and even *Hellen*^p. These appellations might be applied in two ways : either the leader was described under this national name, or (as

^c At p. 18. 33. 40. 100.

^d Herodot. I. 171. ^e See below p. 35. l.

^f See p. 11. 18. We may add a sixth p. 11. a. a seventh p. 20. q. and an eighth p. 30. s.

^g See p. 52. In p. 1., where it is said that the first seat of the Achæans was in Thessaly, I have represented the account of the ancients themselves ; according to which the *Achæi* first

became a nation in Thessaly. But it would have been more properly said that the *Achæi* proceeded from Argos to Thessaly and from Thessaly returned into Peloponnesus.

^h See p. 4.

^k See p. 49.

^l Pag. 69.

^o See p. 45. 51.

ⁱ See p. 41. 42. o.

^l Pag. 53—56.

ⁿ See p. 90. r.

^p Pag. 44. 45.

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Mr. Muller has interpreted many of these names^q) the nation itself was personified under an individual, and its presence in a particular region, or its migration to a particular district, was described; just as in the language of Hebrew poetry the names *Israel* and *Jacob* are used to designate the whole Hebrew nation. But, although in the Greek traditions these were not real names, or rather were poetical descriptions substituted for the real names, yet the facts with which they were connected were real circumstances. In the former sense of the name of a clan or race transferred to an individual we may understand *Thessalus* the leader of the *Thessali*^r, *Ion* of the Ionians^s, *Achæus* of the Achæans^t. In the latter sense (which, however, less frequently occurs) of a nation personified by an individual, we may interpret *Thesprotus* and *Macedon* sons of *Lycaon*^v, or *Phthius* son of *Achæus*^w. Such genealogies will express an affinity between the tribes so named^x.

Among the second class of fabricated names we may reckon those which have been invented to shew a connexion, or rather which are poetical expressions of a connexion. The connexion is real, but the expression of it fabulous. In these fabricated names many of the females who appear in the genealogies may be included. Thus *Messenë* daughter of *Triopas*^y, *Spartë* daughter of *Eurotas*^z, *Taygetë* mother of *Lacedæmon*^a, *Larissa* mother of *Achæus*^b, *Callisto* mother of *Arcas*^c, *Melibœa* wife of *Magnes*^d, were fictitious persons; but the connexion which they signified was substantial and real. To such names we may refer *Arnë* the daughter of *Æolus* and mother of *Bæotus*^e. Here *Arnë* belongs to the second class of names, *Æolus* and *Bæotus* to the first. Among the imaginary persons again may be numbered the names designed to express a local origin; as *Haliartus* and *Coronus* sons of *Thersander*^f; *Mænalus*, *Mantineus*, *Orchomenus*, *Parrhasus*, sons of *Lycaon*^g; *Epidaurus* and *Tiryns* sons of *Argus*^h;

^q This mode of interpretation had been also suggested by Bryant. See Mitford Hist. of Greece vol. I. p. 45. note 25.

^r See below p. 19.

^t Pag. 52.

^w See p. 18. To this head Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 67. refers *Pamphylus* and *Dymas*, who accompanied the *Heraclidæ* into Peloponnesus. They are "the collective names of races which existed "through the whole period." I should rather refer them to the former head; the name of the

tribe substituted for the name of the leader. See below p. 109. e.

^x Mr. Muller supposes them to imply a succession of one race to another. See below p. 21. g.

^y See p. 33.

^b See p. 18.

^d See p. 41. l.

^f Pag. 46. e.

^h See p. 10. 18.

^z Ibid.

^a Ibid.

^c See p. 89. 90.

^e See p. 67. e.

^g Pag. 89.

Andreas son of the *Peneüs*ⁱ: or those in which a plain and obvious analogy may be traced between the name and the fact. Thus *Aëthlius*^k and *Amphyctyon*^l are fabricated persons. But in cases like these of *Amphyctyon* and *Aëthlius* the particular circumstances must conspire to mark the persons as fictitious. The mere occurrence of a name expressing a thing is not of itself a proof that the person is fabricated. Thus *Charilaüs* was a real person, *Agesilaüs* and *Archidamus* were real persons, in historical times. The practice of giving descriptive names is found in many nations. It was common with the Hebrews, and with the Greeks themselves in their latest periods; why should it not have occurred among them in the first ages? Descriptive names, then, are not evidences of fiction, when unaccompanied by other particulars. Thus *Eunomus* is rejected in this work^m, not on account of the composition of the name in itself, but because a generation is wanting in the oldest author, and because that generation is perhaps interpolated, certainly transposed, in the next oldest authority. Even when the name is fictitious the person may be real. Thus the father of *Arion* is *Cycleus*ⁿ; doubtless a fabricated name, expressing that *Arion* invented or improved the cyclian chorus; and yet *Arion* himself was real. *Helen* therefore may be a real person, although by one poetical fiction she is called the daughter of *Nemesis*^o. A descriptive name which superseded the original name was not unusual with the Greeks. *Stesichorus* was not the original name of that poet, who received this appellation after he had attained eminence^p. The real name of *Melissa* was *Lysidē*^q. *Pero* the daughter of *Neleus* was afterwards called *Elegeis*^r. The original name, then, of *Hercules* might have been *Alcæus*; and in all the cases in which we pronounce the person bearing a descriptive name to be a fabulous person, we must have a substantial reason founded upon each particular case; and we shall not be justified in rejecting *Hercules* or *Theseus* from the mere composition of their names.

Too much is often deduced from the etymology of names. Thus many inquirers have sought an etymology for the *Pelasgi*, and have even founded the history and origin of that people upon the supposed origin of their name^s. But

ⁱ Pag. 46. e.

^k See *Aëthlius* explained by Mr. Boeckh ad Pindar. p. 138.

^l See p. 67. 69.

ⁿ See the Tables B. C. 625.

^o See below p. 353. z.

^p Suid. Στησίχορος.—ἐκλήθη δὲ Στησίχορος, ὅτι πρῶτος κιθαρῳδίᾳ χρόνῳ ἔσπειρεν ἐπεὶ τοι πρότερον Τίσιας ἀκάλειτο.

^q See the Tables B. C. 624.

^r See p. 115.

^s See the authorities quoted at p. 97.

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there seems no reason why this particular people should be so investigated. No etymology can be proposed of the names *Achæi*, *Ætolii*, *Epei*, *Dores*, *Thessali*, and many other tribes ; who are derived by the mythologists from *Achæus*, *Dorus*, or *Thessalus*, as the *Pelasgi* are from *Pelasgus*. And yet these tribes are acknowledged ; and their origin is not made to depend upon etymology ; why should this be done in the case of the *Pelasgi*? A name might often originate in some accidental or trivial cause which was soon forgotten. The etymologies proposed for *Iaones*, *Æoles*, and some others noticed below^t, are of a different character. There the etymologies harmonize with the origin of the tribes, deduced from other facts. In the case of the *Iaones* and *Æoles*, the etymology is founded upon the history ; in the case of the *Pelasgi* the history is founded upon the etymology. We may observe that the Greeks themselves, who are fanciful in etymology, have often been led from the accidental import of a name to invent a fable, which has thrown discredit upon the name itself. But the person may be real, although the tale to which his name had given occasion is a mere invention, fabricated in a later age.

We may acknowledge as real persons all those whom there is no reason for rejecting. The presumption is in favour of the early tradition, if no argument can be brought to overthrow it. The persons may be considered real when the description of them is consonant with the state of the country at that time ; when no national prejudice or vanity could be concerned in inventing them ; when the tradition is consistent and general ; when rival or hostile tribes concur in the leading facts ; when the acts ascribed to the person (divested of their poetical ornament) enter into the political system of the age, or form the basis of other transactions which fall within known historical times. *Cadmus* and *Danaüs* appear to be real persons ; for it is conformable to the state of mankind and perfectly credible that Phœnician and Egyptian adventurers, in the ages to which these persons are ascribed, should have found their way to the coasts of Greece^v : and the Greeks (as already observed) had no motive from any national vanity to feign these settlements. *Hercules* was a real person. His acts were recorded by those who were not friendly to the Dorians ; by Achæans and Æolians and Ionians, who had no vanity to gratify in celebrating the hero of a hostile and rival people. His descendants in many branches remained in many states to the historical times. His son *Tlepolemus* and his grandson and great grandson *Cleo-*

^t At p. 98. h.

^v See below p. 367.

dæus and *Aristomachus* are acknowledged to be real persons^w; and there is no reason that can be assigned for receiving these, which will not be equally valid for establishing the reality both of *Hercules* and *Hyllus*. Above all, *Hercules* is authenticated by the testimonies in the Iliad and Odyssey. These, the oldest poems, treat of the latest period within the epic cycle. If we regard the subjects of the early epic poetry, the earliest place, as will be seen below^x, belongs to the Theogony, the wars of the Giants, the wars of the Titans. Then follow the *Phoronis* and the *Danaïs*; then at some interval the acts of *Hercules* and *Theseus*, and the Theban wars: last of all the war of Troy and the νόστοι. But this order is in a great degree reversed with reference to the poets. The most ancient poems, the Iliad and Odyssey, describe the subjects which are nearly the last in order; and, in celebrating the war of Troy, the author of the Iliad limits himself to the times which immediately precede it. In the Trojan line he ascends to *Dardanus*^y; in the Argive kings to *Acrisius*^z. In the Æolian line the Odyssey traces a genealogy upwards to *Melampus*^a, and to *Cretheus*^b and *Salmoneus*^c; and the Iliad another to *Sisyphus*^d. But except in these cases the genealogies in these two poems are limited to the third or fourth generation. They never name *Dorus*, or *Hellen*, or *Danaüs*, or *Deucalion*. Even *Æolus* is not distinctly named as an individual^e. But this character of the Homeric genealogies is in favour of their historical evidence. The authors of these poems seem to ascend no higher than authentic accounts transmitted by contemporary poets would carry them, and to have neglected the remoter times, where tradition was less distinct and more obscured by fable. But if the author of the Iliad flourished where we have placed him^f, the heroes of the fourth generation would be only 250 or 260 years, and *Hercules* only 210 or 220 years, before the time of the poet himself; and through that period the testimony of contemporary bards^g, by whom so remarkable a person was mentioned, might well descend to the time of *Homer*; in

^w Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 434. "The birth of several Doric heroes is connected with the taking of Ephyra; who, though out of the confines of history, are nevertheless to be considered as real individuals." He mentions *Tlepolemus*, *Antiphus*, *Pheidippus*. Vol. I. p. 67. "The descendants of *Hyllus* are no longer races, but, as it appears, real individuals; his son *Cleodæus* and his grandson *Aristomachus*."

^x At p. 348.

^y See p. 88. o.

^z See p. 75. h.

^a See p. 40. g.

^b Pag. 40. e.

^c Odyss. λ'. 235.

^d Il. ζ. 154.

^e See p. 51. l. A later *Æolus* occurs in the Odyssey.

^f See below p. 362.

^g On the preservation of the poetry of the early poets see p. 372. 373.

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whom that hero appears (as Mitford^h has remarked) in a different character from the *Hercules* of later poets, not clothed in a lion's skin, but armed like other heroes and attended by armies. If the testimonies in the Iliad are sufficient for establishing the reality of *Hercules*, they are still more valid for attesting the heroes of the Trojan war itself.

The existence of *Theseus* has been denied. It is urged by Mr. Mullerⁱ that the Athenian constitution was falsely ascribed to this hero by Athenian vanity; that the Athenians had no democracy till the time of *Solon*; and that the line in the Iliad^k in which δῆμος Ἐπεχθῆσος is mentioned must have been composed at least as late as the age of *Solon*. It is truly affirmed that the Athenians had no democracy till the age of *Solon*. We have the testimony of Aristotle^l that down to this period the government of Athens was an unmitigated oligarchy. The gradual limitations of the power of the chief magistrate at Athens, which occurred between the death of *Codrus* and the legislation of *Solon*, a period of about 395 years^m, were not imposed by the people but by the aristocracy, who restrained the powers which they were willing to share: and the benefits ascribed to the institutions of *Theseus* were doubtless much exaggerated in the brilliant times of Athens, when the Athenians had become a lettered peopleⁿ. But in that period from *Codrus* to *Solon* they had made no advances in political importance^o: they had displayed no signs of that intellectual superiority which they were destined to assume. While the Lacedæmonians were conquering Messenia, the weight and

^h History of Greece vol. I. p. 34.

ⁱ Dor. vol. II. p. 73. 74. ^k Il. β. 547.

^l See F. H. II. p. 249. m.

^m From B. C. 989 to 594. See below p. 140.

227.

ⁿ Pausanias I. 3, 2. acknowledges that the Athenian account was false: κεχώρηκε δὲ φύμη καὶ ἄλλως ἐξ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἦν Θησές παράδοιν τὰ πράγματα τῷ δῆμῳ—λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς οἷς ιστορίας ἀνηκοῖς οὖσι, καὶ ὅποια ἥκουν εἰθὺς ἐκ παιῶν ἐν τε χοροῖς καὶ τραγῳδίαις πιστὰ ἤγουμένοις.

^o Orosius indeed I. 21. relates a war between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, which he places in B. C. 782. But on a comparison of Eusebius Chron. II. the suspicion of Scaliger ad Euseb. num. 939. p. 59. appears just, that Orosius referred to the war with *Codrus*: Euseb.

Anno 936, Peloponnesii bellum Atheniensibus intulerunt. Anno 939, Amazones cum Cimmeriis incursionem in Asiam fecerunt. Orosius: Anno ante U. C. XXX^o Peloponnesium Atheniensiumque maximum bellum totis viribus animisque commissum est; in quo mutuis cædibus ad hoc coacti sunt, ut velut victi se ab alterutro subtraherent bellumque desererent. Tum etiam Amazonum gentis et Cimmeriorum in Asiam repentinus incursus plurimam—stragem edidit. I should not however think with Scaliger that the date in Orosius is corrupt, and that it ought to be ante U. C. CCCXXX^o. The date, as it now stands, is consistent with the next event, the Messenian war; and Orosius rather seems to have confounded the notice of a Cimmerian incursion in the reign of *Codrus* with a later irruption in B. C. 782.

influence of the Athenians were as yet little felt in Greece. In these times, however, of comparative obscurity to Athens *Theseus* was acknowledged by the epic poets of the Asiatic Greeks^p. Although, then, *Theseus* was not the founder of the Athenian liberties, yet his existence is established by these early poets, who composed their works under no Athenian influence; and there seems no cause to doubt the fact related by Thucydides, that he collected the inhabitants of the districts into one city, although he did not give them a democratic constitution^q. Nor does there seem any sufficient reason for rejecting the line in the Iliad which mentions δῆμον Ἐρεχθίος. This term could not then be used in the sense which belonged to it in aftertimes at Athens; but δῆμος Ἐρεχθίος might be said by the poet, as δῆμος Λυκίων, or δῆμος Ἰθάκης, or δῆμος Ἀπαίσοι, are said in other passages^r.

In addition to the testimony derived from early poets, and especially from the Iliad and Odyssey, to the existence of ancient heroes, the testimony of inscriptions deserves to be considered. These might attest the reality not only of many persons in the period which followed the Dorian conquest, but even of some in the times which preceded it. We have observed below^s that the Greeks were slow in applying the art of writing to poetry. But, although not applied to poetical works till perhaps after B.C. 776, or about that date, yet it is probable that letters were applied by the Greeks to inscriptions in their temples and to registers of names from a much earlier date. The *Carneonicæ* were registered at Sparta from B.C. 676^t; the *Olympionicæ* in Elis from B.C. 776^u. But the

^p Although the line in Il. α'. may be spurious (see p. 64. v), yet *Theseus* is mentioned in the Odyssey, and is acknowledged by *Arctinus* and by *Lesches*, and in the Hesiodean poem the ἀστί. See below p. 64. x. 356. b. 357. c.

^q Thucyd. II. 15. ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέρκοπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα ἀπὸ κατὰ πόλεις φέκετο πριτανεῖα τε ἔχουσα καὶ ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὅπετε μόνον τι δεῖσιαν, εὐ ἔνισταν βουλευτόμενοι ὡς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἑκάστοι ἐπιλεγόντο καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο καὶ τινες καὶ ἐπολέμησάν τοτε αὐτῶν, ὕστερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εἰλιμάλτου τρόπον Ἐρεχθία. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησέος ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ἔνιστοῦ καὶ δινατής τά τε ἄλλα διεκπει- μησε τὴν χώραν, καὶ καταδύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τά τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς τὴν τῆς πόλεως οἰκους, ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδεῖξας καὶ πριτανεῖον, ἔνιψκισε πάντας, καὶ νεμούμενος τὰ αἰτῶν ἑκάστους, ὕστερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ, ἡνάγκασε μιᾷ πόλει ταῦτα χρῆσθαι, ἡ ἀπάντων ἥδη ἔντελοντων ἐς αὐτὴν μεγάλη γενομένη παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Θησέως;

^r τοῖς ἔπειτα. In this passage no mention is made of powers granted to the people. Heyne ad Apollod. p. 895. has prudently drawn the distinction between what was the original and genuine tradition and what was the addition of Athenian orators and poets: *Quod Theseus XII demos in unum corpus, ἄστυ, coëgit, fundus est omnium qua vere narrari possunt.*

^s Heyn. ad Il. β. 546. δῆμον dixit non Attico more, sed est populus &c. Sic δῆμος Τρώων Od. α'. 237. δῆμος Λυκίων Il. α'. 437. hoc est, terra. δῆμος Ἰθάκης occurs Il. γ. 201. δῆμον Ἀπαίσοι Il. β. 828.

^t At p. 368.

^u Athen. XIV. p. 635. f. See the Tables B.C. 676. Sturz. Hellanic. p. 83. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 149.

^v Pausanias refers to the Elean registers III. 21, 1. V. 21, 5. VI. 2, 1. 8, 1. 13, 6. 22, 2,

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disk of *Iphitus*, which was acknowledged by Aristotle, may be placed at B.C. 828^w. The public registers at Sparta, containing in Mr. Muller's opinion all the kings from *Procles*^x, the registers of the kings and *prytanes* of Corinth^y, the ancient inscriptions at Elis, which exhibited a genealogy from *Oxylus* to *Iphitus*^z, may be referred to a still earlier period ; and perhaps were begun to be written as early as B.C. 1048, the probable time of the Dorian conquest. Among the Athenians we hear of inscriptions made in temples, which, though not so ancient perhaps as these which have been mentioned, were nevertheless of an early date. In the oration against *Neæra*, about B.C. 340, such an inscription is quoted containing the regulations concerning the wife of the king-archon^a. The inscription, which was then ancient, might be older than the time of *Solon*^b. The inscriptions quoted by Herodotus, in which *Amphitryo* and *Laodamas* are named^c, were ancient in the time of Herodotus ; which may perhaps carry them back 400 years before his time ; and in that case they might approach within 300 years of *Laodamas* and within 400 years of the probable time of *Cadmus* himself^d.

quoted in the Tables B. C. 644. X. 36, 4, with reference to Ol. 211. That they did not register before the Olympiad of *Coræbus* may be collected from Pausan. VI. 19, 9. quoted at p. 132. o.

^w Plutarch. *Lycurg.* c. I. quoted F. H. II. p. 409. For the date of *Iphitus* see below p. 141. Muller vol. I. p. 148. admits the genuineness of this inscription : "There is no reason for doubting its genuineness, which was recognised by Aristotle ; and the institution (of the sacred armistice founded by *Lycurgus* and *Iphitus*) was considered by all ancient writers as a real fact."

^x Muller vol. I. p. 150. quotes Plutarch Colot. p. 1116. F. Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν περὶ Λυκούργου χρησμὸν ἐπειδὴ ταλαιπότατος ἀναγραφαῖς ἔχοντες. The oracle is quoted Herodot. I. 65. Theodoret. Serm. IX. p. 927. Max. Tyr. Diss. XIII. (rather XXIX. p. 72) referred to by Muller. Add Themistius p. 225. d. Muller even supposes them to have contained the years of the reigns : "These registers doubtless contained the names of all the kings, and probably also the years of their reigns, as far back as *Procles*." This, however, seems not so likely : see below p. 332. From these registers Muller observes that *Charon* of *Lampsacus* composed the work named by

Suidas, Πρωτάνεις ἡ ἄρχοντες Λακεδαιμονίων ἔστι δὲ χρονικά. *Charon* flourished in B.C. 504: F. H. II. p. 19.

^y Muller vol. I. p. 152. "There must have been also registers of the names and years of the princes of Corinth, and the family of the *Bacchiadæ*, since no one could have had the boldness to invent them." That the years were given in any complete list may be doubted.

^z See below p. 142. q. Mr. Muller vol. I. p. 153. acknowledges these "ancient chronicles of Elis, which Pausanias saw," &c.

^a Demosth. *Neæra*. p. 1370. for the date see F. H. II. p. 359. τοῦτο τὸν νόμον γράψαντες ἐν στήλῃ λαθηγῇ ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν Λίμαναις, καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ στήλη ἔστι καὶ νῦν ἔστηκεν, ἀμφὶ δρός γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς δηλοῦσα τὰ γεγραμμένα.

^b Even Josephus Apion. I. 4. p. 1142. admits that they had written laws in the time of *Draco* at B.C. 621 ; and this inscription might be as early as that date.

^c See below p. 85. l.

^d For the time of *Cadmus* see p. 85. 139. for *Laodamas*, p. 87. l. 140. It is granted that these inscriptions are not genuine ; that is, not of the age to which they are assigned by Herodotus himself. But that they were ancient can-

But at Argos a register was preserved of the priestesses of *Juno* which might be still more ancient than the catalogues of the kings of Sparta or of Corinth. That register, from which Hellanicus composed his work^e, contained the priestesses from the earliest times down to the age of *Hellenicus* himself, whose work probably ended with the priestess *Chrysis*, who began her office in B. C. 479, since her 48th year was still current in the spring of B. C. 431^f. But this catalogue might have been commenced as early as the Trojan war itself, and even at a still earlier date^g. That many other registers and inscriptions existed in temples, and that they formed materials for *Timaeus*—τῷ τὰς ὄπισθεδόμους στήλας καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς φλιαις τῶν νεῶν προξενίας ἔξευρηκότι—appears from Polybius^h.

It is true that these registers would contain no more than bare namesⁱ. But yet these would identify persons, and would be important evidence, when the question is concerning the very existence of the early heroes; and when it is denied that *Pelias*, *Neleus*, *Aegisthus*, and *Atreus* were real persons^k. By the aid of etymology Ὀρφεὺς is interpreted to mean “dark,” and owes his supposed

not be doubted: and that the inscriptions in that temple of the Ismenian *Apollo* at Thebes were ancient is attested by Aristot. θαυμ. ἀκονομ. №. 133. p. 843. Bekk. τῆς καλαιμένης Αἰγακῆς χώρας τῇ τὴν ἀνομαιόμενην Ταύτην λέγεται παλαιά τις στήλη εὑρεθῆναι, ἢν εἰ Αἰγαῖας, τιος; ἢν εἴδεναι βουλόμενοι, ἔχουσαν ἐπιγραφὴν ἀρχαῖν τρύμασιν, ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Ἀθήνας τιὰς κομιζόντας αὐτήν. τερτυμένες δὲ διὰ τῆς Βιωτίας—λέγεται αὐτοῖς εἰσαχθῆναι εἰς τὸ καλαιμένην Ἰσμήνην ἐν Θήβαις. ἐκεῖδεν γὰρ μάλιστα ἀνε εὑρεθῆναι τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπιγραφήν, λέγοντες εἶναι τοια ἀναθήματα ὅματα ἔχοντα τοὺς βυθροὺς τῶν γραμμάτων ἀρχαῖα. The inscriptions in Herodotus are at least testimonies of the opinion of the age in which they were inscribed, and are evidence that *Amphitryo* and *Laodamas* were acknowledged in an early period.

^e See the fragments in Sturz. Hellanic. p. 77—82.

^f Thucyd. II. 2. where the Scholiast remarks, ἡρίθμουν τοὺς χρόνους εἰ Ἀργεῖος ἀπὸ τῶν λεπεῖν.

^g Hellanicus named the 26th year of the priestess *Alcyone*, in the third generation before the Trojan war. See below p. 26. The date might be fixed by Hellanicus upon conjecture; but the name might have been inscribed soon

after the time of *Alcyone* herself. Mr. Muller, who admits Dor. vol. I. p. 156. that these documents (namely the registers already mentioned) would afford a valuable foundation for an account of the three centuries before regular history begins, observes p. 148. that the art of writing was during this time introduced among the Greeks through their intercourse with Asia. By “during this time” he seems to mean, within B. C. 948, the date affixed at p. 147. But, if the Darians, a rude race of people, had their registers, it is likely that the more cultivated Achæans and Ionians who preceded them had theirs. Muller p. 148. remarks that letters were long regarded as a foreign craft in Greece. This might be so. But no reason can be given why Phœnician and Egyptian colonists, who settled in Greece some generations before the Trojan war, should suddenly forget an art which was familiar in their native land, and neglect to continue the practice and to teach their successors the practice of inserting inscriptions in their temples in the new country.

^h See F. H. III. p. 490.

ⁱ As Mr. Muller observes vol. I. p. 153.

^k Philological Museum vol. II. p. 352—355.

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existence to the rites of darkness which his name describes. It is argued that the history of *Pelias*, who also means “darkness,” has strong traces of a connexion with the same rites; the cutting up of *Pelias* being the same story as the discription of *Orpheus*: that the signification of Νηλεὺς is probably the same, for in mythology brothers often represent the same idea; from ἔλα, ἀέλιος, εἴλη, comes Νηλεὺς with the negative prefix. It is observed that Ἀμυθάων is probably only an epithet; that Μελάμπων also alludes to the rites of darkness; that in Πέλοψ or “dark faced” is another trace of the same religion in Phrygia. The story of the caldron and the division of the body is that of *Orpheus* and *Pelias* repeated. The names Θυέστης, Αἴγισθος, Ἀερόπη, seem to this inquirer to be all connected with the same religious system; Θυέστης being “a sacrificer,” Αἴγισθος “one who tears “to pieces,” Ἀερόπη “the dark,” Ατρεύς or *ater* being probably synonymous with Πέλοψ.

This scheme of interpretation is less credible than that which is rejected. For, besides that etymologies, when made the basis of history instead of being founded upon it, or proceeding naturally out of it, can only end in a conjecture at last, and can never stand in the place of historical truth, this whole reasoning rests upon the assumption¹ that mystical religion existed in Greece from the very first and in the earliest ages; an assumption which is refuted by the silence of *Homer* and the absence of all testimony.

In other instances the religious worship of the early Greeks has been somewhat fancifully applied to explain their history. According to some expositors one ancient people is a nation of priests, a sacerdotal caste; and their movements are characterised as a kind of religious wars, undertaken to establish a particular worship. Doubtless the Dorians carried with them into any new settlement the worship of *Apollo*, and the Ionians the worship of *Neptune*. But those worships were not the cause of wars and migrations; these were undertaken from the same motives which have led other nations to seek new settlements. Even Mr. Muller, who has learnedly illustrated the religion of the Dorians, has sometimes assigned to it a larger influence, and described it in loftier language, than his authorities will justify. At one time he states that the Dorians every where exterminated the ancient rites of *Ceres*^m; at another, that the Ionians planted the worship of

¹ The author himself p. 356. is aware of this: “time of *Homer*, these conjectures and assimilations must fall to the ground.”
 “If the opinion were well founded, that all the “mystical religions were introduced after the m Vol. I. p. 116.

Apollo by force in Atticaⁿ. But that the establishment of a religious worship was never a leading motive is evident from the facility with which the Dorians and other early tribes adopted the worship of any other people. Thus the Dorians adopted the worship of the Pelasgian *Juno* at Argos^o; the Pelasgian or Lelegian *Diana* in Laconia^p. The *Dryopes* worshipped *Apollo* the god of their enemies^q. The Ionians embraced the worship of the Ephesian *Diana*, an ancient worship which they found already in the country^r. With respect to the rites of *Ceres* Herodotus^s, to whom Mr. Muller refers, does not state that these were every where exterminated, but only that they had fallen into neglect among the Dorians: and Mr. Muller himself relates on another occasion that this very worship was adopted by the Lacedæmonians^t.

In treating the religion of the early Dorians, Mr. Muller^v "ascends to a period "in which the primitive religion of the Dorians exhibited a distinct and original "character;" and describes the *Jupiter* and *Apollo* of this nation in the following terms: "The Supreme Deity when connected with *Apollo* was neither born "nor visible on earth, and perhaps never considered as having any immediate influence upon men. But *Apollo*, who is often emphatically called the son of *Jupiter*, acts as his intercessor, ambassador, and prophet, with mankind. And "whilst the father of the gods appears, indistinctly and at a distance, dwelling in "ether, and enthroned in the highest heavens, *Apollo* is described as a divine "hero, whose office is to ward off evils and dangers, establish rites of expiation, "and announce the ordinances of fate." These splendid expressions are not justified by the testimonies in Æschylus and Sophocles to which he refers^w. But if

ⁿ See below p. 57. d.

^o See Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 409. 410.

^p Pausan. III. 14, 2. IV. 4, 2. 31, 3.

^q Pausan. IV. 34, 6. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ναὸς, τοῦτο δὲ Δρύοντος ιερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. ἄγουσι καὶ ταφὴν ἔτος αὐτῷ τελετήν, ταῦτα τὸν Δρύοντα Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγοντες.

^r See below p. 116. x. and Muller vol. I. p. 403.

^s Herodot. II. 171. See the passage below at p. 22. i.

^t Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 417. "The Lacedæmonians had also adopted the worship of *Ceres*, under the title of *χθωνία*, from the Hermio-neans; some of whose kinsmen had settled in Messenia: Pausan. III. 14, 5. conf. Hesych.

"Ἐπιτολλάδ. ἐπικρῆναι."

^v Vol. I. p. 330.

^w He quotes Æschylus Eum. 19. and desires us to compare the *iéreia* quoted by Macrob. Sat. V. 22. Schol. Soph. OEd. Col. 791. and Sophocles El. 660. These lines are as follow:

Æschyl. Eum. 19.

Διὸς προφήτης δ' ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός.

Æschyl. *iéreia* apud Macrob. I. c. Schol. Soph. I. c.

στέλλειν ὅτις τάχιστα· ταῦτα γὰρ πατήρ
Ζεὺς ἐγκαθεῖται Λοξίρ. θεοπίσματα.

The Scholiast adds, δοκεῖ γὰρ δὲ Ἀπόλλων πατὴρ Διὸς λαμβάνειν τοὺς χρηστούς, ὡς καὶ ἐν Ἰφικλείᾳ (Σοφοκλῆς) φησι.

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this description were to be found in the works of Æschylus or Pindar or Sophocles, it must be ascribed to the additions of a later age; and there would be no proof whatever that it belonged to the rude and ignorant worship of the early Dorians. To attribute these splendid notions to them would be an error similar to the mistake of some interpreters of the Eleusinian mysteries (an error exposed by Lobeck), who, applying to those mysteries the refined notions of a polished age, have ascribed to the barbarians of the time of *Eumolpus* a hidden wisdom which existed only in their own imaginations^x. It is true, indeed, that the *Jupiter* and *Apollo* of the Iliad are sometimes described with striking attributes of divine power; but these are only the lofty conceptions of the poet's own mind. If, however, we were to grant that those were the current opinions of the Ionian and Æolian Greeks in the age in which the Iliad was composed, we could not infer from thence that these notions belonged to the religious system of the early Dorians. For this poem, probably composed in the tenth century before our era^y, was at the least three centuries later than the period at which the Dorians planted the worship of *Apollo* at Delphi or in Crete^z.

The names exhibited in the genealogies after the return of the *Heraclidae* may be for the most part referred to the third class, of real historical persons. There is no reason to believe that the Ionian and Æolian Greeks were ignorant of the founders of their respective states, from a period not very remote, since the beginning of the period was less than three centuries before the Olympiad of Co-

Soph. El. 658. 659.

ἐπαξιῶ σε δαιμον' ὄντ' ἐξειδέραι·
τοὺς ἐκ Διὸς γὰρ εἰκός ἔστι πάνθ' ὥπαν.

These passages merely assert that *Apollo* was the son of *Jupiter* and delivered the oracles of his father; and that *Apollo* as a deity and a son of *Jupiter* had the superior knowledge which belonged to a deity.

^x Mr. Lobeck exposes this error in his treatise on the *Eleusinia*, Aglaopham. p. 3—228. See especially his statement of this question p. 68. and his observation p. 146.

^y See below p. 362.

^z Mr. Muller vol. I. p. 276. marks three epochs of the worship of *Apollo*: 1. In the earliest migrations of the Dorians, when the temples of Delphi, Delos, and Cnossus were established. 2. The maritime supremacy of *Minos*,

when the coasts of Asia Minor were covered with altars. 3. The migration of the Dorians into Peloponnesus. He observes p. 237. that the worship of *Apollo* was introduced into Crete by the Dorians, and especially at Cnossus. He conducts the worship thither p. 234. from Olympus; but his testimonies only prove that Cnossus received the worship after it had reached Delphi.

If we place the earliest establishment in the time to which *Dorus* is assigned (see below p. 40. 69), the sixth generation before the Trojan war, this will fix it according to the dates proposed below p. 139. at about B. C. 1300. *Minos*, in the third generation before that era (see below p. 71), is at B. C. 1200. The date of the Iliad being assumed at B. C. 950 will be 350 years below the one date, and 250 below the other.

ræbus^a. In Greece itself the successions of kings in some dynasties were attested by registers already noticed. And yet, if the remark of Mr. Lewis be just, that lineal successions through a long series of descents do not occur in authentic history^b, we may suspect that the love of the Greeks for a genealogy exhibiting a lineal succession has led them to attribute to those dynasties a lineal succession where it was not always lineal. In the dynasties represented below^c the Messenian succession is lineal through eight reigns. In Arcadia the lineal succession ends at *Aeginetes*; but it begins with *Hippothus*, and is continued through nine reigns. The succession at Corinth, which commences with *Aletes*, is broken at *Aristodemus*^d; but it remains entire through eight generations. In the two Spartan lines, the lineal succession of the *Agidæ* ends in *Cleomenes I.*^e But it proceeds unbroken through 17 reigns from *Aristodemus* inclusive. In the other line we shall see reason below^f for omitting one generation. But the lineal descent from *Aristodemus* to *Demaratus*, in whom it ends, nevertheless proceeds through 15 reigns. The Athenian reigns are also represented to us as lineal. The direct succession is continued from *Melanthus*, the founder of a new dynasty, down to *Aeschylus*, the 12th perpetual archon, for 14 generations^g. It was recorded of a dynasty of Lydian kings that they held in direct descent from father to son for 22 generations^h; and of the kings of Assyria, that they reigned for 30ⁱ in lineal descent. Although these two last cases are fabulous, yet they contribute to shew the tendency of the Greeks to exhibit the reigns of kings in lineal succession. The suspicion, then, appears well founded, both from the practice of the Greeks and from the improbability of the fact, that those successions in the Grecian dynasties were not always lineal, and that, although the names for the most part were faithfully recorded, and although the dynasties remained unchanged, the successor of a king is sometimes called his son when in reality he was a brother or a nephew or some collateral heir^k.

^a See p. 140. The *Æolic* migration was according to probable dates 292 years, the return of the *Heraclidæ* 272 years, before B. C. 776.

^b Philological Museum vol. II. p. 46. "The succession at Sparta of the 14 first kings of both houses in the direct line from father to son, or from grandfather to grandson, without a single instance of female or collateral succession, is a circumstance which cannot be paralleled in any single line of hereditary princes;

" and how much is the improbability increased " when the line is double!"

^c See p. 100. 101.

^d See the Tables B. C. 744.

^e See F. H. II. p. 205.

^f See below p. 144. z.

^g See p. 101.

^h See p. 133. p.

ⁱ See p. 263.

^k The *Medontidæ* at Athens were probably not all descended in the direct line. If the lineal succession in the *Proclidæ* or the *Agidæ* at Sparta

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The third division of this period, commencing from the Olympiad in which *Coræbus* won, affords materials more copious and exact. Here the facts require a fuller exposition, and are capable of being arranged in the form of Tables and treated in separate columns. Some useful materials are supplied by Eusebius, who has preserved many dates from older authorities now lost. But his chronology seems destined never to be presented to us in an accurate form. The original is lost. The version of Hieronymus is negligently made in many parts. In the Armenian copy preserved at Constantinople we possess a copy more faithfully exhibiting the original; and of this version two transcripts have been made, and two Latin translations published, both by very competent translators skilled in the Armenian language. And yet these two copies differ from each other. Many variations are marked in the Tables of the present volume; and I here subjoin a specimen of others, which occur in the Eusebian Tables between the Olympiad of *Coræbus* and the death of *Augustus*. A comparison of the two versions will shew a variation of a year in many important dates between the Milan and the Venetian copy.

	M. ¹	V. ^m		
	Ol.	Ann.	Ol.	Ann.
<i>Thebani Cyrenen &c.</i>	5. 2	1257	5. 3	1258
<i>Roma quibusdam condita</i>		1262		1263
<i>Prima Israelis captivitas</i>	9. 2	1273	8. 3	1270
<i>Syracusæ et Catana conditæ</i>	11. 4	1283	11. 3	1282
<i>Sennecherimus &c.</i>	13. 3	1290	13. 2	1289
<i>Glaucus Chius</i>	22. 2	1325	22. 1	1324
<i>Gela</i>	23. 1	1328	} 22. 3	1326
<i>Phaselis</i>	23. 3	1330		
<i>Post Cares Lesbii (Libyes V.)</i>	27. 2	1345	Id.	Id.
<i>Zaleucus</i>	30. 1	1356	29. 3	1354
<i>Dodonæa divinatione M.</i>	36. 1	1380	Id.	Id.
<i>Dodona divinatrice V.</i>				
<i>Epimenides destruxit Athenas</i>	47. 1	1424	46. 4	1423
<i>Primus annus captivitatis</i>		1427		1426
<i>Æsopus</i>	54. 1	1452	54. 2	1453
<i>Xenophanes cognoscebatur</i>	56. 1	1460	56. 2	1461
<i>Pythagoras cognoscebatur</i>	62. 2	1485	62. 1	1484
<i>In Samo tyrannidem &c.</i>	62. 2	1485	62. 1	1484

was sometimes interrupted, as Mr. Lewis suspects, the argument adopted below at p. 340. from Hales, which assumes the Spartan reigns to be equivalent to generations, will have less force; and there will still remain a difficulty in the period of 180 years in one line and 210 in the other, which followed the accessions of *Polydo-*

rus and *Theopompus*. In the space which preceded, from the Return to *Alcamenes* and *Nicanter*, there is no improbability in the average amount of years as expressed at p. 340.

¹ *M. Lectiones editionis Mediolanensis.*

^m *V. Lectiones editionis Venetæ.*

INTRODUCTION.

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	M.	V.	
	Ol.	Ann.	Ol.
	63. 3	1490	63. 2
Hipparchus et Hippias	63. 3	1490	1489
XIV ^o Lacedæmonii	67. 1	1504	1503
Romæ reges &c. Cæsar centesima octogesima (prima) Ol. M. Olymp. CLXXX V.	1504		Id.
XVI ^o Eretrienses	69. 4	1515	1514
Romæ Pompilia virgo	74. 2	1533	1532
Chœrilus et Phrynicus	74. 3	1534	1533
Diagorei philosophi	74. 4	1535	1534
Euenus Parius fl.	80. 2	1557	1556
Heraclitus	80. 3	1558	1557
Cratinus et Plato	81. 3	1562	1563
Romæ calariorum agon	82. 3	1566	1565
Herodotus Athenis &c.	83. 4	1571	1570
Democritus, Empedocles &c.	86. 3	1582	1581
Gorgias, Hippias, &c.	86. 4	1583	1581
Peloponn. bellum	87. 2	1585	1584
Eudoxus Cnidius	89. 4	1595	1594
Lacedæmonii Heracleam	90. 1	1596	1595
Athen. in Sicilia ærumna	90. 3	1598	1597
Dionysius		1615	1614
Plato, Xenophon, &c.	102. 1	1644	1643
Dion interemptus	106. 2	1661	1662
Erinna	106. 3	1662	1664
Demosthenes	107. 2	1665	1666
Romani Samnites superant	109. 3	1674	1673
Speusippus ob.	110. 4	1679	1678
Alexandria anno 7 ^o	112. 3	1686	1684
Alexander Aornum petram cepit et Indum transgressus est	112. 3	1686	1683
Lysimachus Lydiae &c.	114. 1	1692	1691
Perdiccas in Ægyptum	114. 2	1693	1694
Menandri Ὀψι	114. 3	1694	1695
Theophrastus	114. 4	1695	1697
Romani Sabinos (Samnites V.)	115. 1	1696	1698
Maccabæorum libri &c.	116. 4	1703	1702
Seleucus Antiochiam &c. condidit	119. 2	1713	1715
Demetrius Poliorcetes &c.	120. 4	1719	1720
Sarapis Alexandriam venit	125. 4	1739	1738
Polemon philosophus obiit	127. 1	1744	1743
Romani Syracusas obsederunt	129. 2	1753	1754
Romani Carthag. superant &c.	129. 4	1755	1756
Jud. Pontifex Manasses	131. 1	1760	1759
Antigonus Athen. libertatem reddit	131. 1	1760	1761
Jesus Sirachi &c.	138. 2	1789	1788
Prima Maccab. historia	140. 2	1797	1795
Antiochus Judæam occupat	143. 2	1809	1808
Hiera insula emersit	144. 3	1814	1815
Antiochus Judæos honorabat &c.	145. 2	1817	1820
Romani (Græcos) liberos &c.	146. 3	1822	1823
Antiochus Ptolemaeo reconciliatur	147. 2	1825	1826
Hyrcanus &c.	150. 2	1837	1836
Romani Perseo interfecto &c.	153. 1	1848	1850
Aristarchus gramm. fl.	155. 3	1858	1860

INTRODUCTION.

	<i>M.</i>		<i>V.</i>	
	Ol.	Ann.	Ol.	Ann.
<i>Censu Romæ instituto millia 322 M.</i> } <i>millia 362 V.</i>}	158. 3	1870	Id.	Id.
<i>Jonathas cum Romanis &c. fædere</i> } <i>jungitur</i>	159. 1	1872	158. 4	1871
<i>Romani occiso Philippo &c.</i>	159. 1	1872	158. 4	1871
<i>Simon Jud. pontifex &c.</i>	160. 4	1879	161. 2	1881
<i>Maccab. II. finis</i>	162. 1	1884	162. 2	1885
<i>Hyrcanus Samariam delevit</i>	164. 4	1895	165. 1	1896
<i>Rhodo concussa Colossus corruit</i>	168. 2	1909	168. 1	1908
<i>Seleucus combustus est</i>	171. 1	1920	170. 4	1919
<i>Servilis rebellio rursus &c.</i>	171. 1	1920	170. 4	1919
<i>Aquillius servorum bellum compressit.</i>	171. 3	1922	171. 2	1921
<i>Hyrcanus annis XXXIV V. "annis</i> } <i>XXXIV" omittit M.</i>		1950		Id.
<i>Pompeius Hierosolyma &c.</i>	178. 4	1951	178. 3	1950
<i>Signum Olympie fulmine ictum</i>	181. 4	1963	181. 3	1962
<i>Cæsar Germanos Gallosque domuit</i>	182. 2	1965	182. 3	1966
<i>Herodes ann. XXXVII V. "ann.</i> } <i>XXXVII" omittit M.</i>		1984		Id.
<i>Tiberius Cæsar appellatus</i>	190. 4	1999	191. 1	2000
<i>Tiberius Vindelicos subegit</i>	191. 4	2003	191. 3	2002
<i>Tiberius imperator appellatus</i>	193. 1	2008	192. 4	2007
<i>Herodes Hyrcanum occidit &c.</i>	193. 2	2009	193. 1	2008
<i>Cos urbs M. Coensium urbs V.</i>	194. 2	2013	194. 1	2012
<i>Augustus Julianum ejecit</i>	194. 3	2014	194. 2	2013
<i>Herodes obiit</i>		2019		2020
<i>Athenodorus Tarsensis</i>	197. 1	2024	196. 4	2023
<i>Sotion cognoscetur</i>	198. 1	2028	198. 2	2029

From what negligence these variations have arisen I have not the means of knowing. But as the Venetian copy gives the Armenian original, it is probably the most accurate, and will generally deserve to be preferred where a difference occurs. In referring to the first book of Eusebius, I refer to the Milan edition alone, because the other was not within my reach.

In the Appendix a considerable space is allotted to the Scripture Chronology. It was at first intended to limit that inquiry to the kings of *Judah*, a period in which Herodotus is in some points verified or explained or corrected by the authority of Scripture. But on better consideration it seemed due to the importance of the subject to give the whole. The Scripture Chronology is accordingly stated from the beginning; and the testimonies are collected in as short a form as possible, upon which the various computations of different chronologers have been founded.

I.

EARLY INHABITANTS OF GREECE.

THE inhabitants of Greece in the first ages are rather to be classed according to their clans and families than according to the districts which they occupied in the country. They had no settled habitations, but migrated from one part of the country to another, often in a hostile, but sometimes in a peaceful manner. Thus the *Dorians* frequently changed their habitations. The first seat of the *Achaeans* was in Thessaly; thence they migrated into Laconia, and lastly occupied the northern shore of Peloponnesus, called from them Achaia. The *Ionians* were settled in Attica; thence they passed into Peloponnesus; from whence they returned again into Attica, before their final settlement in Asia. Thucydides^a and Strabo^b mark this character of the early times. It was not till after the Dorian occupation of Peloponnesus that the different members of the Greek nation were fixed in the seats which they finally occupied.

On surveying the people known by the appellation of Greeks, it naturally occurs to inquire whether these were descended from the aboriginal occupiers of the soil, or whether they were sprung from settlers of a later date, by whom that original race was supplanted. Four establishments were ascribed to foreigners; but the change effected by these establishments of *Danaüs*, *Cecrops*, *Cadmus*, and *Pelops*, was not such as to deserve to be accounted the introduction of a new race of people, such as is produced by force of arms, or by large bodies of invaders overwhelming the ancient inhabitants. Nothing of this character belonged to the settlements made in early Greece. These were made within three centuries of the Trojan war, when the country was already in the possession of powerful tribes, which subsisted after these establishments, and increased so far as to supersede them. All these four settlements are examples of a smaller received into a larger number. They were adopted by the body of the people by whom they were received, and the Egyptian or Phœnician or Phrygian settler was lost in the Greek^c. Excluding, then, these from the inquiry, we must ascend to a higher point of time, and extend our survey over the early tribes by whom the country was possessed, in order to determine how far the Greeks were an aboriginal people.

Bryant^d has pronounced of all the Greeks that they were not descended from the original inhabitants: that by the confession of their best historians, their ancestors were not the first

^a Thucyd. I. 2.

^b Strabo XII. p. 572.

^c Clavier Hist. des Prem. Temps. tom. I. p. 9. distinguishes this character of the early settlements: *Il n'étoit pas nécessaire que ces premières colonies fussent bien nombreuses; elles n'étoient que des établissements pour le commerce, autour de quels se réunirent quelques familles, &c.* —

D'après cela, au lieu de faire adopter leur langue, les Phéniciens durent apprendre celle du pays. — La colonie Phénicienne que Cadmus amena dans la Béotie n'étoit pas assez puissante pour que son influence sur le langage pût s'étendre dans le reste de la Grèce.

^d Analysis of Ancient Mythology vol. I. p. 187—189. vol. V. p. 1—20. 21—38.

inhabitants; that the country was before their arrival in the possession of a people whom they style barbarians. He asserts that the Helladians were colonies of another family; that they introduced themselves somewhat later; that they came from Egypt and Syria; that the *Pelasgi*, *Leleges*, *Hellenes*, Dorians, Ionians, were all of one great family, Cuthite colonies, who came into the land of Javan. His testimonies are these^e:

1. Hecatæus apud Strabonem VII. p. 321.
2. εἰσὶ δὲ ἡμῶν ἀρχαιότεροι βάρβαροι. Plato Cratyl. tom. I. p. 425.
3. πάλαι τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος βάρβαροι τὰ πολλὰ ὥκησαν. Pausan. I.
4. Ἀρκαδίαν βάρβαροι ὥκησαν. Schol. Apollon. III. 461 [IV. 264].
5. Ἀθηναῖον—ἀποίκους Σαΐταν τῶν ἐξ Αιγύπτου. Diod. I. [28.]
6. Again: Diod. ibid.
7. The Athenians, Αἰγυπτίων ἀποίκοι, ὡς φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῷ Τρικαρήνῳ. African. apud Euseb. Praep. X. 10.
8. Κέρροψ Αιγύπτιος ὃν δύο γλώσσας ἦπιστατο. Cedren. p. 82.
9. Κέρροψ Αιγύπτιος τὸ γένος ὥκητε τὰς Ἀθήνας. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. [773.]
10. Cecrops from Sais came to Greece. Tzetzes Chil. V. 18.
11. Κέρροψ Αιγύπτιος, τὸ γένος ὥκησε τὰς Ἀθήνας. Suid. Κέρροψ. [merely a repetition of No. 9.]
12. Λέλεξ ἀφικόμενος ἐξ Αιγύπτου. Pausan. [I. 44, 5.]
13. Erechtheus from Egypt. Diod. I.
14. Triptolemus from Egypt. Diod. I. [18. 20.]
15. Δαναὸς Χερμίτης. Herodot. II. 91.
16. Danaüs from Egypt. Plin. VII. 56. Diod. I. [V. 58.]
17. All the heads of the Dorian race from Egypt: Αἰγύπτιοι ὥστε γένεσις. Herodot. VI. 53.
18. "The Lacedæmonians esteemed themselves of the same family as the Capthorim of Palestine. Hence they surmised that they were related to the Jews." 1 Macc. XII. 20. Joseph. Ant. XII. 4.
19. Perseus was supposed to have been a foreigner. Herodot. VI. 54.
20. "It is said of Cadmus that he came originally from Egypt in company with Phoenix:" Κάδμος καὶ Φοίνιξ ἀπὸ Θηβῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Euseb. Chron.
21. "Eusebius in another place mentions the arrival of Cadmus with a company of Saitæ. They founded Athens and Thebes. Chron. p. 14. The ancient Athenians worshipped Isis, and were in their looks and manners particularly like the Egyptians. Diod. I. p. 24—26^f."

^e Analysis vol. I. p. 226—231. He prefaches these testimonies by the following observations: "The sons of Japheth were certainly the first inhabitants of those countries; but the Helladians, though by family Ionians, were not of this race. They came afterwards; and all their best writers agree that, when their ancestors made their way into these provinces, they were possessed by a prior people. Who these were is no where uniformly said; only they agree to term them in general βάρβαροι, or a rude, uncivilized people. As my system depends

"greatly upon this point, I submit to the reader the following evidences; which are comparatively few, if we consider what might be brought to this purpose. These are to shew that the Helladians were of a different race from the sons of Japheth, and that the country, when they came to it, was in the possession of another people; which people they distinguished by the title of βάρβαροι."

^f He adds to these a number of references to prove that the mythology of Greece was borrowed from Egypt.

By far the greater part of these passages is irrelevant, since they only tend to prove that *Cadmus*, or *Danaüs*, or *Cecrops*, or *Triptolemus*, were derived from Egypt and the East; facts which are of no weight in determining the original of the *Pelasgi*, *Dores*, or *Hellenes*. Others of these testimonies are strained beyond their due meaning; as, for instance, he quotes Herodotus to prove that *all the heads of the Dorian race were from Egypt*: which he repeats in another place^g: “ Of this we may be assured, that the Dorians, like their brethren the “ Ionim, were not of the first occupiers of the country. They were colonies from Egypt; “ and Herodotus VI. 53. speaks of all the heads and leaders of this people as coming directly “ from Egypt.” But Herodotus says nothing to this extent. His words are these: after relating the history of the first Spartan kings, he observes; τούτους τὸν Δωρίεων βασιλῆς μέχρι μὲν Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης—καταλεγομένους ὥπ' Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ἃς εἰσὶ Ἑλληνες—ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἄνω αἱρεταῖς αὐτέων, φαινοίσθω ἐν ἑόντες οἱ τῶν Δωρίων ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι θαυματεῖς. The whole amounts to no more than this; that the *Heraclidae*, being descended through *Hercules* from *Perseus*, were derived from *Danaüs* the Egyptian. It has no weight in giving a foreign original to the Dorians beyond what was effected in the person of *Danaüs*: and it has been shewn that the settlement of *Danaüs* had no such consequence. This testimony, then, when limited to its real meaning, establishes nothing in support of Bryant's hypothesis^h. Other instances occur in his work of a somewhat exaggerated exhibition of testimonies. “ The *Ionim* were supposed to have been led by one “ *Ion*; but what was alluded to under the notion of that person may be found from the his-

^g Vol. V. p. 21—38.

^h Dr. Faber in his *Horae Mosaicæ* has adopted the interpretation of Bryant, and has drawn from it an inference to the same purpose. “ The first “ or Babylonian empire (he observes) was clearly “ founded by *Nimrod*. The second may possibly “ have been vested in the line of *Shem*; though “ even that point is far from being satisfactorily “ established. But the third, or Grecian, if any “ credit is due to history, was erected, not by “ the descendants of *Japheth*, but by those of “ *Ham*. Greece might probably have been first “ peopled by *Japheth*; but these *aborigines* were “ soon conquered, and either extirpated or incor- “ porated with a totally different race. It is im- “ possible to derive the later Greeks, so cele- “ brated to this day for their proficiency in the “ arts and sciences, from the line of *Japheth*, “ unless we contradict the whole tenor of his- “ tory. Diodorus Siculus asserts that some of “ the original leaders of the Athenians were “ Egyptians, and that the Athenians themselves “ were a colony from Sais in Egypt. Herodotus “ speaks in a similar manner of the Dorians: “ and Pausanias gives the same account of the “ Megarians. *Lelex* also, the father or leader “ of the *Leleges*, came from Egypt. The Pele- “ ponnesus was for the most part inhabited by “ Dorians; and the *Leleges* established them-

“ selves in Megaris. In short, the most cele- “ brated leaders of the Grecian colonies, such as “ *Danaüs*, *Erechtheus*, *Cecrops*, *Cadmus*, and “ *Phœnix*, all came from Egypt. Hence it is “ manifest that the Greeks were, strictly speak- “ ing, an Egyptian nation; and consequently not “ the descendants of *Japheth*, but of *Ham*.” The value of these propositions in establishing the origin of the Greeks has been already examined; since the whole of these arguments had been preoccupied by Bryant. As to the leading ob- ject of Dr. Faber's enquiry, namely, from what race of mankind the third kingdom of the prophet was derived, these facts concerning the ori- gin of *Cadmus* and *Erechtheus* and *Cecrops* have still less weight in determining that point, be- cause none of the states to which these persons belonged had any principal share in establishing that empire; which was founded by the Macedonians, and not by the people of Attica or Pe- loponnesus. The Lacedæmonians especially had no share, and were expressly excluded by *Alexander* himself: Plutarch. Alex. c. 16. Arrian. Exp. I. p. 48. And Thebes was destroyed the year before the invasion of Asia. Next to the Macedonians, the Thessalians had the largest share in that war; and none of the Egyptian settlements were made in that province of Greece.

"tory given of him. Tatian imagines that he came into Greece in the time of *Acrisius*ⁱ." Thus he translates "Ιωνος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀφίξεις. " *Hellen* was the son of the person who escaped "the flood." Thus he renders "Ελλην υἱὸς Δευκαλίωνος, to give colour to his conclusion that *Hellen* was the same person as *Ham* the son of *Noah*.

Bryant collects from Pausanias that the *Leleges* were Egyptian. The whole passage in Pausanias is as follows^k: διδεκάτη ὑστερον μετὰ Κάρα τὸν Φορωνέως γενεᾶς λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Λέλεγα ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κληθῆναι Λέλεγας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ. Κλήστανος δὲ τοῦ Λέλεγος γενέσθαι Πύλαν τοῦ Πύλα δὲ Σκιάνων τοῦτον συνοικῆσαι Πανδίονος θυγατρὶ, καὶ ὑστερον Νίσω τῷ Πανδίονος ἐλθεῖν κ.τ.λ. This *Lelex*^l, then, according to the tradition, is twelve generations later than *Phoroneus*, and in the third generation before *Nisus* and *Egeus*. But the *Leleges* existed long before, and were a people in the time of *Deucalion*^m. Another *Lelex*, an aboriginal chief, prior in time to *Deucalion*, founded the *Leleges* in Lachoniaⁿ. A third *Lelex*, an indigenous chief, the leader of the *Teleboæ*, was traced by Aristotle in Acarnania^o. If the Megarian tradition, then, is admitted to be true, the *Leleges* were not founded by that Egyptian settler. He was ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἔθνει. He bore the name of the people among whom he settled, and derived his appellation instead of imparting it.

The remaining testimonies collected by Bryant are for the purpose of proving that the first inhabitants of Greece are called *βάρβαροι* by the Greek writers. He has elsewhere^p added other references to the same effect; and his argument is, that "though the Greeks pretended "to be *αὐτόχθονες*, yet their best historians ingenuously own that Hellas was originally occupied by a people of another race, whom they styled *βάρβαροι*. Therefore the first inhabitants "were of a different race from the *Pelasgi* and *Leleges* and *Ionians*, who succeeded them, "and came afterwards." But these "barbarians" are no other than the *Pelasgi* themselves, the most ancient people of whom the Greeks had any vestiges, and beyond whom their traditions did not reach^q: ἔθνος βάρβαρον Πελασγοὶ κατέκουν πάλαι τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ Ἀργος καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ὀλίγας χώρας. According to Strabo^r, σχεδόν τι καὶ ἡ σύμπασα Ἑλλὰς κατοικία βαρβάρων ὑπῆρξε τὸ παλαιόν. But these barbarians are the *Dryopes*, the *Caucones*, the *Pelasgi*,

ⁱ Vol. V. p. 1.

^j Vol. IV. p. 206.

^k Pausan. I. 39, 5.

^l He is mentioned again by Pausanias I. 42, 8. Idem I. 44, 5. μῆνα ἔστι τρίς θαλάσσης Λέλεγος, ἐν ἀφικόμενον βασιλεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Διβήνης τῆς Ἐπάφου. *Pylus* or *Pylas* son of *Cleson* occurs again Pausan. IV. 36, 1. ἡ Πύλος [in Messenia]—ταύτην φέκισε Πύλος ὁ Κλήστανος ἀγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεγαρίδος τοὺς ἔχοντας τότε αὐτῷν Λέλεγας, καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐκ ὕπατο, ὑπὸ Νηλέων—ἐκβληθεὶς ἀποχωρήσας δὲ ἐς τὴν ὅμορφην ἔσχειν ἀπαύθα Πύλον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἁλείᾳ.

^m Hesiod. apud Strab. VII. p. 322.

ⁿ τοις γάρ Λοκρὸς Λελέγων ἤγγιστο λαῶν, τοὺς δέ τοις Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἀφίτα μῆδει εἴδως λεκτοὺς ἐκ γαῖς λᾶς τόρε Δευκαλίωνι.

^o λᾶς is the conjecture of Heyne ad Apollod. I. 7, 2. Salmasius apud Palmer. Græc. Antiq. p. 68. had already conjectured λάιν τόρε. Dionysius Ant. I. p. 47. identifies the *Leleges* with the *Locri*: ἐξελάνυνται Θετταλίας ὑπό τε Κουρῆτων καὶ

Λελέγων, οἱ νῦν Αίτωλοι καὶ Λοκροὶ καλοῦνται—ἡγουμένου τοῦ τολεμίων Δευκαλίωνος.

^p Pausan. III. 1, 1.

^q Strabo VII. p. 321. ὅτι πλάνητες (οἱ Λέλεγες) καὶ μετ' ἑκίνων [sc. τὸν Πελασγὸν] καὶ χωρὶς, καὶ ἐκ παταίων, καὶ αἱ Ἀριστοτέλεους πολιτεῖαι δηλοῦσιν. οὐ μὲν γὰρ τῇ Ἀκαρνάνω φησὶ τὸ μὲν ἔχει αὐτῆς Κουρῆτας, τὸ δὲ προστετέρου Λέλεγας, εἴτα Τηλεβόας· ἐν δὲ τῇ τὸν Αίταλῶν, τοὺς νῦν Λοκροὺς Λέλεγας καλεῖται κατασχεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτοὺς φησὶν ὄμοιως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὀτουτίων καὶ Μεγαρέων· ἐν δὲ τῇ Δευκαλίων καὶ αὐτόχθονά τινα Λέλεγα δουμάζει, τούτου δὲ θυματριῶν Τηλεβόων· τοῦ δὲ παῖδας δύο καὶ ἕκαστος Τηλεβόας· ἢν τινας εἰκῆσαι τὴν Δευκαλίδα. For the *Teleboæ* conf. Strab. X. p. 459. Their history, and their occupation first of Acarnania and then of the Echinades, and their war with *Amphitryo*, are related Schol. Apollon. I. 747.

^r Vol. V. p. 1, &c.

^s Schol. Apollon. cod. Paris. I. 580.

^t Strab. VII. p. 321.

the *Leleges*^s. Hecataeus^t affirms that the predecessors of the *Hellenes* were barbarous. But the predecessors of the *Hellenes* were the *Pelasgi*. The *Leleges* are called barbarous by Strabo, who observes^u, recounting the early inhabitants of Boeotia, ἡ Βοιωτία πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἀκέστο Αἴωνα καὶ Τεμικίων ἐκ τοῦ Σουνίου πεπλανημένων, καὶ Λελέγων, καὶ Υάντων. εἰτα Φοίνικες ἔσχον οἱ μετὰ Κάδμου. Bryant, then, has failed in proving that ancient writers describe any barbarous tribes of another race prior to the *Pelasgi* or the *Leleges*.

With respect to the *Hellenes* themselves, no testimony warrants the supposition that these were a foreign race. The earliest traditions place *Deucalion* in Thessaly, or in the adjoining region. Bryant has been particularly unsuccessful in making out a Cuthite or Amonian original for the descendants of *Deucalion*. As nothing in ancient Greek traditions favours the supposition, his theory is built upon conjecture and hypothesis, to which he adds some fanciful etymologies. The Arcadians are "Arkites," the Ionians are "Ionim," or worshippers of the dove^v; being denominated from *Ionah* the dove. Meanwhile the name *Aeolus*, the great family which included so many of the heroic chiefs, appears to be unnoticed.

A dynasty of Pelasgic chiefs existed in Greece before any other dynasty is heard of in Greek traditions^w. Excepting in this line, none of the genealogies ascend higher than the ninth, or eighth, or seventh generation, before the Trojan war. *Danaüs* is in the ninth, *Deucalion* in the eighth, *Cadmus* in the seventh generation before that epoch. But in the Pelasgic branch of the nation *Phoroneus* is in the eighteenth before the Trojan war; the founder of Sicyon is his contemporary; and the Pelasgic chief who planted the Pelasgians in Thessaly is five generations earlier than *Deucalion*. *Inachus* the father of *Phoroneus* was the highest term in Grecian history^x: τὰν τὰς Ἑλλανικᾶς ιστορίας ἀρχὰν ἀπὸ Ἰνάχῳ ήμεν τῷ Ἀργείῳ. *Inachus* is mentioned by Pausanias^y: Ἰνάχον βασιλεύοντα τότε τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγουσιν ὄνυμάσαι, καὶ θῦσαι τῇ Ἡρᾳ. λέγεται ἀδὲ καὶ δε λόγος· Φορανέα ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γενέσθαι πρῶτον, Ἰνάχον δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πάτερα εἶναι Φορανεῖ—Φορανές δὲ ὁ Ἰνάχου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους συνήγαγε πρῶτον ἐς κοινὸν, σποράδας τίσας καὶ ἵψ' ἐαυτὸν ἰκάστοτε οἰκοῦντας. He is named by Apion, by Tatian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Africanus, and Eusebius^z. Africanus makes him a little older than

^s Strab. Ibid. Δρόκου τε καὶ Καικόνι καὶ Πελασγῶν καὶ Δελέγων καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καταγεγραμένων τὰ ἔντες Ἰσθμοῦ.

^t Strab. Ibid. Ἐκαταῖος δὲ Μιλήσιος περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου φυσιον ὅτι πρὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἤκησαν αὐτὴν βάρβαροι.

^u Strab. IX. p. 401.

^v Vol. V. p. 38, &c. 130, &c. Of his success in etymology a judgment has been pronounced by Sir William Jones, Asiatic Researches vol. III. p. 488. with whom we shall agree, that no mode of reasoning is in general weaker or more delusive than etymological conjecture.

^w *Ogyges* will be no exception to this remark, for *Ogyges* himself was indigenous. He left no descendants or successors; and he was not earlier than *Phoroneus*, with whom he is made contemporary by *Acusilaüs*, as will be seen below.

^x *Ocellus apud Stob. Eclog. I. 21, 5. p. 426.*

^y Pausan. II. 15, 4.

^z These testimonies may be gathered from Syncellus p. 62—66. compared with Eusebius

Πτερ. X. p. 487—491. ὁ μὲν Ἀφρικαῖος—εἰδὼς τὴν τοῦ πολλὸν δόξαν εἶναι κρατοῦσαν, ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀμέσων Φορανέως Ἀργείων ἐβασίλευε καὶ πρὸ γε τούτου Ἰνάχος ὁ τούτου πατήρ, ἐφ' οὐ Μαύσης; γενάται—δὲ δὲ Εἰσέθεις; οὔτε τῷ Ἀφρικανῷ οὔτε τῷ Ἰστήκτει οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ τινὶ συγ- φωνῶν—τὸνς χρόνους περιέκοψε, σύγχρονος Μεῦσέως δεῖξαι Κέρκρα τὸν διφῦ έπειγόμενος· μαρτυρῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ τοῦ κανόνος αὐτοῦ προλόγῳ τοὺς προλεχθέντας Ἰσόσπιτον μὲν καὶ Ἰσόστον ἐκ περιομής, Ἀφρικανὸν δὲ καὶ Κλήμεντα τὸν Στρωματέα καὶ Τατιανὸν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου ἄνδρας ἐπιδείσεις γυναῖκος τάντας, κατὰ Ἰνάχον καὶ Φορανέα τὸν Ἰνάχου πρώτους Ἀργείων βασιλεῖς γενέσθαι Μεῦσέα, διν σύγχρονος ἦν Ὁγυγος αὐτόχθων πρώτος βασιλεὺς Ἀκτῆς τῆς νῦν Ἀττικῆς, καὶ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν Ὁγυγον πρώτος καὶ παλαιός ιστορούμενος Ἑλλησις κατακλυσμός κατὰ τὸ πέπον Μεῦσέως, μέ δὲ Φορανέως, κατὰ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ὃδέ πως ἐπὶ λίθεος γραφέντα· “Φαμὲν τοίνυν ἐκ γε τοῦδε τοῦ συγγράμματος Ὁγυγον, δε τοῦ πρώτου κατακλυσμοῦ γέγονεν ἐπώνυμος, πολλῶν διαφθαρίσαντων διασεθεῖς, κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' Λιγύετου τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ Μεῦσέως ἔξοδον γεγενηθῆσθαι, τόνδε τὸν πρώτων ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν

Moses. Eusebius has placed *Moses* 300 years below him, but agrees with Africanus in placing *Inachus* 700 years before the fall of Troy. Other traditions however, to which Pausanias refers, make *Phoroneus* the first king. Acusilaüs and Plato record this tradition^a: 'Ακουσί-

"προειρημένην ἀπὸ Πυγύου ἔτη δειχθῆσται ἀκ'. ἀπὸ δὲ
"πράτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς πέμπτης ἔτος
"πρῶτον, τοῦτον ἐπὶ Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτος α', ὥπερ
"ἢ ἀιχμαλωσίας τέλος, ἔτη σιέ [σιζ] Euseb.]. ἀπὸ
"Πυγύου τοῖν τοῦτον ἐπὶ Κύρου ἔτη φολέ' [φολέ] Euseb.].
"εἰ δὲ ἀναφέρου τις ἀναλογίζουμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τῆς
"αιχμαλωσίας τὰ φολέ' [φολέ] Euseb.] ἔτη, κατὰ ἀ-
"αλογίαν [ἀνάλογον] Euseb.] εὐήσει ταῦτα διάστημα
"ἐπὶ πρώτον ἔτος τῆς ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου διὰ Μωϋσέως ἔξδου
"Ισραὴλ ὅσων ἀπὸ τῆς νέ· ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ "Πυγύου ὃς ἔκ-
"τισεν Ἐλευσίνα. ὅθεν ἐπισημότερόν ἐστι καταλαβεῖν
"τὴν Ἀττικὴν [τὴν αὐτὴν Syncell.] χρονογράφιαν.—
"ὅτε, αὐδὲν ἀξιομηρόνευτον "Ελληνος ιστορεῖται πρὸ^b
"Πυγύου, πλὴν Φορούνεως τοῦ συγχρονίσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ
"Ινάχου τοῦ Φορούνεως πατρής.—καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν πρὸ^b
"Πυγύου, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς τούτους χρόνους ἐξῆλθε Μωϋσῆς
"ἀπὸ Αἴγυπτου."—“ἀπὸ Πυγύου τοίν τοῦ Κύρου
"ὅπσα ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον [τὸν αὐτὸν
"χρόνον Syncell.], ἔτη φολέ' [φολέ] Euseb.]. ἀλλὰ
"καὶ "Ελλήνων δέ τινες ιστοροῦσι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρό-
"νους γενέσθαι Μωϋσέα· Πολέμον μὲν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν
"Ελληνικῶν ιστοριῶν λέγει· “Ἐπὶ "Απίδος τοῦ Φορούνεως
"μοῖρα τοῦ Αἰγυπτιακοῦ στρατοῦ ἔξεπεσεν Αἴγυπτου
"ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ Syncell.], οἱ δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καλού-
"μένη Συρίᾳ οὐ πόρῳ 'Αραβίᾳς φύκησαν.” ὕποι δηλούντι
"οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσέως, 'Απίδον δὲ διασειδίνιον, περιεργότα-
"τος γραμματικῶν, ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ιουδαίων βίβλῳ καὶ δὲ
"τῇ τετάρτῃ τοῦ ιστοριῶν φροντίσει κατὰ "Ινάχον "Αργος
"βασιλέα, 'Αμαδίος Αἴγυπτίων βασιλεύοντος, ἀπότιτναι
"Ιουδαίοις, ἢν ἡγεόθαι [γένεσθαι his Syncellus]
"Μωϋσία· [conf. Syncell. p. 148. C. 149. A.]—
"οἴκουν τῶν φαὶ καὶ καὶ ἐτῶν τῶν μέχρι πράτης ὀλυμπιάδος
"ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως τε καὶ Πυγύου ἐκκειμένον, πράτη μὲν
"ἔτει τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὸν "Εβραίων ἔξοδος ἡ ἀ' Αἴγυπτου,
"ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὁ ἐπὶ Πυγύου γίνεται κατακλυσμός.”
—ταῦτα ὁ Αφρικανὸς ἐν τῷ πρίτᾳ λόγῳ φιλαληθῶς
καὶ ἐμμαρτύρως ιστορῶν ἀξιοπιστότερος εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ
κατὰ πάτα Εδεσθίον, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κατὰ Μωϋσέα καὶ
τὴν ἀ' Αἴγυπτου πορείᾳ λόγοι ἔχον, ὡς πρόειρηται. καὶ
ταῦς ἐκ περιομῆς ὄμοφόνους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ Χριστὸν φιλο-
σοφήσαντας ἐξ "Ελλήνων Κλήμεντος τὸν Στρωμα-
τεῖς Τατιανὸς τε καὶ Αφρικανὸς, συνομολογοῦσι κατὰ "Ινά-
χον γένηηθαι Μωϋσέα, καὶ κατὰ Φορούνεως τὸν Ινάχου
παῖδα καὶ Νιοβῆς ἀκμάν, κατὰ "Απίδα δὲ τῆς ἐξ Αἴγυπ-
του πορείας τοῦ Ισραὴλ ἡγήσασθαι, τὰς ἀποδείξεις καὶ ἐκ
τῶν παρ' "Ελληνος δοκούμενων ἴποσχότες ιστορικῶν, οἵς μί-
νος ὁ Καισαρεὺς Εὐσέβιος καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἀντιπτεῖν χρόνας
ιστερον κατὰ Κέρκρα—μετὰ "Πυργον καὶ τὸν ἐν' αὐτοῦ
κατακλυσμὸν ἔφη γενέσθαι Μωϋσέα. This is not the
place for examining the causes of the error of
Africanus and Syncellus with respect to the time
of *Moses*, whom they both place too high. But
no apology is necessary for introducing here
these passages, which are important as exhibiting
the chronological opinions of Africanus and Eu-
sebius.

^a Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 321. A. Africanus,

λαος γάρ Φορωνέα πρώτον ἀνθρωπον γενέσθαι λέγει· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ τῆς Φορωνίδος ποιητὴς εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐφη πατέρα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πλάτων ἐν Τιμαιῷ κατακολουθήσας Ἀκουσιλάῳ γράφει· “Καὶ ποτε “ προαγαγεῖν βουληθεὶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐς λόγους τῶν τῷδε τὰ ἀρχαιότατα λέγειν ἐπιχείρειν, “ περὶ Φορωνέως τε τοῦ πρώτου λεχθίντος καὶ Νιόβης^b. ”

Africanus, according to computations derived from the accounts of Philochorus, Hellanicus, Castor, Thallus, and others, placed the flood of *Ogyges* and the 55th year of the reign of *Phoroneus* at B.C. 1796, or 1020 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus* B.C. 776. These computations have been already given from Syncellus. That period of 1020 years is mentioned again in the following passage preserved by Eusebius^c: ἀπὸ Ὁγύγου τοῦ παρ' ἔκεινος αὐτόχθονος πιστευόντος (ἐφ' οὐ γέγονεν ὁ μέγας καὶ πρώτος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατακλυσμὸς, Φορωνέως Ἀργείων βασιλεύοντος, ὡς Ἀκουσίλαος ιστορεῖ) μέχρι πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ὥποθεν Ἐλληνες ἀκριβοῦν τοὺς χρόνους ἐνόμισαν, ἔτη συνάγεται χίλια εἰκοσιν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις συμφωνεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἑξῆς δειχθῆσται. ταῦτα γάρ Ἀθηναῖοι ιστοροῦντες Ἐλλάνικός τε καὶ Φιλόχορος οἱ τὰς Ἀτθίδας, οἵ τε τὰ Σύρια Κάστωρ καὶ Θαλλὸς, καὶ τὰ πάνταν Διόδωρος ὁ τὰς βιβλιοθήκας, Ἀλέξανδρός τε ὁ Πολυίσταρ καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκριβέστερον ἐμνήσθησαν, καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀπάντων. εἴ τις οὖν ἐν τοῖς χιλίοις εἰκοσιν ἐπίσημος ιστορία τυγχάνει, κατὰ τὸ χρήσιμον ἐκλεγήσεται^d. The computation of Africanus would place *Phoroneus* 667 years before the fall of *Troy*^e.

By all testimonies *Phoroneus* was an aboriginal chief of the predominant tribe the *Pelasgi*. His subjects were *Pelasgians* and his successors *Pelasgians* till the coming of *Danaüs*^f. The ancient chronologers attempted to arrange the events recorded in their early traditions accord-

as quoted by Syncellus p. 64. C., appears to imply that *Acusilaüs* made *Inachus* the first king: εἰδὲν διειρημένετεν Ἐλληνιστορεῖται πρὸ Ὁγύγου πλὴν Φορωνέου τέντοντος αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰνάχου τοῦ Φορωνέου πατρὸς ὃς πρώτος Ἀργεὺς ἐβασιλεύει, ὡς Ἀκουσίλαος ιστορεῖ τούτου θυγάτηρ Ἰάδη, ἢ Ἰστιν μετονόμαστες σέβουσι. But as we may collect from Clemens adducing Plato that *Acusilaüs* knew nothing of *Inachus* as first king of Argos, this account would be erroneous. Although therefore τούτου θυγάτηρ, &c. refers to Ἰνάχου, yet it is probable that ὃς πρώτος was intended to be referred to Φορωνέου and not to Ἰνάχου. The sense is rightly expressed by the Scholiast on Statius Theb. IV. 589. *Phoroneus*] *Hic est qui primus Junoni sacrificasse dicitur, ut Dardanus Jovi. Phoroneus autem Inachi filius, qui primus mortalibus regnavit, cuius filiam Nioben—Jupiter primo mortalem dicitur compressisse.* Where *qui* and *cuius* refer to *Phoroneus*. Augustine Civ. D. XVIII. 3., following the chronology of Eusebius, names *Inachus* as the first king.

^b Plato Timaeo p. 22. A. Clemens has τῷδε τῇ πόλει, and ἐπιχείρει. This passage of Plato is referred to, although inaccurately, by Syncellus p. 126. B.

^c Euseb. Præp. X. p. 488. D.

^d Heyne ad Apollod. II. 1, 1. Sturz. ad Hellanic. Fragn. p. 102. and Dr. Routh Reliquiae Patrum tom. II. p. 295. by mistake ascribe this date of 1020 years to *Acusilaüs* himself. But

the testimony of *Acusilaüs* (which is here placed in a parenthesis to distinguish it) only refers to the flood of *Ogyges*. Mr. Mitford Hist. of Gr. vol. I. p. 44. justly questions the existence of *Ogyges*: but when he adds that “no assurance “ remains that even the name of *Ogyges* was “ known to the older Grecian authors,” his observation is refuted by the testimony of *Acusilaüs*.

^e He gives for the first year of *Phoroneus* B.C. 1796 + 54 = 1850; and B.C. 1183 + 667 = B.C. 1850.

^f Mitford Hist. of Greece vol. I. p. 28. derives *Phoroneus* from Egypt, and observes that according to all accounts Argos was an Egyptian colony. But no accounts make Argos an Egyptian colony till the arrival of *Danaüs*. Thucydides I. 3. quoted by Mitford has nothing of such an import.

Car the son of *Phoroneus* reigned at Megara: Pausan. I. 39, 4. κληθῆναι δὲ εἴτε τὴν τόλῳ ἐτί Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέου ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ βασιλεύοντος· τότε πρῶτον λέγοντοι ιερὰ γενέσθαι Δῆμητρος αὐτοῖς [conf. 40, 5.], καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δουμάται Μέγαρα. εἴτε μὲν αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν Μεγαρέων λέγονται. From him the citadel retained the name of Caria to the time of Pausanias: Idem I. 40, 5. τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καλουμένην ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέου καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐτί Καρίαν. Idem I. 44, 9. καὶ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέου μηῆμά ἐστι, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καῦμα γῆς.

ing to the reigns of this Pelasgic dynasty which reigned at Argos. Tatian^g has preserved the synchronisms, which are also given by Clemens Alexandrinus^h. Castorⁱ undertook to assign not only the whole period of the dynasty, but the years of each respective reign.

TATIAN.	CLEMENS ^k .	CASTOR.
Inachus.		1. Inachus 50.
Phoroneus. "Ογυρος ἐφ' οὐ κατακλυσμός.	Inachus. { ὁ ἐπὶ Ογύρου κατακλυσμός. Σικυώνος βασιλεῖς Αίγαιας, Εὔρωψ, Τελχίς.	2. Phoroneus 60. { Ogygus Eleusinem condidit.
Apis.	Phoro-neus. { ἡ Κρήτος ἐν Κρήτῃ βασιλεία.	3. Apis 35. A quo regio Apia.
Argius.	Apis. τρίτος ἀπὸ Ινάχου p. 323. A.	4. Argus 70.
Criasus.		5. Criasus 54.
Phorbas. 'Ακταῖος ἀφ' οὐ 'Ακταῖα ἡ Ἀττική.	Phorbas. 'Ακταῖος ἀφ' οὐ 'Ακταῖα ἡ Ἀττική.	6. Phorbas 35. { Hujus aetate Cecrops diphyes.
Triopas. { Προμηθεὺς, 'Επιμηθεὺς. "Ατλας. οὐ διφύης Κέκροψ. Ίώ.	Triopas. { Προμηθεὺς, "Ατλας, 'Επιμηθεὺς. οὐ διφύης Κέκροψ. Ίώ (sic).	7. Triopas 46.
Crotopus. { η ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος ἐκπύρωσις. η ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐπομβρία.	Crotopus. { η ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος ἐκπύρωσις. η ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐπομβρία.	8. Crotopus 21.
Sthenelaius. { η Δαναοῦ παρουσία. η ὑπὸ Δαρδάνου τῆς Δαρδ. κτίσις. η τῆς Εερώτης εἰς Κρήτην ἀνακομιδῆ.	Sthenelas. { η Δαναοῦ παρουσία. ὑπὸ Δαρδάνου τῆς Δαρδ. κτίσις. η ἐκ Κρήτης * εἰς Φαινίκην ἀνακομιδῆ.	9. Sthenelus 11. { Summa annorum 382.
Danaüs.		10. Danaüs 50. { Sthenelum Danaüs pepulit.
Lynceus. { η τῆς Κόρης ἀρπαγή. η Τριπτολέμου γεωργία. η Κάδμου εἰς Θήβας παρουσία. η Μίνως βασιλεία.	Lynceus. { τῆς Κόρης η ἀρπαγή. Τριπτολέμου γεωργία. η Κάδμου εἰς Θήβας παρουσία. Μίνως βασιλεία.	11. Lynceus 41.
Abas.		12. Abas 23.
Prætus. οὐ Εύμελπου πόλεμος.	Prætus. οὐ Εύμελπου πόλεμος.	13. Prætus 17.
Acrisius. { η Πέλοπος διάβασις. η "Ιωνος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἄφιξις. οὐ δεύτερος Κέκροψ. αἱ Περσέων καὶ Διονύσου πράξεις.	Acrisius. { η Πέλοπος διάβασις. "Ιωνος ἄφιξις. οὐ δεύτερος Κέκροψ. αἱ Περσέων καὶ Διονύσου πράξεις.	14. Acrisius 31. { Annos 162 conficiunt. Argivorum imperii summa annorum 544. Huc usque Danaide ^l .
Perseus.		
Sthenelaius.		
Eurystheus.		
Atreus.		
Thyestes.		
Agamemnon. "Ιλιον ἔάλω.	Agamemnon. κατὰ τὸ μὲν ἔτος "Ιλιον ἔάλω.	

^g Tatian. Or. ad Græc. p. 131—134.

^h Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 321—323.

ⁱ Castor apud Euseb. Chron. I. p. 129—131.

^j The names of these kings are transposed in the extant copies of Tatian thus: *Apis, Criasus, Triopas, Argius, Phorbas, Crotopus, Sthenelaius, Danaüs, Lynceus, Prætus, Abas*. They are given in the right order by Eusebius Præp. X. 11. p. 494. by whom this passage of Tatian is transcribed.

^k Although Clemens for the most part repeats

Tatian, yet, as he had also other authorities, he is added here for the sake of a comparative view.

^l Syncellus p. 124. C. reckons 575 years from Inachus to Acrisius: οὐ χρόνος τῆς Ινάχου βασιλείας αὐτούφανος φέρεται παρ' Ἑλλησι διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα—ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πρώτου Ινάχου ἔως τοῦ θ' Σθενέλου ἑταῖνην τηγ. τὸν δὲ Σθενέλαν Δαναοῦ ἐκβαλλὸν ἐκράτησε τοῦ Ἀργους, ὃς μαρτυροῦσι πάντες ιστορικοί, σὺν τοῖς δευτογόνοις ἔτη φέβεται. οὐδὲν ἔτη φέτη ἀπὸ Ινάχου ἐπὶ Ακρίσιον πέμπτον ἀπὸ Δαναοῦ.

Pausanias^m supplies the following list :

1. [Inachus].
2. Phoroneus.
3. Argus.
4. Phorbas and Peirasus.
5. Triopas.
6. Iasus and Agenor.
7. Crotopus.
8. Sthenelus.
9. Gelanor.
10. Danaus.
11. Lynceus.
12. Abas.
13. Acrisius at Argos, Praetus at Tiryns.

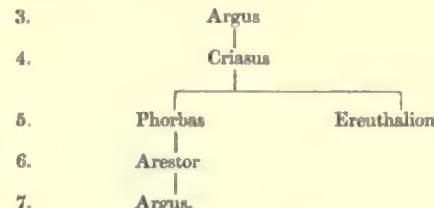
Apollodorusⁿ names 1. Inachus : 2. Phoroneus : 3. Argus : 4. Criassus : then Iasus : after the mention of whom he passes to the adventures of Io, and returns to the kings of Argos at Gelanor^o. He then names Danaus, Lynceus, and makes Acrisius and Praetus contemporary kings. Apollodorus and Pausanias make Argus the grandson and successor of Phoroneus. Apis appears in neither as king of Argos.

The genealogies are as follow :

^m Pausanias II. 15, 5. describes Inachus and Phoroneus. Idem II. 16, 1. "Αργος Φορωνέως θυγατριδοῖς βασιλείσας μετὰ Φορωνέα ὀνόμασεν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν." "Ἄργον δὲ Πείρατος γίνεται καὶ Φόρβας." Φόρβαντος δὲ Τρύπας Τρύπα δὲ Ιασος καὶ Αγήνωρ. Ιάδ μὲν οὖν Ιάσου θυγάτηρ — Κρότωπος δὲ ὁ Αγήνωρος ἔσχε μετὰ Ιάσον τὴν ἀρχήν. Κρότωπος δὲ Σθενέλας γίνεται. Δαναὸς δ' ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πλεύσας ἐπὶ Γελάνωρ τὸν Σθενέλα τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοὺς Αγήνωρος βασιλείας ἔπαυσεν. — ἀπόθανότος Δαναοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν Λιγκεὺς ἔσχε, οἱ δὲ "Αθαντος τοῦ Λιγκέως παῖδες τὴν βασιλείαν ἔνειμαντο, καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν αὐτῶν κατέμενεν ἐν τῷ "Ἄργοι Προίτος δὲ τὸ Ήραῖον καὶ Μιδελαν καὶ Τίρυνθα ἔσχε. He mentions Crotopus again I. 43, 7. and Ψαμάθη τὴν Κροτώπου.

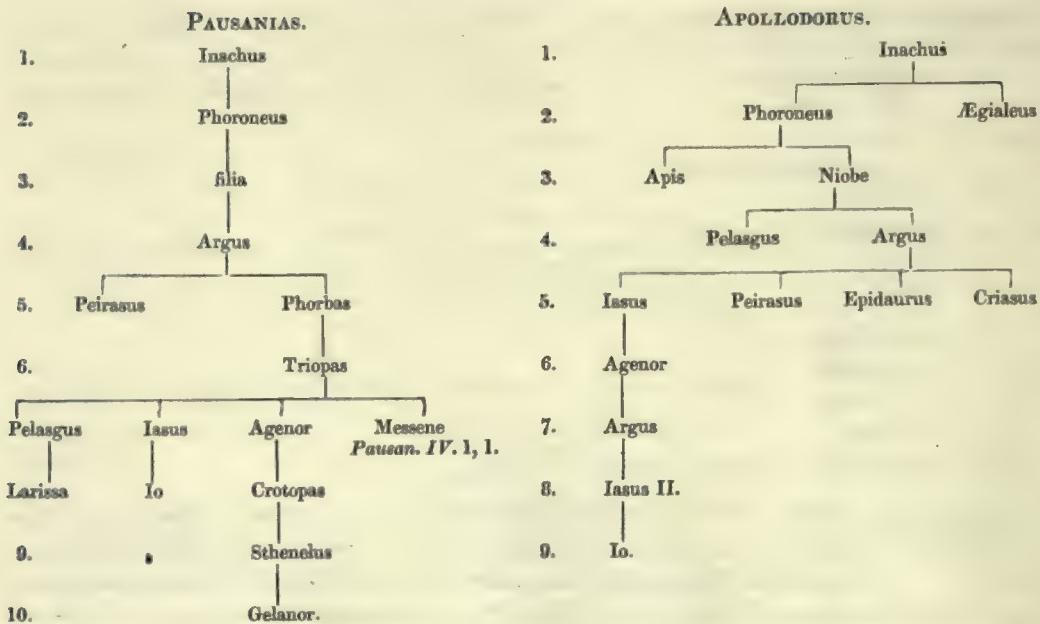
ⁿ Apollod. II. 1. "Ινάχου καὶ Μελίας τῆς Ὄκεανος Φορωνέος τε καὶ Αἴγιαλεν ταῖδες ἐγένοντο. Φορωνέος δὲ ἀπάσης τῆς ὑστεροῦ Πελοπονῆσου προσαγορευθείσης δυαστείν εἰς τῆς Λαοδίκης οὐμάφης "Απιν καὶ Νιόβην ἐγένησαν — Νιόβης δὲ καὶ Διὸς παῖς "Άργος ἐγένετο" ὃς δὲ Ἀκουστίλαος φησι, καὶ Πελασγὸς, ἀφ' εἰς κληθῆσαι τοὺς τὴν Πελοπόνησον οἰκοῦντας Πελασγούς. Ησιόδος δὲ τὸν Πελασγὸν αἰτόχθωνά φησιν εἶναι. — Άργος δὲ λαβὼν παρὰ Φορωνέος τὴν βασιλείαν — ἐτέκνωσεν "Ιασος, Πείρατα, Επίδαιρος, Κράστεν, δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν. ἐξ Ιάσου δὲ "Αγήνωρ γίνεται" τούτου δὲ "Άργος δὲ ταῦπητης λεγόμενος. — Άργος δὲ καὶ Ισμήνης τῆς Ασωτοῦ παῖς "Ιασος" οὗ φασὶν Ιώ γενέσθαι. Κάστωρ δὲ ὁ συγγράψας τὰ χρονικὰ ἀγνοήματα καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν τραγικῶν Ινάχου τὴν

Ίω λέγουσιν. "Ησιόδος δὲ καὶ Ἀκουστίλαος Πειρῆνος αὐτὴν φασιν εἶναι — "Ηρα δὲ — φύλακα αὐτῆς κατέστησεν "Άργον τὸν πανόπτην, ὃν Ἀσκληπιάδης μὲν Ἀρέστορος λέγει Φερεκίδης δὲ Ινάχου" Κέρκων δὲ "Άργου καὶ Ισμήνης — Ἀκουστίλαος δὲ γηγενῆ αὐτὸν λέγει. Pherecydes apud Schol. Eur. Phoen. 1116. gives a different account : Φερεκίδης — γράφει οὕτως " "Άργος δὲ Διὸς γαμεῖ "Πειθώ τὴν Ὄκεανον θυγατέρα" τοῦ δὲ γίνεται Κριασος" " τοῦ δὲ Ἐρευθαλίων — καὶ Φόρβας. τοῦ δὲ γίνεται Ἀρέστωρ τοῦ δὲ "Άργος." Namely,

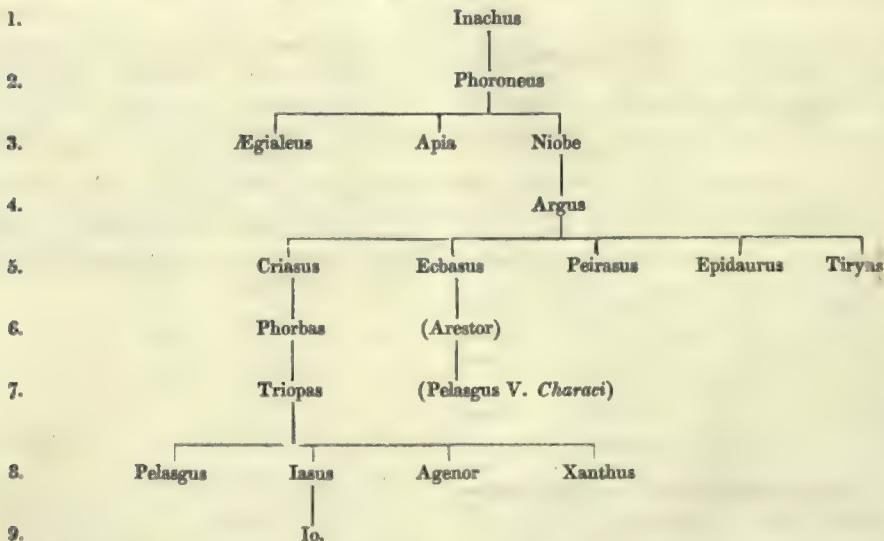


whence it is proposed in Apollodorus to read Φερεκίδης μὲν Ἀρέστορος Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ Ινάχου. Conf. Heyn. ad Apollod. tom. I. p. 114. ed. 8vo.

^o Apollod. II. 1, 4. τὴν βασιλείαν Δαναῷ παραδίδωσι Γελάνωρ ὁ τότε βασιλεὺς — Λιγκεὺς δὲ μετὰ Δαναῶν "Άργους δυναστείων ἐξ Τερμήστρας τεκνοῦ παῖδα "Αθαντα" τούτου — δίδυμοι παῖδες ἐγένετο Ἀκρίσιος καὶ Προίτος.



The Scholiast on Euripides^P gives the genealogy with other variations :



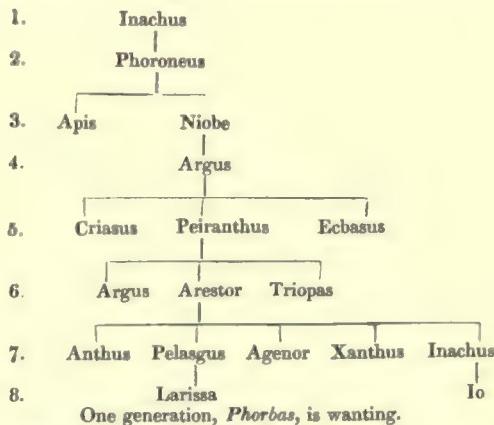
^P Schol. Eur. Orest. 920. Ἰνάχος αὐτόχθων τρώτος βασιλεὺς Ἀργους, δεύτερος Πελασγὸς, τρίτος Δαναὸς ὁ Βῆλος, μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐν ὄρεσιν οἰκούνταν τῶν Ἀργείων, πρῶτος αὐτοὺς συνώκισεν Ἰνάχος, καὶ λιμναζόμενον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἰνάχου πεδίον αὐτὸς ἰκαθάρισεν — Ἰνάχου δὲ καὶ Μελίας Φορωνεὺς καὶ Πηγεὺς ἐγένετο Φο-

ρωνέως δὲ καὶ Πειθοῦς ἐγένετο Αἴγιαλεὺς, Ἀτία· ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐώπης Νιόβη· Νιόβης δὲ Ἀργος· Ἀργος δὲ Κρίας, Ἐκβατας, Πείρατος, Ἐπίδαυρος, Τίρυνς· Κρίασφ δὲ ἀπὸ Μελανθοῦς ἐγένετο Φόρβας καὶ Κλεόβοια· Φόρβαντι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐγένετο Τριόπας· Τριόπα δὲ ἐκ Σιδῆς ἐγένοντο δίδυμοι μὲν Πελασγὸς καὶ Ἰατος νεώτεροι δὲ Ἀγγήνωρ καὶ

Some of these names are illustrated by Hyginus^q, although corrupted. *Pelasgus*, *Iasus*, and *Agenor*, were made the sons of *Triopas* by Hellanicus^l: Ἰασος καὶ Πελασγὸς Τριόπα παῖδες. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς διείλοντο τὴν βασιλείαν. λαχῶν δὲ Πελασγὸς μὲν τὰ πρὸς Ἐρασῖνον ποταμὸν ἔκτισε Λάρισσαν Ἰασος δὲ τὰ πρὸς Ἡλιν. τελευτησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ νεώτατος ἀδελφὸς Ἀγήνωρ ἐπεστράτευσε τῇ χώρᾳ.—ιστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Ἀργολικοῖς. *Pelasgus* son of *Triopas* is mentioned by Pausanias: Δῆμητρός ἐστιν οἱρὸν ἐπίκλησιν Πελασγὺδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Τριόπα^s. And by Hyginus^t: *Ædem Jovi Olympio primum fecit Pelasgus Triopæ filius in Arcadia*. Pausanias^v mentions his daughter *Larissa*: τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Λάρισσαν καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελασγοῦ θυγατρός. *Xanthus* occurs in Diodorus^w. A son of *Niobë* is called *Pelasgus* by Dionysius^x; and that chief who passed into Thessaly in the sixth generation after *Pelasgus* son of *Niobë* is also named *Pelasgus*^y. *Æschylus*^z gives this name to the king whom *Danäus* displaced. Another *Pelasgus* according to Pausanias founded a dynasty of kings in Arcadia, and was contemporary with *Danäus*, *Cecrops*, and *Deucalion*. Accordingly the combined accounts of *Æschylus*, Hellanicus, Apollodorus, Dionysius, and Pausanias, establish five *Pelasgi*^a. 1. *Pelasgus*, brother of *Argus*, son of *Niobë*. 2. *Pelasgus*, father of *Larissa*, son of *Triopas*. 3. *Pelasgus* son of *Larissa*, who planted Thessaly. 4. *Pelasgus* displaced by *Danäus*. 5. *Pelasgus* the ancestor of *Echemus* and *Agapenor* of Arcadia. The mistaking these, and the confounding them together, has produced much confusion. Dionysius and Apollodorus have confounded the Arcadian *Pelasgus* with that earlier *Pelasgus* who flourished seven ge-

Εάνθος. ὁ δὲ Πελασγὸς πρῶτος ἄγροῦ κατασκευὴν ἔξεψε, τάλαι τὸν ἀνθρόπων τοῦς δράγμασι σιτουμένους, καὶ Πελασγὺς τὸ "Ἄργος ἀνέμασεν. Ἰάσον δὲ καὶ Λευκάνης Ἰώ ἐγένετο. *Arestor* and *Pelasgus V.* are added from Charax quoted below.

^q Hygin. fab. 145. *Ex Phoroneo et Cinna nati Apis et Nioba. Hanc Jupiter mortalem primam compressit: ex ea natus est Argus qui suo nomine Argos oppidum cognominavit. Ex Argo et Evadne Crinus, Peiranthus, et Basus nati: ex Peiranthe (et) Callirhoe Argus, Arestorides, Triopas; hic *ex hoc Eurisabe Anthus, Pelasgus, Agenor: ex Triope et Oreaside, Xanthus et Inachus: ex Pelasgo Laris, ex Inacho et Argia Io.* Some of these names have been corrected by the interpreters: *Crinus* is *Criasus*. *Peiranthus* is not a corruption, but another form of *Peirasus*. *Basus* is not *Iasus* but *Ecbasus*: another name of the same person. On the *lacuna*, Muncker observes, *Dicamus duas habuisse uxores Triopam: ex priore natos Anthum, &c. ex posteriore Xanthum, &c.* This is likely: for Hyginus fab. 225. mentions *Pelasgus* son of *Triopas*. On *Laris*, Muncker remarks, *Hic Laris nusquam mihi inventus. An scribendum Lycaon?* But *Laris* is a corruption of *Larissa*, the daughter of *Pelasgus* in Pausanias and other authors. *Inachus* is supplied by Hyginus fab. 225. *Phoroneus Inachi filius templum Argis Iunoni primus fecit: and the genealogy will be this:*



One generation, *Phorbas*, is wanting.

^r Schol. Hom. Il. III. 75.

^s Pausan. II. 22, 2. ^t Hygin. fab. 225.

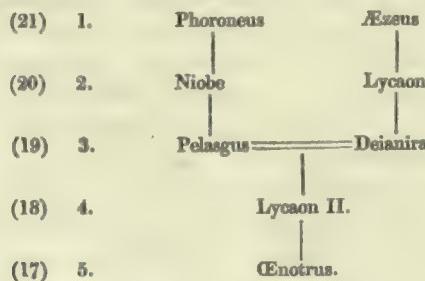
^v Pausan. II. 23, 9. He mentions this *Pelasgus* again I. 14, 2. λέγεται ὁς Δῆμητρα ἐς "Ἄργος ἐλθούσας Πελασγὸς δέξαιτο ὄικον, καὶ ὁς Χρυσανθὶς τὴν ἀρταγὴν ἐπισταμένη τῆς Κόρης διηγήσαιτο" ὑστερὸν δὲ Τρόχιλον ιεροφάντην φυγόντα ἐξ "Ἄργους κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀγήνωρος ἐλθεῖν φασιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ γυναικά τε ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος γῆμαι, καὶ γνέσθαι εἰ παιᾶς Εὐβοιλέα καὶ Τριπτολεμον. Όδοι μὲν Ἀργείων ἔστι λόγος.

^w Diod. V. 81. ^x Dionys. Ant. I. p. 30.

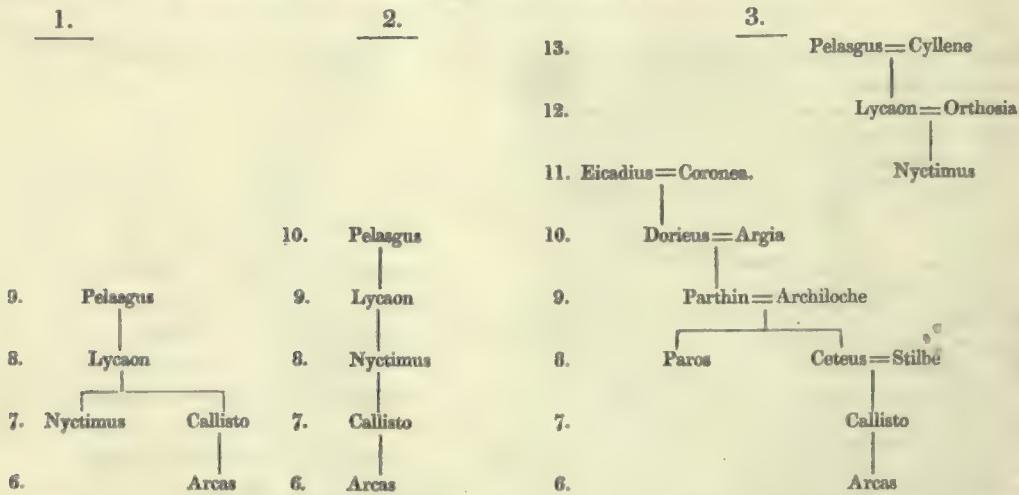
^y Idem ib. p. 46. ^z Æschyl. Suppl. 256.

^a A sixth *Pelasgus*, son of *Inachus*, is mentioned, as we have seen, by Schol. Eur. Or. 920.

nerations before him, and was the grandson of *Phoroneus*. Dionysius^b thus describes the colony to Italy: ἔκησαν Ἰταλίαν ἄγοντος αὐτοὺς Οἰνάτρου τοῦ Λυκάονος. ἦν δὲ πέμπτος ἀπό τε Αἰγειοῦ καὶ Φορωνέως, τῶν πρώτων ἐν Πελοπονῆσῳ δυναστευσάντων. Φορωνέως μὲν γὰρ Νιόβη· ταύτης—Πελασγός. Αἰγειοῦ δὲ υἱὸς Λυκάων· τούτου δὲ Δημάνειρα θυγάτηρ. ἐκ δὲ Δημανέιρας καὶ Πελασγοῦ Λυκάων ἔτερος τούτου δὲ Οἰνάτρος ἐπτακαίδεκα γενεῖς πρότερον τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσάντων. The genealogy will be this:



This error of Dionysius, which is noticed by Clavier^c and by Raoul-Rochette^d, will be manifest if the testimonies concerning the Arcadian *Pelasgus* are examined. *Pelasgus* the founder of the Arcadian dynasty is placed in the sixth or the ninth or the tenth generation after *Phoroneus*. *Arcas* is by a concurrence of authorities in the sixth generation before the Trojan war. The interval between *Pelasgus* and *Arcas* is variously stated thus:



The first is the account of Eumelus, which is adopted by Charon of Lampsacus, and by Pausanias; the second is the account of the poet Asius; the third genealogy is preserved by the scholiast upon Euripides, who seems to follow Charax^e; a fourth account of *Arcas* was given

and by Schol. Apollon. I. 580. Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Ἰνάχου. Perhaps another name for *Phoroneus*.

^b Dionys. Ant. I. p. 30—33.

^c Clavier Hist. des Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 36.

^d Hist. des Colonies Grecques tom. I. p. 226.

^e Apollod. III. 8. Πελασγοῦ καὶ τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς Μελιθοίας, ἡ, καθόπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσι, νύμφης Κυλλήνης, ταῖς Λυκάονιν ἐγένετο.—Ζεὺς Λυκάονα καὶ τού-

τοῦ ταΐδας ἐκεράνωσε χωρὶς τοῦ νεωτάτου Νυκτίου.—Νυκτίου δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος, ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκιλίωνος κατακλυσμὸς ἐγένετο—Εὔμηλος δὲ καὶ τινες ἔτεροι λέγουσι Λυκάονιν καὶ θυγατέρα Καλλιστὼν γενέσθαι· Ἡσίοδος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν μίαν εἶναι τῶν νυμφῶν λέγει· Ἀστος δὲ Νυκτέως· Φερεκύδης δὲ Κητέως—Ζεὺς δὲ ἐρασθεῖς ἀκούσης συνενάζεται—ἀπολομένης δὲ Καλλιστοῦς Ζεὺς τὸ βρέφος ἀρτάσας ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δίδωσιν ἀνατρέφειν Μαλα,

by Duris^f, who made him the son of *Orchomenus*. This account also will place *Pelasgus* in the ninth generation before the Trojan era, because *Orchomenus* is a son of *Lycaon* and a brother of *Nyctimus*^g. In the third genealogy, that of the scholiast, *Arcas* is not derived from *Pelasgus* at all; and *Pelasgus* is thrown back to the thirteenth generation. But yet he is placed by this account in the sixth generation below *Phoroneus*, being the son of *Arestor*, who was the fifth from *Phoroneus*^h. The first and second genealogies, however, of Eumelus and Asius, place *Pelasgus* in the ninth or tenth generation before the Trojan war; and the synchronisms agree both in Pausanias and Apollodorus. *Lycaon* is contemporary with *Cecrops* according to Pausanias, which will place him in the ninth generation; and *Nyctimus* with *Deucalion* according to Apollodorus, which refers *Nyctimus* to the eighth. *Pelasgus* therefore was eight or nine generations later than *Phoroneus*; and Clemens, repeated by Eusebiusⁱ, agrees with this account: παλαιτερα τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν τὰ Ἀργολικὰ, τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου λέγω, ὡς Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις διδάσκει. τούτων δὲ—ἐννέα γενεῖς νεώτερα τὰ Ἀρκαδικὰ τὰ ἀπὸ Πελασγοῦ λέγεται δὲ καὶ οὗτος αὐτόχθων—εἰς δὲ τὸν χρόνον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου γενεῖς μὲν εἴκοσιν καὶ ἡ πλειόνυ διαριθμοῦνται [εἴκοσιν ἡ μιᾷ πλειόνυ Euseb.]. Both Eusebius and Clemens have ἐννέα for the number of generations from *Inachus* to the Arcadian *Pelasgus*^j. *Nyctimus*, then, and *Ænotrus* are eight generations before the Trojan war instead of seventeen; and it is manifest that Dionysius and Apollodorus, making the Arcadian *Pelasgus* grandson of *Phoroneus*, have confounded a later with an earlier *Pelasgus*; or rather have followed those who

προσαγορεύεται Ἀρκάδα.—Ἀρκάδος δὲ καὶ Λεανίρας τῆς Ἀμίκλων, ἡ Μεγανείρας τῆς Κράνωνος, ὡς δὲ Εύμηλος λέγει, νύμφης Χρυσοπελείας, ἔρεντο ταῖς "Ἐλατοῖς καὶ Ἀφείδαις" Τζετ. ad Lycophr. 480. Ἀρκάδες δὲ Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ταῖς καὶ Καλλιστοῖς τῆς Λυκάνος θυγατρὸς, ὡς φησι; Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηρός. Pausan. VIII. 2—4. Λυκάνος ὁ Πελασγοῦ—δικαὶ δὲ ἔνγυε Κέκροπις ἥλικια τῷ βασιλεύσαντι Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Λυκάνῳ εἶναι τὴν αὐτήν—τρίτη δὲ ὑπέρτερη γενεὴ μετὰ Πελασγὸν ἐξ τούτων καὶ ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος ἐπέδεκεν ἡ χώρα. Νύκτιμος μὲν γάρ προεβίτατε τὸ ἦν καὶ εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ταῖς τοῦ Λυκάνος τούτες ἔκτιζον—ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ γένει τῶν τῷ ἄρσενι θυγάτερος Λυκάνοις ἐγένετο Καλλιστώ· ταῦτη δὲ τῇ Καλλιστῷ (λέγον δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐπὶ Ἐλλήνων) συγεένετο ἑρασθεὶς Ζεὺς—μετὰ δὲ Νύκτιμαν ἀπεβαίνοντα Ἀρκάδες ἐκεῖθεν δὲ Καλλιστοῖς τὴν ἀρχήν—ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ βασιλεύσαντος Ἀρκαδία τε ἀντὶ Πελασγίας ἡ χώρα καὶ ἀντὶ Πελασγὸν Ἀρκάδες ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἀνθρώποι. συνικῆται δὲ εἰς θητὴ γηναὶ αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ νύμφη Δρυΐδες ἔλεγον—καὶ ἐκ ταῦτης φασὶν Ἀρκάδην Ἀζῆνα καὶ Ἀφείδαντα γενέθει καὶ Ἐλαταν. Schol. Eur. Orest. 1642. Πελασγὸς αὐτόχθων δὲ Ἀργεῖος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρέστορος τοῦ Ἰάσων ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν θυρώδεις ὤντας τοὺς Ἀρκάδας εἰς τὸ ἡμερότερον μετέβαλε, καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισεν ἦν Περφραστὸν ὀνόμασεν. γηναῖκα δὲ ἀγαγόμενος ἐπιχωρίαν Κυλλήνην, ἀφ' ἣς τὸ ὄρος οὗτον καλεῖται, οὐδὲ ἔσχε Λυκάνον—δὲ ταῖς ἀσχηκαὶς ἐξ Ὁρθωνίας Νύκτιμαν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ κατατάσσει. ἐφ' ὃ δὲ κατακλυσμὸς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς Δωμεῖος οὐδὲ Εικαδίου καὶ Κορωνίας, οὗτος ἐξ Ἀργίας ἔσχε Παρβίνα. οὗτος ἐξ Ἀρχιλόχης Κυτέας καὶ Πάρου. Κητεῖς δὲ ἐκ Στίλθης ἔσχε Καλλιστώ. ταῦτη φασὶν ἐξ Διὸς Ἀρκάδηα τετοιηκέναι· ὃς ἀρέας τῆς χώρας Ἀρκαδίαν ὀνόμασε. γῆμας δὲ Λεάνειραν ἔσχεν

"Ελατον, Ἀφείδαντα, Ἀζῆνα. The nymph *Cyllene* (from whom the mount *Cyllene* received its name: Steph. Byz. Κυλλήνη), who is the mother of *Lycaon* in these accounts, was called by Pherencydes the wife of *Lycaon*: Dionys. Ant. I. p. 35. Λυκάνος—γαμεῖ Κυλλήνην, Νηῆδες νύμφην, ἀφ' ἣς τὸ ὄρος ἡ Κυλλήνη καλεῖται.

^k Schol. Apollon. IV. 264. Δαῦρος ἐν πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν Ἀρκάδα φησίν, ἀφ' ὃς ἡ Ἀρκαδία καλεῖται, Ὁρχομενοῦ οὐνόν διὸ καὶ πόλιν τῆς Ἀρκαδίας Ὁρχομενόν. conf. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 397. where for διὸ καὶ ποταμὸν read διὸ καὶ πόλιν.

^l Apollod. III. 8, 1. Pausan. VIII. 3, 1. Schol. Lycophr. 481.

^m Steph. Byz. Παρρασία—Χάραξ κτίσμα Πελασγοῦ ἐν πρώτῳ χρονικῷ οὕτω· "Πελασγός Ἀρέστορος τοις τοῦ Ἐκβάσον τοῦ Ἀργοῦ μετοικήσας ἐξ Ἀργοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀτ' ἐκείνου μὲν τότε Πελασγίαν ὑπέρτερον δὲ Ἀρκαδίᾳν κατίση κληθεῖσαν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπη ἵκος πέντε, καὶ τόλιν Παρρασίαν ἔκτισε." *Ecbasus* son of *Argus* (called also *Ecbasus* in Schol. Eur. Or. 920. and in Hyginus: see p. 11. q.) is the same person as *Iasus* son of *Argus*, in Apollod. II. 1. From the mention of *Parrhasia* and of *Arestor*, it seems likely that the account in the scholiast is derived from Charax.

ⁿ Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 320. n. Euseb. Præp. X. 12. p. 497. b.

^o Tatian. p. 131. ὁ δὲ Ἰνάχου χρόνος ἄκρι τῆς Ἰλίου αἰώνων ἀποληπτοὶ γενεῖς εἴκοσι.

^p Clavier Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 34. has observed this strong testimony of Clemens.

endeavoured to give the Arcadians a high antiquity, and to place their founder in the remotest period ^m. Dionysius appears to have blended together two opposite traditions concerning the Oenotrian colony to Italy. Apollodorus is inconsistent with himself; for he himself places, as we have seen, *Nyctimus* in the time of *Deucalion*, and *Pelasgus* in the ninth generation before the fall of Troy ⁿ; and yet he had already referred *Pelasgus* son of *Niobë*, to the seventh generation before *Danaüs*, consequently the sixteenth before the fall of Troy ^o. We are not to solve this difficulty by observing that *Pelasgus*, being not an individual but a nation, in reality existed through all these generations; for the question is, what was the opinion of the ancients themselves. They believed *Pelasgus* to be a real person; and we are to inquire how far their account is consistent with itself. The son of *Niobë* in the seventeenth generation before the Trojan war could not be the father of *Lycaon* eight generations after *Niobë*.

The Argive original of the Arcadian *Pelasgus* is obscure. He was made the son of *Arestor* by those who proposed to derive him from the *Inachidæ*^p. But that account must be rejected, if we accept the other traditions which bring him down to the fifth generation before *Arcas*. This tradition however, which derives him from *Arestor*, shews that he was of the same race with the *Pelasgi* of Argos. We may arrange the times of these early Pelasgic establishments in this manner: a migration under a Pelasgic chief, represented by *Xanthus*, son of *Triopas*, planted a colony first in Lycia and then in Lesbos ^q. Two generations later

^m Ephorus apud Strabon. V. p. 221. reckoned the *Pelasgi* to originate in Arcadia: τῷ γ' Ἐφόρῳ τῷ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας εἴναι τὸ φύλον τοῦτο ἡρκεῖς Ησίδος· φησὶ γάρ·

νιεῖς ἔχεγένετο Λυκάνος ἀντίθεου,
ἢ τοτε τίκτε Πελασγύς.

That Hesiod called *Pelasgus* αὐτόχθων is attested by Apollodorus. See above p. 9. n. Asius, following the Arcadian tradition, also made the Arcadian *Pelasgus* earth-born: Pausan. VIII. 1, 2. φασὶ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ὃς Πελασγὸς γένετο ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ πρώτος—πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Ἀσίριοι τούτες ἐς αὐτὸν·

ἀντίθεου δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ὑψικόμυσιν ὄρεσι
γαῖα μέλαιν' ανέδεκεν, ἵνα θητῶν γένος εἴη.

ⁿ See p. 12. e.

^o See above p. 9. n. Having mentioned *Pelasgus* son of *Niobë*, II. 1, 1. he adds, ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτους τάλιν ἱρούμεν. He names *Pelasgus* again, III. 8, 1. ἐπανάγεμεν τάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Πελασγὸν κ. τ. λ. and then proceeds to make him the father of *Lycaon*. On this occasion, then, he has confounded two of the same name. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 481. has the same mistake: Πελασγὸς ἦν ταῖς τοῦ Δίὸς καὶ Νιόβης, φ' Λυκάνων ταῖς ἐκ Μελιθείας κόρης, εἴτ' ὅν Κυλλήνης νύμφης. Apollodorus, upon other occasions, has confounded two of the same name; as the two *Hyacinthi* and the two *Nauplii*; and *Apis* son of *Phoroneus*, with an Arcadian *Apis*: compare Apollod. I. 7, 6. with Pausan. V. 1, 6. The Arcadian *Apis* was four or five generations after *Deucalion*. *Atalanta* daughter of *Schænens* of Boeotia is confounded with *Atalanta*

daughter of *Iasus* of Arcadia: Conf. I. 8, 2. III. 9, 2. Two *Sarpedons* are confounded III. 1, 2. Hence the fable ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεᾶς κ. τ. λ. is rightly explained by Heyne Apollod. tom. II. p. 215 ed. 8^o. *Orta videtur ex confusis avo et nepote Sarpedone, qui bello Trojano interfuit.*

^p *Arestor* is the son of *Ecbasus*, or *Iasus*, in the fifth generation from *Phoroneus*. We have seen *Arestor* son of *Phorbas*, in the sixth generation in *Pherecydes*, and *Arestor* son of *Peiranthus* in the fifth generation in *Hyginus*. The two last are probably the same person, since they are both sons of *Triopas*. *Arestor* was mentioned in the Ήνιαι μεγάλαι; Pausan. II. 16, 3. Μυκήνη θυγατέρα Ἰνάχου γυναικα δὲ Ἀρέστορος τὰ ἴην λέγει ἢ δὲ Ἑλληνες καλοῦσι Ήνίας μεγάλας. But which *Arestor*, is doubtful.

^q Diodorus V. 81. mentions this migration, which he places seven generations before *Deucalion*; and then describes a second colony under *Macareus*, which he dates after the time of *Deucalion*: Εἴσθε δὲ Τρίπτα τῶν ἐξ Ἀργον; Πελασγὸν βασιλεύων καὶ κατασχὼν μέρος τι τῆς Λυκίας χώρας τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικῶν ἐβασίλευε τῶν συνακολουθησάντων Πελασγὸν. Ὅστερον δὲ περιστείει εἰς τὴν Λέσβον ὕστα ἔργαν τὴν μὲν χώραν τοῖς λαοῖς ἐμέρισε τὴν δὲ νῆσον ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικώντων αὐτῇ Πελασγίαν ὀνόματε, τὸ προτοῦ καλούμενην "Ισσαν. Ὅστερον δὲ γενεῖς ἐπτά γενομένον τοῦ κατὰ Δευκαλίωνα κατακλυσμῷ—συνέβη καὶ τὴν Λέσβον διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ἔρημωθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μακαρεῖς εἰς αὐτὴν ἀφικόμενος—κατέφυγεν αὐτήν. ἦν δ' ὁ Μακαρεὺς νῦν μὲν Κρινάκον τοῦ Διὸς, ὃς φησιν Ήσίδος καὶ ἄλ-

a migration to Thessaly proceeded from Argos, represented by *Achæus*, *Phthius*, and *Pelasgus*, sons of *Larissa*; nearly contemporary with this, and in the ninth generation from *Phoroneus*, a Pelasgic chief, probably derived from Argos, established himself in Arcadia. Two generations afterwards, the *Oenotrians* and *Peucetians*, Pelasgic tribes, described under the persons of *Oenotrus* and *Peucetius* sons of *Lycaon*, migrated to Italy.

Achæus son of *Larissa* and grandson of *Pelasgus II.* is sometimes confounded with a later *Achæus* son of *Xuthus*; to whom are ascribed some of the acts performed by the former. *Achæus* and his brothers migrated into Thessaly in the sixth generation after *Pelasgus I.* according to Dionysius^r, whose account is to the following effect: “The Pelasgians first inha-

λοι τινὲς τὸν τοιητῶν, κατεικόν ὃ ἐν Ὀλένῳ τῇς τότε μὲν Ἰάδος νῦν δὲ Ἀχαίας καλουμένης. Then he mentions that Λέσβος ὁ Λαζίθεον τοῦ Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἰππότου—πλεύσας εἰς τὴν νῆσον καὶ γῆμας τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Μακάρεως Μήθυμου ποιῆ κατόψκησε. Dionysius Ant. I. p. 47. agrees with Diodorus in the time of this second colony, which he also places after the time of *Deucalion*, and in the name of the leader. After relating the expulsion of the Pelasgians from Thessaly by *Deucalion*, and their dispersion, he adds, οἱ μὲν εἰς Κρήτην ἀπῆλθον κ. τ. λ. οἱ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν περισθέντες—τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Λέσβον, ἀναμιχθέντες ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος στέλλουσι τὴν πρώτην ἀποικίαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἄγοντες Μάκαρος τοῦ Κριάσιου. where Wesselink ad Diod. V. 81. rightly restores Κριάκου. comparing Schol. Iliad. v. 544. ἔκπτε τὴν Λέσβον Μάκαρος Κριάκου. The colony of *Macar* was then setting forth, when these *Pelasgi* joined it. Another tradition made *Macar* (the author of this second colony) the son of *Ilus*, and brought him from the Troad: Schol. Hom. Il. v. 544. Λέσβος—Μάκαρος ἔδος] Μάκαρος ὁ Ἰλοῦ φωνεύσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τενάγηρ ἐκίστη ἥκησε, καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσας ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ὀνόμασεν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ μὲν μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Μιτιλήνη ἡ δὲ γυνὴ Λέσβος. This will be somewhat later than the time marked by Diodorus and Dionysius; *Ilus* was four generations after *Deucalion*. Traces of *Macar* or *Macareus* remained in the island: Steph. Byz. Ἀρίσθη, πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ ἀπὸ Ἀρίσθης τῆς Μάκαρος θυγατρός. Idem Ἐρεσος, πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ ἀπὸ Ἐρεσοῦ τῆς Μάκαρος. Idem Μήθυμων. πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ ἀπὸ Μήθυμης τῆς Μάκαρος θυγατρός. Idem Μιτιλήνη—ἀπὸ Μιτιλήνης τῆς Μάκαρος θυγατρός, ἡ Πέλοτος. The name *Issa* for this island is recorded by Eustath. ad Hom. Il. i. p. 741, 33. Ἰμερῆ καὶ Πελασγία [conf. Plin. H. N. V. 31. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. 347] ἡ αὐτὴ Λέσβος ἐκλήθη ποτὲ—καὶ ὅσπερ Λέσβος εἴη καὶ Ἰσσα ἡ αὐτὴ νῆσος ἐκ μιᾶς τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν πάντας πόλεων, δις καὶ ὁ Λυκόφρων ἐμφανεῖ: [sc. περιβόλτῳ] Ἰσσῃ 220]. Hence Wesselink ad Diod. V. 81. restores Stephanus v. Ἰσσα. πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ εἰληθείη Ἰμερῆ εἴτα Πελασγία καὶ Ἰσσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰσσης τῆς Μάκαρος. A narrative concerning *Macar*, from Myrsilus of Lesbos, is given by Clemens Prot. p. 19. Raoul-Rochette des Colon. Grecques tom.

I. p. 181. reads Μάκαρος τοῦ Κριάσιου in Dionysius, placing the migration of *Macar* 100 years before the migration of *Xanthus*, and in the reign of *Crius*, the fifth king of Argos according to Eusebius. He quotes Dionysius l. c. Quant à la réalité de cet établissement, on ne peut guère en douter d'après le témoignage du Denys d'Halicarnasse, qui avoit fait une étude particulière et approfondie des émigrations du peuple Pélasge. Il est vrai que Diodore la rapporte à une époque beaucoup plus récente; mais comme les circonstances de son récit sont absolument contraires à celles du fait raconté par Denys, il faut qu'il ait voulu parler d'une seconde émigration, à laquelle il auroit donné par un erreur le même chef que Denys assigne à la première. But Raoul-Rochette has omitted to observe that Dionysius precisely agrees with Diodorus in the date of the emigration of *Macar*, which he places after the time of *Deucalion*. His account, then, is totally inconsistent with the time of *Crius*, who reigned eight or nine generations before *Deucalion*. The only two arguments for Raoul-Rochette would be, first, that Dionysius calls the colony of *Macar* the *first* colony from Greece to Lesbos; and, secondly, that in Diodorus the name *Issa* precedes the name *Peliasgias*. But to the first it may be answered, that the colony of *Xanthus* proceeded from Lycia, and not from Greece; the statement in Dionysius therefore was true: and to the second, that this may be ascribed to a mistake in Diodorus; since *Peliasgia* precedes *Issa* in Stephanus and Eustathius.
^r Dionys. Ant. I. p. 45. ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ τοῦ Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικὸν, ἐκ Πελαστονήσου τὸ ἀρχαῖον—πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸ καλούμενον νῦν Ἀχαιῶν Ἀργος ἥκησαν αὐτόχθονες ὄντες ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγουσι. τὴν δὲ ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαθον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτην ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγοῦ βασιλέως. ἦν δὲ ὁ Πελασγὸς ἐκ Διδεῶν, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τῆς Νιόβης τοῦ Φορωνέως—ἔκτη δὲ ὅσπερ γενεὴ Πελαστόνησον ἐκλαπάντες εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Αἰγαίων νῦν δὲ Θετταλίαν ὀνομαζούμενην μετανέστησαν. ἤγουντο δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας Ἀχαιός καὶ Φθίος καὶ Πελασγὸς οἱ Λαρίσοντες καὶ Ποσειδῶνος νιόι [conf. Schol. Apollon. I. 580]. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν Αἰγαίων τοὺς τε κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ

" bited Argos in Peloponnesus, being an aboriginal race. They had their name from their " king *Pelasgus*. This *Pelasgus* was the son of *Niobë* daughter of *Phoroneus*. In the sixth " generation leaving Peloponnesus under three leaders, *Phthius*, *Achaus*, and *Pelasgus*, they " migrated to *Hæmonia*. Expelling the barbarians who inhabited it, they divided the coun- " try into three districts, called from their leaders *Phthiotis*, *Achaia*, *Pelasgiotis*. Remaining " there five generations, in which period they attained the greatest prosperity, in the sixth " generation they were driven out by the *Curetes*, *Leleges*, and others led by *Deucalion* son " of *Prometheus* and of *Clymenë* daughter of *Oceanus*." *Archander* and *Architeles*, grand- sons of *Achæus*^s, returning from Thessaly to Argos, married two daughters of *Danaüs*. Strabo^t confounds him with the later *Achæus* son of *Xuthus*: τῶν δὲ Ξούθου παιδῶν Ἀχαιὸς— ἔφυγεν εἰς Λακεδαιμονια, καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ἔχει κληθῆναι παρεσκευάσεν. He subjoins, οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ Φθιώται μὲν ἡσαν τὸ γένος ὥχησαν δὲ ἐν Λακεδαιμονι. This last circumstance was true; but the Achæans of *Phthiotis* were not derived from *Achæus* son of *Xuthus*, and Achæans were in Laconia before his time, being found there by his contemporary *Tectamus* son of *Dorus*^u.

Larcher^x confounds the elder with the later *Achæus*, observing upon Herodotus, *Le prince nommé Danaüs ne peut être celui qui vint d'Egypte, et qui régna à Argos. Celui-ci est antérieur. Voyez ma Chronologie p. 321, 322. 428.* The passages referred to are to the following effect: *Erechthée étant mort,—deux des fils d'Achæus fils de Xuthus, Archandré et Archi-*

βαρβάρους ἐξελάνουσι καὶ νέμονται τὴν χώραν τριχῇ, τεῖς ἥρευσις ποιήσαντες ὁμοίωμα τὰς χώρας Φθιώτιν καὶ Ἀχαιαν καὶ Πελασγιῶν. πέντε δὲ μείναντες αὐτόθι γενε- δε, ἐν αἷς ἐπὶ μῆκος τον εὐτυχίας ἥλαστον, τὰ κράτιστα τῶν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πεδίων καρπούμενοι, τερὶ τὴν ἔκτην γεν- εῶν ἐξελάνουσι Θετταλίας ὑπὸ τε Κουρῆτων καὶ Λελέ- γυνοι οἱ νῦν Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Δοκροὶ καλοῦνται, καὶ συχνῶν ἀλ- λων τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρασόν οἰκούντων, ἤρουμένους τῶν πόλε- μίων Δεικαλίωνος τοῦ Πρωμηθέως μητρὸς δὲ Κλυμένης τῆς Ωκεανοῦ. Idem Ib. p. 74. ἔχει δὲ Ἑλλανίκῳ ἐν Φορω- νίδῃ δὲ λόγος δέ. " τοῦ Πελασγοῦ—καὶ Μενίππης τῆς " Πηρειῶν ἔγενετο Φράστωρ" τοῦ δὲ Ἀμύντωρ" τοῦ δὲ "Τευταμίδης" τοῦ δὲ Νάσας ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύεντος οἱ " Πελασγοὶ ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἀνέστησαν." The sequel in Hellanicus gives one generation less than the summary of Dionysius. The numbers, when ex- panded into a series, will be these:

- 19. *Phoroneus*.
 - 18. *Niobe*.
 - 17. 1. *Pelasgus*.
 - 16. 2.
 - 15. 3.
 - 14. 4.
 - 13. 5.
 - 12. 6. *Pelasgus*.
 - 11. *Phrastor*.
 - 10. *Amyntor*.
 - 9. *Teutamides*.
 - 8. *Nanas—Deucalion*.
- } πέντε γενεαῖς.

^s His grandsons, according to Herodotus II. 98. τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ, Ἀρχάδρου τοῦ Φθίου τοῦ Ἀ- χαιοῦ. his sons, according to Pausanias VII. 1. 3. Ἀρχανδρος Ἀχαιοῦ καὶ Ἀρχιτέλης ἐς Ἀργος ἀφίκοντο ἐκ

τῆς Φθιώτιδος, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐγένοντο Δαναοῦ γαμβροὶ, καὶ Αὐτομάτην μὲν Ἀρχιτέλης Σκάιαν δὲ ἐλαβεν Ἀρχανδρος. —δινηθέντων δὲ ἐν τε Ἀργει καὶ Λακεδαιμονι τῶν Ἀχαιοῦ παιδῶν, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐνταῦθα ἐξενίκησεν Ἀχαιοὺς κλη- θῆραι. τοῦτο μέν σφισιν ὄνομα ἦν ἐν κοιφῇ, Δαναοὶ δὲ Ἀργείοις ἴδια. *Automati* and *Scaeae* are both named among the daughters of *Danaüs* by Apollodorus II. 1. 4. *Phthius* son of *Achæus* is recorded by Steph. Byz. v. Ἐλλάς. In Schol. Apollon. I. 284. on the contrary, *Achæus* is son of *Phthius*: Ἀχαιᾶδεσσιν] ταῖς Θεσσαλαῖς, ἀπὸ Ἀχαιοῦ τοῦ Φθίου.

^t Strabo VIII. p. 383. Pausanias VII. 1, 2, 3. also appears to consider *Achæus* the son of *Xuthus* to be the same person as *Achæus* father of *Archander*.

^u Diodorus V. 80. relates that the Dorians settled in Crete, ἥγουμένον Τεκτάμον τοῦ Δώρου· τούτου δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος μὲν πλεῖον ἀθροισθῆναι λέγουσιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ολυμπον τόπων, τὸ δέ τι μέρος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν Ἀχαιοῦν. Steph. Byz. Δώριον. ιστορεῖ Ἀνδρον, Κρητὸς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ βασιλεύεντος Τέκταμον τοῦ Δώρου [Wess. Τέκταμον τὸν Δώρου] τοῦ Ἑλληνος ὁμηρί- σαντα ἐκ τῆς ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τόπος μὲν Δωρίδος νῦν δὲ Ιστι- ανιώτιδος καλουμένης ἀφικέσθαι εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ Δωρίσσων τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ Πελασγῶν τῶν οἱ καταράντων εἰς Τυρρηνα.

The Achæans found in their original seats, among the Pelasgians of Thessaly, of whom they were a part. Heyne ad Apollod. III. 12, 6. with reason concludes that the Myrmidons probably were of Pelasgic race.

^x Ad Herodot. II. 98. tom. II. p. 363.

tèles, quittèrent la Phthiotide et se rendirent à Argos, où ils épouserent deux filles de Danaüs. — Danaüs étoit sans doute un prince de la famille des rois d'Argos; mais ne pouvoit être le même qui vint d'Egypte. J'ai prouvé que Danaüs étoit venu en Grèce avant le règne de Cécrops, &c.— On pourroit présumer que l'époque de l'arrivée de Danaüs est postérieure à celle que je lui ai assignée, parcequ' Archandre fils d'Achæus et petit-fils de Xuthus (Herodot. II. 98. Pausan. VII. 1.) épousa l'une de ses filles. En effet—il résultera qu' Archandre ne pourroit être né que vers l'an &c.—L'époque de l'arrivée de Danaüs et celle du mariage d'Archandre sont donc inconciliables, puisqu'il y a entre elles un intervalle de 198 ans. Mais je suis très-persuadé que le prince qu'Hérodote nomme Danaüs n'est point celui qui passa d'Egypte. But Pausanias does imply that the Egyptian Danaüs is intended, because the daughters there named are two of the Danaïdes; and Herodotus y elsewhere mentioning Danaüs simply without any addition, means the Egyptian Danaüs. Nor does any vestige of any other Danaüs anywhere occur. Moreover the words petit-fils de Xuthus are added by Larcher himself, and are not expressed in the original authors. The apparent difficulty would have been solved, if Larcher had remembered that he had described a few pages before^z the passage of Pelasgus and Achæus into Thessaly: *Pelasgus passa en Thessalie accompagné de ses frères Achæus et Phthius: mais un peu plus que cinq générations après ils en furent chassés par Deucalion.*

Pelasgus III., who with his brothers planted Thessaly, is spoken of by Bato of Sinopë^a: θυσίας κοινῆς τοῖς Πελασγοῖς γινομένης ἀναγγεῖλαι τινα τῷ Πελασγῷ ἄνδρα, ω̄ ὄνομα ἦν Πέλωρος, διότι ἐν τῇ Αἰγανίᾳ σεισμῶν μεγάλων γενομένων ῥάγειν τὰ Τέμπη ὅρη ὄνομαζόμενα, καὶ διότι διὰ τοῦ διαστήματος ὄρμησαν τὸ τῆς λίμνης ὅδωρ ἐμβάλλοι εἰς τὸ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ ῥέθρον, καὶ τὴν πρότερον λιμνάζουσαν χώραν ἀπαταν γεγυμνώσθαι, καὶ ἀνάξηραινομένων τῶν ὑδάτων πεδία θαυμαστὰ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει ἀναφίνεσθαι. ἀκούσαντα οὖν τὸν Πελασγὸν τὴν τράπεζαν ἀφένως αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένην τῷ Πελώρῳ παραβεῖνοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ εἰλοφρονουμένους ἔκαστον φέρειν ὃ τι ἔχοι παρ' αὐτῷ βέλτιστον,—καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Πελασγὸν προθύμως διακονεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώστῃ ὄντας ὑπήρετεν καθότι ἐκάστῳ ὁ καιρὸς παρέπιπτε. διόπερ φασὶν, ἐπεὶ τὴν χώραν κατέσχον, ἀπομίμημα τῆς τότε γενομένης ἑορτῆς θύοντας Διὶ Πελώρῳ τραπέζας τε λαμπτρῶς κοσμῶντας προτιθέναι——καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἔτι καὶ νῦν Θεσσαλοὺς μεγίστην ἑορτὴν ἀγοντας προσαγορεύειν Πελωρίαν. Larcher^c, adverting to this passage, introduces it in the following manner: *Pelasgus regnoit alors en Arcadie. On vint lui annoncer que les eaux venant à s'écouler avoient laissé les plaines immenses de la Thessalie, &c.* But no mention of Arcadia occurs in the whole extract from Bato, or in the account of Dionysius. And the Thessalian *Pelasgus* is distinctly derived from Argos by the Scholiast on Apollonius, by

^a Herodot. VII. 94. ^b Tom. VII. p. 317.

^a Athen. XIV. p. 639. e. Βάτων ὁ Σινοπεὺς ὁ Ῥήτωρ δὲ τῇ περὶ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Αἰγανίας. See F. H. III. p. 558.

^b Clavier tom. I. p. 55. supposes *Pelasgus* of whom Bato speaks to be a later *Pelasgus*, and not the original leader, because the country is here called *Hæmonia*, and *Hæmon* was son of *Pelasgus*. But this is not conclusive. This original settler the son of Larissa is in some traditions the son of *Hæmon*: conf. Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 321. Schol. Iliad. II. 681. And besides, we may remark that names of countries are often used by anticipation. Dionysius, when he describes the first settlement, calls the country

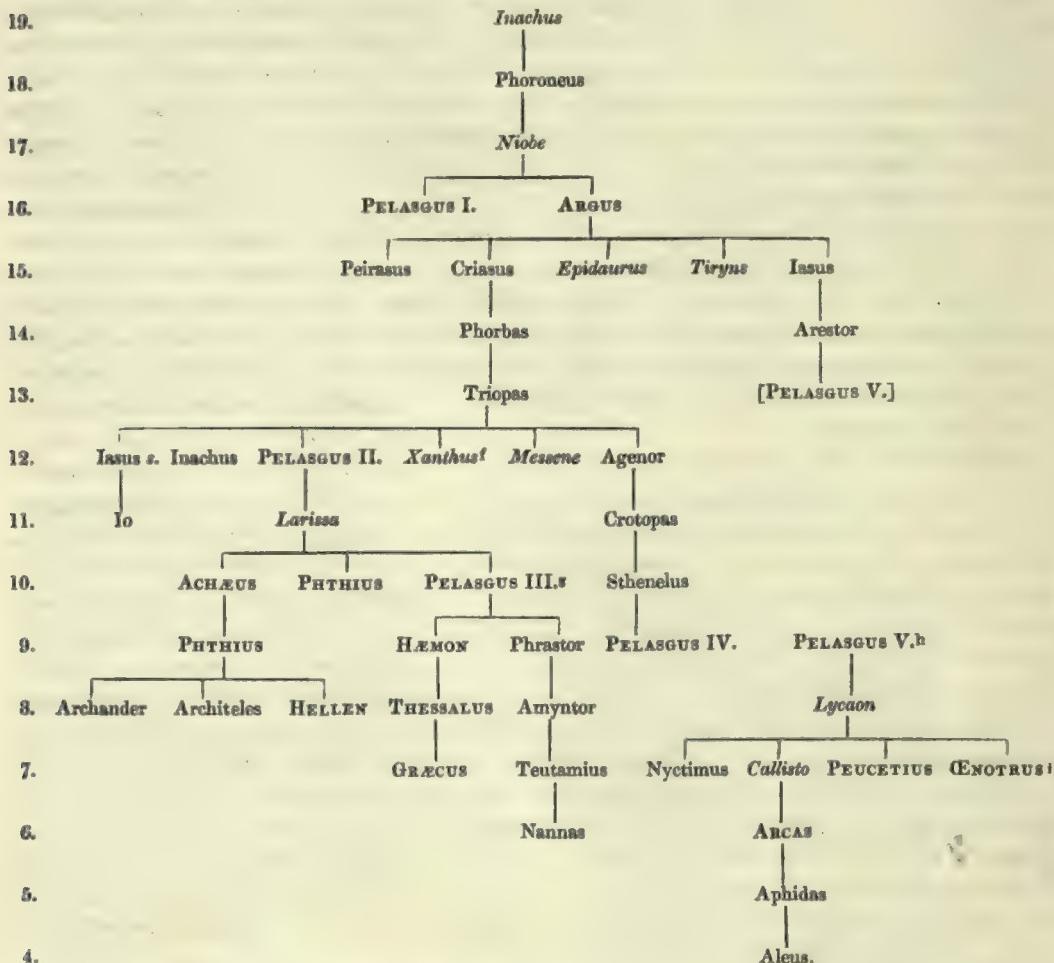
Hæmonia: τὴν τότε Αἰγανίαν. See above p. 15. r. *Pyrrha* was later than *Pelasgus III.*, or *Hæmon*; and yet Rhianus, in enumerating the appellations of Thessaly, places *Pyrrha* first, neglecting the order of time. See the lines in F. H. III. p. 513.

To this *Pelasgus III.* we may refer the notices in Steph. Byz. v. Δάστιν. p. 330. B. Δάστιν πόλις Θεσσαλίας—Φερεκύδης δὲ ἀπὸ Δάστιν τοῦ Ἀστερίου καὶ Ἀμφικτύοντος τῆς Φθίαν. ὡς δὲ Ἀρχῆνος [Ἀρχῖνος Berkel.] ἀπὸ Δάστιν τοῦ Νεάρου τοῦ Ἐλληρος. Μναστέας δὲ ἀπὸ Δάστιν τοῦ Πελασγοῦ. p. 331. C. ἐκλήθη δὲ Δάστιν ἀπὸ Δάστιν τοῦ Πελασγοῦ παιδίς, ὡς Ἡροδιανὸς ἐν γ. “Δάστος ἐ Πελασγοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ Δάστιν πεδίον.”

^c Hérodote tom. VII. p. 316.

Dionysius himself, and by many other testimonies^d. Larcher, then, has here confounded together *Pelasgus I.* and *Pelasgus V.* and ascribes to *Pelasgus I.* what in reality belonged to *Pelasgus III.*

The following Table^e exhibits the five *Pelasgi*:



^d Schol. Apollon. I. 580. Πελασγῶν] τὸν Θεσσαλὸν, ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν τοῦ Ἰνάχου. ἡ ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν, ἔθνους βαρβαρικοῦ, οἰκήσαντες τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καὶ τὸ Ἀργεῖον, ἡ ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν τοῦ Ποτειδῶνος νῦν καὶ Λαρίσης. Στάφυλος δὲ ὁ Ναυκρατίης Πελασγὸν φησὶν Ἀργεῖον τὸ γένος, μετανήσης δὲ εἰς Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ Πελασγία τὴν Θεσσαλίαν κληθῆναι. Dionys. Ant. I. p. 230. Πελασγῶν εἶ Θεσσαλίας καταλιπόντες, Ἀργεῖος τὸ γένος ὄντες, εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκεσθαι. Eustath. ad Hom. Il. β'. p. 321. Αἴμαν, εὖ καὶ Λαρίσης γνωκός Ἀργεῖας Πελασγὸς καὶ Φθίος καὶ Ἀχαιός. conf. Schol. Hom. Il. II. 681. Pausanias II. 23, 9. alludes to this Argive original: τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν [at Argos] Λαρίσσαν μὲν καλεῖσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελασγῶν θυγατρός. ἀπὸ

ταύτης δὲ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πόλεων, ἥ τε ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἡ παρὰ τὸν Ηγειόν, ἀνομάσθησαν.

^e It is explained in the Introduction that the names in capitals, as *PELASGUS*, are intended to express the names of nations converted into the names of individuals; and that the names in italics, as *Larissa*, are designed to mark fictitious persons.

^f First Pelasgic colony, to Lycia.

^g Second migration, to Thessaly.

^h Third settlement, in Arcadia.

ⁱ Fourth migration, to Italy. Placed at this date by one tradition, the accuracy of which will be considered below.

Pelasgus IV. or *Gelanor*, who was the tenth from *Phoroneus*, was contemporary with *Danaüs*, by whom he was displaced; and, *Danaüs* being in the ninth generation before the Trojan war, as will be shewn below, this account will place *Phoroneus* in the eighteenth before that epoch. This agrees with the tradition preserved by Diodorus, that *Alcmena* the mother of *Hercules* was the sixteenth from *Niobë* the daughter of *Phoroneus*^k. These eighteen generations current, computed at three to a century, will place *Phoroneus* at about 570 years before the fall of Troy^l.

This genealogy of the sons of *Larissa* and their descendants, connecting all the occupiers of Thessaly into one family, establishes that it was possessed by kindred races; and that all these were to be referred to a Pelasgic stock. *Thessalus* in this genealogy is represented according to the account of Rhianus compared with Stephanus and confirmed by Strabo^m. Another tradition made him son of *Græcus*ⁿ. Another account makes *Thessalus* the ancestor of *Pelasgus III*^o. The name *Thessalus* occurs again as the leader of the *Thessali* after the Trojan war^p. But these various traditions, which made *Thessalus* the son of *Græcus*, or the father of *Græcus*, or the ancestor of *Pelasgus III.*, all agree in the fact that the *Thessali* were a Pelasgic people. They first appear in Thesprotia, where this Pelasgic tribe might

^k Diod. IV. 14. Ζαΐς πρότη μὲν ἐρήμη γυναικὶ θυηῇ Νιόβῃ τῇ Φορωνίᾳ [see p. 11. q.], ἐσχάτη δὲ Ἀλκμήνη· ταῦτην δὲ απὸ Νιόβης ἵκανεικάτῳ οἱ μιθογράφοι γενεalogοῦσιν. In the genealogy given below it will be seen that (*Pelasgus IV.* and *Danaüs* being in the same generation) fourteen generations intervene between *Niobë* and *Alcmena*; which gives the amount of Diodorus, 16 both inclusive. The account of Apollodorus, deriving *Danaüs* from *Io*, adds two generations; for *Io* the seventh from *Niobë*, both inclusive (see above p. 10.), is followed by *Epaphus*: *Libya*: *Belus*: *Danaüs*: II. 1, 3, 4. who is accordingly the eleventh from *Niobë*; and *Alcmena* will be the eighteenth. This genealogy had been adopted by Aeschylus, who places *Io* in the sixth generation before *Danaüs*: Prometh. 853. and in the thirteenth before *Hercules*: Ib. 774. It will carry back *Phoroneus* to the twentieth generation before the fall of Troy, according to the accounts of Clemens and Eusebius already quoted p. 13. We may observe, however, in this Table, that the genealogy which places *Pelasgus V.* (the Arcadian *Pelasgus*) in the thirteenth generation before the era of Troy (see above p. 12.) also confirms *Phoroneus* in the eighteenth.

^l From the διαμή of *Phoroneus* to this epoch seventeen generations complete will give 566 years. In F. H. II. p. viii. I have called this period four centuries. I now see no reason for rejecting the accounts which conspire to carry back *Phoroneus* to the eighteenth generation. The reader is accordingly requested to correct that number by substituting as follows: "The "Grecian traditions ascend about 570 years "above the Trojan war."

^m See the lines of Rhianus in F. H. III. p.

513. b. Strabo IX. p. 443. πρότερον ἐκαλέστο Πυρ-ράτας ἀπὸ Πύρρας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος γυναικός, Αἰμοντα δὲ ἀπὸ Αἴμονος, Θετταλία δὲ ἀπὸ Θετταλῶν τοῦ Αἴμονος. εἶναι δὲ διελόντες δίχα τὴν μὲν πρὸς οὐτεν λαχεῖν φασὶ Δευκαλίωνι, καὶ καλέσας Πανδώραν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός τὴν δὲ ἔτερα Αἴμονι, ἀφ' οὗ Αἴμονίαν λεχθῆναι μετανομάσθαι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ "Ἑλληνος" τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος τὴν δὲ Θετταλίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐεὶ Αἴμονος. Steph. Byz. Γραικός. δὲ Θεσσαλῶν οὐέι. ἀφ' οὗ Γραικεὶ οἱ "Ἑλληνες". Stephanus interposes another generation between *Pelasgus III.* and *Thessalus*: Αἴμοντα. ή Θετταλία, ἀπὸ Αἴμονος. Αἴμον δὲ οὐέι μὲν Χλόρον τοῦ Πελασγοῦ τατήρ δὲ Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς "Ριανός" καὶ ἄλλο. For Χλόρον, who occurs nowhere else (conf. Berkel. ad loc.), we may substitute Πελάρων, who occurs in the narrative of Bato already quoted p. 17. Some traditions probably made *Pelorus* son of *Pelasgus* and father of *Hæmon*.

ⁿ Euseb. Chron. II. p. 272. according to Hieronymus: anno 226. *Thessalus Græci filius regnavit in Thessalia*. Hence Syncellus p. 126. Β. κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρίσιν [sc. in the reign of Inachus] πρῶτος ἐβασίλιστο Θετταλίας δὲ Γραικῶν ταῖς Θεσσαλίδες, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ χώρα ἴνει νῦν ὀνόμασται.

^o Schol. Hom. Il. II. 681. οἵτινι ή Θεσσαλία πεδίον μέγα καὶ κοπιῶν πάντοτεν ὄροις καλυπτόμενον. τούτου πρῶτος ἥρχος Θετταλίδες, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ σινούσθη ὡς ἔκγονος "Αἴμων [Αἴμων Ηεύην.]", ἐξ οὗ καὶ "Αἴμωνες [Αἴμωνες]" οἱ Πελασγοῦς, Φθίνες, Ἀχαιός. ἄρχει δὲ Πελασγοῦς ταῦτης τῆς χώρας. Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 321. Θεσσαλίδες ἀφ' οὗ ή χώρα Θετταλία· οἱ Αἴγινοι οἱ Αἴμων· θεῖν Αἴμωνες μοίρα Θετταλικῆ. οἱ καὶ Λαρίσοντος γυναικεῖς Ἀργείας Πελασγοῦς καὶ Φθίνες καὶ Ἀχαιός. ἄρχων δὲ δὲ Πελασγοῦς μοίρας τῆς χώρας Πελασγικὸν "Ἀργεῖς" ἀνόμαστε καὶ πίδιον Δάρισσαν.

^p Velleius I. 3.

have been established about two generations after the time assigned to *Pelasgus III*^a. Here Aristotle found the *Græci*^r, who are in the genealogies the parents or the offspring of the *Thessali*. Both these traditions mark them as kindred races. From Thesprotia the *Thessali* returned in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy into Thessaly^s, which then received their name. But in occupying this region they returned into the original country from whence their progenitors had issued about eight generations before the Trojan war.

Teutamius, a second of the name, reigned at Larissa in the time of *Acrisius*^t. This *Teutamius*, or *Teutamides*, was a Pelasgian^u; and Pelasgic princes remained in Thessaly down to the period of the Trojan war. For of the nine states of Thessaly enumerated in the Ho-

^a Plutarch. Pyrrh. c. I. Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Μολοσσῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἰστοροῦσι: Φαίθοντα βασιλεῖσας πρῶτοι, ἔτα τὸν μετὰ Πελασγοῦ παραγενόμενον εἰς τὴν "Ηπειρον. Herodot. VII. 176. Θεσσαλοὶ ἡλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσαντες γῆν τὴν Λιόλιθα τὴν περ νῦν ἔκτειναι. From these two passages combined we may collect that the *Thessali* proceeded out of Thessaly after the settlement which *Pelasgus III.* established there; and returned thither again out of Thesprotia. *Pelasgus* in Plutarch will be a later *Pelasgus*, in the time of *Deucalion*.

^r Aristot. Meteorolog. I. 14. p. 352. a. ὁ καλόμενος ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸς καὶ γὰρ ὁ τος περὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἐγένετο μάλιστα τόπον, καὶ τούτου περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν ἀρχαντ. αὐτῇ ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ Δωδώνης καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον ὅτος γὰρ πολλαχοῦ τὸ βένια μεταβέβληκεν· ἕκουν γὰρ οἱ Σελλοὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ καλόμενοι τότε μὲν Γραικοὶ νῦν δὲ Ἑλληνες. Conf. Mar. Par. N. 6. Apollod. I. 7, 3. "Ἐλλην—ἄφ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς καλούμενους Γραικοὺς προστηρόντες Ἑλληνας. Conf. Tzetz. ad Lyc. 532. Plin. H. N. IV. 7. Ξεμονία—eadem *Thessalia et Dryopis, semper a regibus cognominata*. Ibi genitus rex nomine *Græcus*, a quo *Græcia*. Syncell. p. 153. C. "Ἐλληνοὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐγνωρίζετο, ἄφ' οὐ Ἑλληνες οἱ Γραικοὶ μετεκλήθησαν. p. 157. B. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος Ἑλληνες οἱ Γραικοὶ καλοῦνται. The traditions preserved in these testimonies concur with Aristotle in recording that the name *Græci* preceded that of *Ἑλληνες*, but they err in placing the *Græci* in Thessaly; their proper seat is assigned by Aristotle in Thesprotia, which was the seat of the kindred race the *Thessali*.

^s Thucydides I. 12. marks the time: Βοιωτοὶ οἱ νῦν ἔγκοτφ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἀλωτοῦ ἐξ Ἀρης ἀναστάντες ἵνα Θεσσαλὸν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν—φύσαν. And Velleius I. 3. *Achæi ex Laconica pulsi eas occupavere sedes quas nunc obtinent: Pelasgi Athenas commigravere: acerque bello juvenis nomine Thessalus natione Thesprotius cum magna ciuitate manu eam regionem armis occupavit quae nunc ab ejus nomine Thessalia appellatur, ante Myrmidonum vocitata civitas. Quo nomine migrari convenit eos qui Iliaca componentes tempora*

de ea regione ut Thessalia commemorant.—Quod si quis a Thessalo Herculis filio eos appellatos Thessalos dicet, reddenda erit ei ratio cur numquam ante hunc insequentem Thessalum ea gens id nominis usurpaverit. This is confirmed by the silence of Homer, who never mentions Thessalians in the country afterwards named from them. Eusebius quoted above errs in placing *Thessali* in Thessaly. If *Thessali* existed in the time to which he ascribes them, they existed in another region of Greece. *Thessalus* the leader is named Polyæn. I. 12. Θεσσαλὸς, Βοιωτῶν τῶν Ἀρηνοὶ οἰκοντῶν Θεσσαλὸς πολεμούντων, τέχχη ἐκράτησεν ἄνευ μάχης κ. τ. λ. According to another tradition Polyæn. VIII. 44. *Thessalus* is the son of the original leader: ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς οἱ πάλαι Θεσσαλίαν φύσαν ἐστράτευσεν Αἴατος ὁ Φιλίππου Πολικλείαν ἀπέλαφην ἔχων, Ἡρακλεῖδας τὸ γένος ἄμφω. χρησμὸς δὲ ἄρξειν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν γένους πρῶτος διαβάς τὸν Ἀχελῷον ἐπιβῆ τῆς πολεμίας. ἢ μὲν στρατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάνειν ἔμελο κ. τ. λ.—καὶ διοῦς βασιλεύοντες παῖδες Θεσσαλὸν ἐτοίσαντο, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν τόλιν Θεσσαλίαν προστηρόντες. The persons described here by Polyænus are the same whom Strabo mentions IX. p. 443. ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἀπογόνοις Ἄντιφον καὶ Φειδίππου τῶν Θεσσαλῶν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους and perhaps in Polyænus for Φιλίππου we may read Φειδίππου. Another leader, Ησεμον, is named Phot. v. τενέσται repeated by Suidas: τενέσται. οἱ παρὰ Θεσσαλὸς μὴ γύρῳ δοῦλοι ἀπὸ τῶν ντὸ Αἴατος ἐπὶ Ἀρη [male Phot. ἐπὶ Αἴγινη] νικηθέντων Βοιωτῶν οὐ φυγόντων τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ δουλειῶν ἀλλὰ μεινάντων μέχρι τῆς τρίτης γενεᾶς. Probably more attempts than one were made by the *Thessali*, which led to this variation in the names of the leaders.

^t Apollod. II. 4, 4. Ἀκρίσιος ἀπολιπάν "Ἄργος εἰς τὴν Πελασγῶν ἐχώρησε γῆν. Τευταῖον δὲ τοῦ Λαρισαίων βασιλέων ἐπὶ κατοιχομένῳ τῷ πατρὶ διατιθέντος γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα, παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ Περσεύς. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 838. Ἀκρίσιος εἰς Πελασγῶν ἐχώρησε. Τευταῖον δὲ τοῦ Λαρισαίων βασιλέως πίνταθλον θέντος ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὸς τελευτῇ, Περσεὺς ἀγωνίζομενος δίσκῳ βαλὼν τὸν Ἀκρίσιον πέδα ἄκεν αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ.

^u Schol. Apollon. IV. 1091. Ἀκρίσιος ἴπεχόρει εἰς τοὺς Πελασγοὺς εἰς Λάρισσαν.

meric Catalogue, four were led by chiefs of Pelasgic race^x. Whence it appears that the expulsion of the *Pelasgi* by the *Hellenes* was not complete.

The wide extent of the Pelasgian dominion under the early kings of Argos is confirmed by many testimonies. In the reign of the father of *Io*, according to Herodotus^y, τὸ Ἀργος προεῖχεν ἄπας τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη χώρῃ. *Pelasgia* was the name for the whole country^z. According to Acusilaüs^a, the whole tract as far as Pharsalia and Larissa in Thessaly, and including all Peloponnesus, was called *Pelasgia*. *Æschylus*^b describes the extent of their dominion at the arrival of *Danaüs*, and extends their rule over all the country through which the Albus flows, and to the west of the Strymon. He affirms the land of the Perrhaebians and the districts beyond Pindus, near Pæonia, and the mountains of Dodona, to be the limit on one side, and the sea to be the boundary on the other. The *Pelasgi* may be traced in every part of Greece. We have seen them in Peloponnesus and Thessaly and Thesprotia^c; they also inhabited Attica, Boeotia, and Phocis^d. The oracles of Delphi^e and Dodona^f were originally Pelasgic. *Pelasgi* were in *Emathia*^g. *Dardanus* the ancestor of

* These four were under chiefs of Pelasgic race, descended from *Myrmidon* and *Laphithus*:

1. Hellas, Phthia, Alus, Alopē, Trachis.
2. Argissa, Gyronē, Orthē, Elōnē, Oloosson.
3. Tricca, Ithomē, Oechalia.
4. Perrhaebia and Dodona.

The other five were Æolian.

^j Herodot. I. 1.

^k Herodot. II. 56. τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλεομένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης.

^a Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 177. Νιόβης καὶ Διὸς Ἀργος, ἀφ' ὧ ἡ χώρα, κατὰ δὲ Ἀκουσίαν καὶ Πελασγὸς σὺν Ἀρρυ, ἀφ' ὧ ἡ τῆς Πελοπονήσου χώραι, ἡ καὶ Ἀπλατηρομένη, μέχρι Φαρσαλίας καὶ Δαρίσσης Πελασγία ἐκλήθη. Steph. Byz. Πελασγία. ἡ χώρα τοῦ Ἀρρυ. Idem Πελοπόνησος, τρεῖς ἑπταμιαῖς ἐπὶ μὲν γάρ Ἀπλατηρομένη ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀπλία, ἐπὶ δὲ Πελασγοῦ Πελασγία, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀρρυ ὥστιν μέντος Ἀρρυς ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Πελοπονήσου Πελοπόνησος. Thucyd. I. 3. πρὸ Ἑλλήρων τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος—κατὰ ἔθνη ἄλλα ταῖς τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλάστον ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν τὴν ἑπταμιαν παρέχεσθαι. Argos is called Πελασγία by *Æschylus* Prom. 860.

^b *Æschyl. Suppl.* 250.

τοῦ γηγενοῦς γάρ εἰμι ἐγὼ Παλαιόχθονος
ἷνις Πελασγός, τηὸν γῆς ἀρχηγέτης.
ἴμαι δὲ ἀνακτος εὐλόγως ἐπώνυμος
γένος Πελασγῶν τὴνδε καρποῦται χθόνα.
καὶ πᾶσαν αἰαν ἡ δὲ Ἀλυρος ἔρχεται
Στρύμον τε πρὸς δύνοντος ἡδίου κρατῶ.
ἔρχομαι δὲ τῷνδε Περφάβεν χθόνα
Πίνδον τε τάπεκενα, Παιώνιον πέλας,
ὅρη τε Δωδαναῖς· συντέμενε δὲ ὄρος
ἔργα· θαλάσσης· τῶνδε τάπει τάδε κρατῶ.

In the second line the copies have Πελασγοῦ, corrected by Canter into Πελασγία. That this king himself was called *Pelasgus* appears from v. 3. 4. If Πελασγοῦ is the true reading, both his father and himself were called *Pelasgus*. The father,

however, of this king is twice named *Palæchthon*: v. 250. 347.

^c Hence Alexander Ephesius apud Steph. Byz. Χαονία.—Πελασγίδα Χαονίη.

^d For Greece generally see Strabo VII. p. 321. for Attica in particular, see Herodot. VIII. 44.

^e Strab. IX. p. 402. τὸ ιερὸν Πελασγικὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπήρχεν.

^f Dionys. Ant. I. p. 48. Strabo VII. p. 327. ἔστι δὲ ἡ φησιν "Ἐφερος Πελασγῶν ἰδρυμα—οὐδὲ Ἡσιόδος" "Δωδωνῆι φηγῶν τε Πελασγῶν ἕδρανον ἦν." conf. Herodot. II. 52. Eustathius ad Dionys. 347. Δωδωνᾶς ἔστι Ζεὺς Πελασγικὸς παρὰ τῷ παιγνῆ sc. Iliad. τ'. 233. quoted by Strabo l. c.

^g Justin. VII. 1. Macedonia—*Emathia cognitata est*.—*Populus Pelasgi, regio Pæonia dicebatur*. Macedonia or *Macednus* was among the sons of *Lycas*: conf. Apollod. III. 8. 1. Steph. Byz. Όρωπός. πόλις Μακεδονίας, ἐξ ἡς Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ, καὶ ἄλλη Βουιτίας, περὶ ἡς Εὔφοριαν. Κλιτρίς, αὐλητής Όρωπός τε, καὶ Ἀμφιάρεια λοετρά. κέκληται ἀπὸ Όρωποῦ τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Λυκάονος. The sentences have been transposed: κέκληται—Λυκάονος belongs to the Macedonian Oropus. In the words of Euphorion, the MSS. have κλιτορις αὐληστής. The passage may be partly amended thus: Όρωπός. πόλις Μακεδονίας, ἐξ ἡς Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ. κέκληται δὲ ἀπὸ Όρωποῦ τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Λυκάονος. καὶ ἄλλη Βουιτίας, περὶ ἡς Εὔφοριαν.

—[κλιτρίς]

Aīdīs τ' Όρωπός τε καὶ Ἀμφιάρεια λοετρά. Äelian. H. A. X. 48. Λυκάονι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἦμαθίας γίνεται ταῖς ὄνομα Μακεδόν, τέσσερας κέκληται—τῶντρ δὲ ἄρα ταῖς ἀνδρεῖς ἦν καὶ κάλλει διατρῆτης Πίνδος ὄνομα. Tzetzes Chil. IV. 331.

τῆς Ἦμαθίας βασιλεὺς ἐπήρχεν ὁ Λυκάον,
οὐ παῖς τὴν κλῆσιν Μακεδόν.

τῷ Μακεδόνι Πίνδος παῖς ὄραιος καὶ γενναῖος.

Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 499. considers this le-

Priam was a Pelasgian^b. The Pelasgi remained in possession of Arcadia till the latest period, and a Pelasgian dynasty reigned there till the second Messenian warⁱ.

They were gradually expelled or subjected in most other parts of Greece. In the eighth generation before the Trojan war, according to Dionysius^k, they began to be expelled from many parts of Thessaly^l. This was the epoch of a general movement throughout the tribes

gend of *Lycaon* the father of *Macedon* as "signifying merely the succession, according to the order of time, of the Pelasgi and Macedonians in the occupation of the country, expressed by placing the respective races in a genealogical connexion." It seems to me to mean something more; and to express that the Macedonians were of Pelasgic race. And Niebuhr Roman Hist. vol. I. p. 27. is of the same opinion; for he considers "the name of *Macedon-nus* among the *Lycaonids*," as one proof that the Macedonians were Pelasgic. *Macedon*, however, is reckoned by another tradition a son of *Aeolus*: Eustath. ad Dionys. 427. Μακεδόνες λέγονται ἀπὸ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Διά. οἱ δὲ παῖδες Αἰδίου δέκα παραδίδοσι ὃν εἰς Μακεδῶν, φασίν, ἐξ οὐκ Ημετέρων. This was the account of Hellanicus: conf. Sturz. fragm. Hellan. p. 79.

^b *Dardanus* was the son of *Electra* daughter of *Allus*, and born in Peloponnesus: Apollod. III. 10, 1. "Ατλαντος ἐγένοτο θυγατέρες ἔττα ἐν Κυλλήνη τῇς Ἀρκαδίας. III. 12, 1. Ἦλεκτρας δὲ τῆς "Ατλαντος —Ιασίνη καὶ Δάρδανος ἐγένοτο. Strabo VIII. p. 346. adopts this tradition: ἐπὸ τούτοις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ δύο ἄντρα [on the coast of Elis] τὸ μὲν νυμφῶν Ἀνυριάδων, τὸ δὲ, ἐν φατὶ τῷ τὰς Ατλαντίδας καὶ τὴν Δαρδάνου γένεσιν. Hellanicus treated of the seven daughters of *Allus* and their offspring: Schol. Hom. Iliad. XVIII. 486. Schol. Apollon. I. 916. τὴν Σαμοθράκην—ἐκεῖ γὰρ φέκει Ἦλεκτρα ἡ "Ατλαντος, καὶ ἀποδίζετο ἐπὸ τῶν ἔχχωρων Στρατηγίς· ἦν φυστὸς Ἐλλάνικος Ἦλεκτρών καλεῖσθαι. ἐγένητο δὲ τρεῖς παῖδες, Δάρδανος τὸν δὲ Τροίαν κατοικήσαντα—καὶ Ἡτέλων, ὃν Ιασίνον ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ φασὶ κεραυνοθύην αὐτὸν ὑβρίζοντα ἄγαλμα τῆς Δήμητρος, τρίτην δὲ ἔσχεν Ἀρμονίαν ἢν ἥγαγετο Κάδμος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς Ἦλεκτρίδας πύλας τῆς Θήβης ὄντως σπασαί [ἀπὸ Ἦλεκτρας ἀδελφῆς Κάδμου Pausan. IX. 8, 3.] ιστορεῖ Ἐλλάνικος ἐν πρώτῳ Τροϊκῷ καὶ Ἰδομενεὺς ἐν πρώτῳ Τροϊκῷ. Dionys. Ant. I. p. 153. οἵτινες τὸν Τρώων ἔθνος Ἐλληνικὸν ἐν τοῖς μάρτιστα ἦν, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ποτὲ ὀρυμένον, εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τοισὶ πάσαι, λεχθῆσται δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἑμοῦ δὲ ὀλόγος—ἄδε. "Ατλαντος γίνεται βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐν τῇ καλομάρτῃ τὸν Ἀρκαδίην φέκει δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λεγύμενο Θαυμάσιον ὄρον [Καικάστον Dionys.]. τόντην θυγατέρες ἡσαν ἔττα—ῶν μίαν μὲν Ἦλεκτραν Ζεὺς γαμεῖ, καὶ γεννᾷ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς Ιασίνη καὶ Δάρδανος. Ιασίνης μὲν ὅντες μένει Δάρδανος δὲ ἄγεται γυναικαὶ Χρύσηρ Πάλαντος θυγατέρα, ἐξ οὗς αὐτῷ γίνεται παῖδες Ἰδαῖος καὶ Δειμας, οἱ τέως μὲν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ παρ-

λαβόντες τὴν "Ατλαντος διαστελαν ἐβασίλευον. ἔτειτο κατακλυσμοῦ γενεμένου μεγάλου περὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν—νεμονται σφᾶς αὐτὸς διχῆ, καὶ αὐτὸν εἰ μὲν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἴσπομένοις βασιλέας Δειματα στησάμενοι τὸν Δαρδάνου· εἰ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπαντάστας Πελοποννήσου στόλῳ μεγάλῳ κ. τ. λ. As a commentary on this passage consult Lobeck Aglaopham. p. 1204. The connexion with Peloponnesus is marked in the tradition of *Zacynthus* of *Psophis*, son of *Dardanus*: Pausan. VIII. 24, 2. ἔστι Ζακύνθιον τῇ ἀκροπόλει Ψαφίς ὄνομα, ὅτι γαντίν ἐστὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπεραιώθη πρῶτος καὶ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς ἀνὴρ Ψαφίδος Ζάκυνθος γε ὁ Δαρδάνου. Steph. Byz. Ζάκυνθος, τόλμη, ἀπὸ Ζακύνθου τοῦ Δαρδάνου. Mnaseas apud Steph. Byz. Δάρδανος conducts *Dardanus* to Samothrace, and thence to Asia. According to Diodorus V. 48, 49. he was born in Samothrace. This passage from Samothrace to Asia is mentioned by Arrian apud Eustath. ad Iliad. β. p. 351, 30. by Conon Narrat. 21. by Cephalon apud Steph. Byz. Ἀρίσθη, by Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 524. and in the epitome of Strabo VII. p. 331.

ⁱ Herodotus II. 171. attests the Pelasgian race of the Arcadians: αἱ Δαναοὶ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν Δῆμητρας τελετὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἔχαγανσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγώτας γυναικας. μετὰ δὲ, ἔκαναστόσης πάσης Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωρίσιν, ἔκανάλετο καὶ ἡ τελετὴ· οἱ δὲ ὑποειρένεται Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οὐκ ἔκαναστάτας Ἀρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μῆνι. Idem I. 146. Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί. Idem VIII. 73. ἔθνα δύο αὐτόχθονα ἔντα κατὰ χάρρην πόρται τὸν τὴν καὶ πάλαι οὔκειν, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνόριοι. Conf. Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 424, 30. Pausan. V. 1, 1. Xenoph. Hellen. VII. 1, 23.

^k See above, p. 16. r.

^l Dionys. Ant. I. p. 47. σκεδασθέντες κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν οἱ μὲν εἰς Κρήτην ἀπῆλθον οἱ δὲ τῶν Κυκλαδῶν νῆστον τινὰς κατέσχον οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ολυμπὸν τε καὶ τὴν Οσσα τὴν καλομένην "Εστιώτιν φκησαν" ἄλλοι δὲ εἰς τε Βιωτίαν καὶ Φαικίδα καὶ Εὐβοίαν διεκομίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν περιστερέντες τῆς περὶ τὸν Ελλήστοντα παραλίου τολλὰ χωρία κατέσχον, καὶ τῶν παρακεμένων νῆσων ἄλλας τε συχράς καὶ—Λέσβοι [see p. 15. q.]—τὸ δὲ πλεῖον αὐτοῖς μέρος διὰ τῆς μεσογαίου τραπέμενο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Διδώνη κατοικῶντας σφῶν συγγενεῖς, οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐπιφέρειν τόλμεν ὡς ἵεροις, χρόνον μὲν τῷα σύμμετραν αὐτόθι διέτριψαν· ἔτει δὲ λιτηροὶ ὄντες αὐτοῖς ησθάνοντο, οὐχ ἵκανης οὕσης ἀπαντάς τρέφειν τῆς γῆς, ἐκλείπουσι τὴν χάραν χηροῦμενοι κελεύοντι πλεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν.

of the Greek nation. At this period new dynasties began to arise, and a new order of things to commence in various provinces of the country. Within the space of a century the *Hellenes* were established in Thessaly, a new dynasty was founded in Arcadia, another in Laconia; *Danaüs* appeared at Argos, *Cecrops* at Athens, and *Dardanus* in Phrygia laid the foundations of the Trojan kingdom. Dionysius describes the countries which the Pelasgians occupied in their dispersion. Some remained in possession of the North and North-eastern quarters of Thessaly, some migrated Westward to their brethren of Dodona. Others occupied Boeotia and Phocis and Eubœa. But many passed over into Asia, or settled in Crete, and the coasts and islands of the Aegean. They may be traced in these countries by many testimonies. Homer^m attests that they were found in Crete. Menecratesⁿ marks their position on the whole line of coast afterwards called Ionia, and in the adjacent islands. Hence the Chiens derived themselves from the *Pelasgi* of Thessaly^o; and the other islanders were of Pelasgic race till the Ionians subdued them^p. The country afterwards named *Aeolis* was occupied by Pelasgians^q. Like the *Pelasgi* of the Ionian states, they were conquered or expelled by the colonists from Greece after the Trojan war^r.

Diodorus, enumerating the states which had held the dominion of the sea after the Trojan war, ascribes 85 years to the Pelasgian empire. These 85 years are placed by Eusebius^s at B.C. 1088—1004, which would agree with the period of their flourishing condition in Asia and the islands noticed by Strabo, before the period of the Ionic migration.

^m Hom. Odyss. XIX. 172—177. They had accompanied *Tectamus* the son of *Dorus*: see above p. 16. u.

ⁿ Strab. XIII. p. 621. Μενεκράτης ὁ Ἐλαῖτης ἐς ταῖς περὶ κτίσεων φρού τὴν παραδίαν τὴν νῦν Ἰωνικὴν πᾶσαν ἀπὸ Μυκάλης ἀρχαμένην ὡς Πελασγῶν οἰκεῖσθαι πρότερον, καὶ τὰς πλησίαν νῆσους.

^o Strabo Ibid. Χίοις οἰκιστάς ἑαυτῶν Πελασγούς φασι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Θετταλίας.

^p Herodot. VII. 95. ηρωῖσται—καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔνος, ὅστερον δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ αἱ διώδεκα πόλιες Ἰωνεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν. Valckenaer ad loc. comparing VIII. 46—48. and Thucyd. VII. 57. has shewn that the islands intended by Herodotus were Ceos, Naxos, Siphnus, Seriphus, Andros, Tenos. Samos was also Pelasgian: Πελασγὺς ἄρανος Ἡρῆς Dionys. Perieget. 534. conf. Eustath. ad loc.

^q Herodot. VII. 95. καὶ Αἰολές δὲ — τοτάλαι καλεῖσθαι Πελασγοί, δι' Ἑλλήνων λόγος. Hence *Αἰγαυῶν* τὴν Πελασγύδα Herodot. VII. 42. These *Pelasgi* were among the forces of *Priam*: Hom. Iliad. β'. 840—843. Schol. ad loc. Δάρσαν: ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰολῶν μεταναστάντες ἔκτισαν διὰ Πελασγούς φρού, δι' ἄνωθεν Ἑλληνας ὤντας. The *Aeolidæ* are the *Hellenes* of Thessaly by whom they were expelled. *Cretheus*, a son of *Aeolus*, had driven them from Iolcos: Schol. Hom. Il. β'. 591. οἱ Αἰολαὶ Κριθεῦς, δι' Ἰωλεὼν κατέσχε Πελασγούς ἐκβαλόν. Their expulsion from Thessaly, which Dionysius ascribes singly to *Deucalion*, we must suppose to have been gradual, and to have been partly accomplished by his successors.

^r Strab. XIII. p. 621. πολύπλακον καὶ τάχι τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς ἐπαναστάσεις, ηὔξηθε τε ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ἀφράτα ἔλασθε τὴν ἐκδειψιν, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν τῶν Αἰολῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰάνθινων περιάσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

^s Euseb. Chron. I. 36. Ex Diodori libris breviter de temporibus maria imperio tenentium. Maris imperium post Trojanum imperium tenuerunt:

1. Lydi et Maeones annis 92.
2. Pelasgi annis 85.
3. Thraces annis 79.
4. Rhodii annis 23.
5. Phryges annis 25.

^t Lib. II. p. 299. Anno 848 [B.C. 1169]. Primi Lydi maris imperium tenuerunt annis 92. p. 303. Anno 928 [B.C. 1089]. Secundo loco Pelasgi maris imperium tenuerunt annis 85. p. 311. ex Hieronymo: Anno 1099 [B.C. 918]. Quarto mare obtinuerunt Rhodii annis 23. p. 312. Eusebius ipse: Anno 1113 [B.C. 904].—Phryges annis 25. Syncell. p. 172. B. Λυδοὶ οἱ καὶ Μαιόνες ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἐπη ἡθ. p. 180. D. Πελασγοὶ β' ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἐπη τε. p. 181. B. τρίτοι ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν Θράκες ἐπη θ. Ibid. τέταρτοι — Ρόδιοι, κατὰ δέ τινας πέμπτοι, ἐπη κγ'. Ibid. Φρύγες πέμπτοι ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἐπη κε'. κατὰ δέ τινας ἐπη σ'. forte κατὰ δέ τινας σ'. i. e. ἕκτοι. Cf. Casaub. ad Polyb. t. I. p. 849. This fifth period will terminate anno 1137 B.C. 880, and the five periods = 304 years reckoned upwards from this point would commence anno 834 B.C. 1183, or fourteen years above the earliest date in the Tables of Eusebius.

Bishop Marsh^t infers from Strabo^u that the original seat of the Pelasgians was in Asia; and he supposes Thrace to be pointed out by Greek writers as their original establishment in Europe. But we have seen that the evidence of Strabo and of other Greek writers respecting Thrace and Asia refer to this subsequent occupation of those countries by the *Pelasgi* after their expulsion from Thessaly. The earliest accounts, beyond which tradition could not reach, found them in Peloponnesus: their migrations from thence are recorded, but no mention occurs of the *Pelasgi* in any other quarter preceding their appearance in Peloponnesus. In observing, then, the wide diffusion of the *Pelasgi*, we must distinguish between their original and more ancient occupancy during their dominion in Greece, and the later periods during their depression. The Pelasgians at Dodona in Herodotus belong to the first period, but the Pelasgians in Asia Minor belong to the second. The colony indeed to Lycia and Lesbos is of the former period. But this migration was six generations below *Phoroneus*.

We may now add some particulars respecting the *Pelasgi* in Italy. Dionysius names three Pelasgic colonies; the first under *Oenotrus* and *Peucetius*, the second from Thessaly, the third under *Evander* from Arcadia. A short abstract of the account of Dionysius^x will shew the sources from whence he derived it. "The *Aborigines* of Italy were accounted by "some an indigenous race; others considered them as a wandering people collected from va- "rious countries, and interpreted their name to mean *wanderers*: others accounted them a "branch of the Ligurians, a race which is seated near the Alps and in many other parts of "Italy. The best Roman antiquaries, Cato, C. Sempronius^y, and many others, consider the "Aborigines to be Greeks, who migrated from their own country many generations before the "Trojan war. But these writers do not define the particular Grecian people, or the state "from whence they came; nor do they cite any Grecian authorities for their accounts^z. "What the truth is cannot be pronounced; but if the conjecture of these writers be just, "the *Aborigines* must have been derived from an Arcadian colony, since that was the first "Grecian people who passed into Italy, under the conduct of *Oenotrus*^a, seventeen genera- "tions before the Trojan war. With *Oenotrus* came *Peucetius*, one of his brothers, from "whom a part of the country was named *Peucetia*, as from *Oenotrus* the name of *Oenotria* "was given to the region in which he settled^b. Antiochus, an ancient historian^c, relates "that the *Oenotrians* were the first settlers who were known to come to Italy; that one of "this race was a king called *Italus*; that he was succeeded by *Morges*, from whom the "Oenotrians were called *Morgetes* and *Italians*^d. Pherecydes^e mentions *Oenotrus* and *Peu-*

^t *Horae Pelasgicae* c. 1.

^u Strab. XIII. p. 621.

^x Dionys. Ant. I. p. 27—87.

^y On Cato see F. H. III. p. 97. on Sempronius, F. H. III. p. 113. 115.

^z Dionys. p. 29.

^a Pausan. VIII. 3. 2. Οἰνωτρος ὁ τῶν παιδῶν νεώ-
τατος Λυκάον τῶν ἀρέτων Νίκιτην τὸν ἀδελφὸν χρήματα
καὶ ἄνδρας αἰτήσας ἐπεριόθη ταυτὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίαν, καὶ ἡ
Οἰνωτρία χάρα τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχεν ἀπὸ Οἰνωτρου βασιλεύοντος.
ἐπειδὴ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐξ ἀποικιαν στόλος πρῶτος ἐστάλη
ἀναριθμουμένην δὲ ἐξ τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν βαρβά-
ρων οὐδένες πρότερον ἡ Οἰνωτρος ἀφίκοντο ἐξ τὴν ἀλλοδαπήν.
Pausanias, like Dionysius (whose error has been
considered already p. 12.), confounded two op-

posite traditions concerning this Italian colony. He represents it as of the most remote antiquity, and yet his own genealogy places it in the same age with *Dardanus* and *Cadmus*, and below *Danaüs* and *Cecrops*.

^b Dionys. p. 33. ^c See F. H. II. p. 372.

^d Dionys. p. 34.

^e Pherecydes apud Dionys. p. 35. "Πελασγοῦ
"καὶ Δημανέρας γίνεται Λυκάον" ὅπεις γαμεῖ Κυλλήην
"Νηῆτα νύμφην, ἀφ' ἣς τὸ ὄρος Κυλλήην καλέεται." ἔπ-
ειται τοὺς δὲ τούτων γεννηθέντας διεξιὼν καὶ τίνας τόπους
ἔκαστοι τούτων φίησαν, Οἰνωτρος καὶ Πευκέτιος μιμησκε-
ται λέγοντες δέ "Καὶ Οἰνωτρος ἀφ' οὗ Οἰνωτροι καλέονται
"οἱ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ οἰκεότες, καὶ Πευκέτιος ἀφ' οὗ Πευκέτιοι
"καλέονται οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ."

"cetius sons of *Lycaon* and grandsons of *Pelasgus* as the leaders; that they settled in Italy; "that from *Œnoirus* the people were called *Œnotrians*, and from *Peucetius* another part of "the country was named *Peucetia*. If therefore the *Aborigines* were a Grecian people (as "Cato and other Roman writers affirm), they must have been descended from the settlers "under *Œnotrus*. The Pelasgian colonies from Thessaly came later, and this was the first "that passed from Greece into the west.

"By these *Aborigines* the Sicels were pressed on all sides, and long and bloody wars ensued between them^f. During the continuance of these contests, a band of Pelasgians came from Thessaly into the neighbourhood of the *Aborigines*, who received them for the benefit of their aid in their war with the Sicels, and perhaps also on account of their consanguinity; since, if the *Aborigines* were *Œnotrians*, they were of the same race as the new settlers; the Pelasgians also being Greeks from Peloponnesus^g. They remained in Thessaly five generations; in the sixth *Deucalion* drove them out, and they passed first to Dodona, then into Italy^h. They propitiate the *Aborigines* by producing an oracle, and a settlement is assigned them in Velia. These Pelasgians, with the help of the *Aborigines*, seize upon Croton, a town of the Umbrians (a very ancient people prior to the settlement of the *Aborigines*, and dispersed over many parts of Italyⁱ), and, driving out the Sicels, the *Pelasgi* and the *Aborigines* jointly occupy Cære, or Agylla^k, Pisa, Saturnia, Alsium, and other towns, which they gradually took from the Tuscans; and Falerii and Fescennina (originally towns of the Sicels) retained to my time some vestiges of the Pelasgian race^l. The *Pelasgi* also penetrated into Campania, and drove from thence a race called *Aurunci*^m, by whom that tract was possessed. There they founded among other towns *Larissa*, so called from a *Larissa* of their own in Peloponnesusⁿ.

^f Dionys. p. 44.

^g Ibid. p. 45.

^h See above p. 15. r.

ⁱ Dionys. p. 49.

^k Strabo V. p. 220. "Αγυλλα ἐλογίζετο τὸ πρότερον ἡ νῦν Καυρία, καὶ λέγεται Πελασγῶν κτίσμα τῶν ἐκ Θετταλίας ἀφρύμνην." Scymnus 217. of the Tuscan coast:

μετὰ τὴν Δρυστικὴν Πελασγοὶ δ' εἰσίν, οἱ πρότερον κατοικήσατες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ πάντα δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς χώραν κειμένου.

Diodorus XIV. 113. refers to this migration from Thessaly: τινὲς δέ φασι Πελασγοὺς πρὸ τῶν Τρωίκην δὲ Θετταλίας φυγόντας τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος γενόμενον κατακλυσμὸν δὲ τόπτα τῷ τόπῳ [sc. between the Alps and the Apennines] κατοικῆσαι.

^l Dionys. p. 53. 54.

^m Strabo however V. p. 233. places the *Ausones* and *Osci* in Campania: Αὔσονες—οἵτε καὶ τὴν Καυπανίας εἶχον μετὰ δὲ τούτους "Οσκοί" καὶ τούτους δὲ μετῆν τῆς Καυπανίας.

ⁿ Dionys. p. 55. ἀπὸ τῆς δὲ Πελοπονήσου σφῶν μητροπόλεων ὄντα θέματος αὐτῇ. He means *Larissa* the citadel of Argos. The *Pelasgi* marked their presence by a *Larissa* wherever they formed a settlement. Seventeen places bearing this name may be traced, most of which, probably all, were founded by the *Pelasgi*.

1. Steph. Byz. Λάρισσα τούτη πράτη Θεσσαλίας

ἡ πρὸς τῷ Πηρεῖ, ἡ Ἀκρίσιος ἔκτισε. Conf. Pausan. II. 23. 9. Schol. Apollon. I. 40.

2. Steph. δευτέρᾳ ἡ Κρεμαστή· ὑπὸ τινῶν δὲ Πελασγία. Conf. Strab. IX. p. 435. 440. Liv. XXXI. 46. XXXIII. 13. Ptol. Geogr. III. 13. Supposed by Siebel. ad Pausan. II. 23. 9. to be Λάρισσα ἐπὶ βαλάσσῃ in Pausanias.

3. Strab. IX. p. 440. Λάρισσα δὲ στὸν ἐν τῷ Οστῷ χωρίον. Steph. τρίτη ἐν τῷ "Οστῷ χωρίον."

4. Steph. τετάρτη τῆς Τραύδος, ἡν φησιν "Ομῆρος" τὸν εἰ Λάρισσαν ἐριθέλακα" [Il. β'. 841]. Conf. Strab. IX. p. 440. XIII. p. 621.

5. Steph. τέμπτη Αἰολίδος περὶ Κύμην τὴν Φρικωνίδα. Herodot. I. 149. αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἡ Φρικωνίδης καλεομένη, Δίρισσαι. Velleius I. 4. *Smyrnam, Cymen, Larissam*. Strab. IX. p. 440. ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἡ τε Φρικωνίς ἡ περὶ τὴν Κύμην καὶ ἡ κατὰ Ἀμαξίτον τῆς Τραύδος, καὶ ἡ Ἐφεσία Λάρισσα ἐστι. Idem XIII. p. 620. τριῶν οὖσῶν, ἡ μὲν καθ' Ἀμαξίτον ἐν δύει τελέων τῷ Ἰλλυρίῳ περὶ Κύμην—τρίτη δὲ Λάρισσα κύμη τῆς Εφεσίας ἐν τῷ Καύστρῳ πεδίῳ—ἔχοντα ιερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Λαριστηροῦ. Strabo thinks *Larissa* near *Cymē* to be the *Larissa* of Homer Il. β'. 841.

6. Steph. ἑκτη Συρίας. Xenoph. Anab. III. 4, 6. ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τύρρηνο ποταμόν. ἐνταῦθα τόπος ἡ ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, δύομά δ' αὐτῇ ἡ Λάρισσα. ὅπουν δὲ αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. This town, on the north-eastern

" The Sicels, being driven by the *Aborigines* and *Pelasgi* out of their original seats, pass over into 'Sicily^o', which was at that time possessed by the *Sicani*, an Iberian tribe, who had a little before been driven to seek refuge there from the Ligurians. The Sicels settled at first in the western parts of the island, and gradually spread till it began to be called from them Σικελία π. This migration of the Sicels into Sicily happened according to Hellanicus in the third generation before the Trojan war, in the 26th year of the priesthood of Alcyonē at Argos. Hellanicus reckons two distinct bodies of emigrants; the first of *Elymi*, who fled before the Οenotrians; the second, five years later, of Ausonians, who fled before the *Iapyges*; and he derives their name of Sicels from a king *Sicelus*^q. Philistus reckons the date of this migration to be the 80th year before the Trojan war, and supposes that the people who passed into the island were Ligurians, under the command of *Sicelus* son of *Italus*; and that these Ligurians were driven into Sicily by the *Umbri* and *Pelasgi*. Antiochus of Syracuse does not attempt to fix the date of this event, but supposes the emigrants to have been Sicels driven out by the Οenotrians and *Opici*^r. Thucydides calls the colony Sicels, and their enemies *Opici*, but dates the event after the Trojan war^s.

" Meanwhile the *Pelasgi*, being established in Italy, after some short time fell into great calamities, and made a second migration back again to Greece, and to many other countries^t. The causes of this migration, and the circumstances, are told by Myrsilus of Lesbos; except that for *Pelasgi* he substitutes *Tyrrhenes*^u. These *Pelasgi*, from their residence in the neighbourhood of the Tuscans, had acquired a skill in navigation, and were exercised in war. Hence, from their coming out of the country of the Tyrrhenians, the appellations of *Pelasgi* and *Tyrrhenes* were indifferently applied to them, as by Thucydides^x, and by Sophocles in the *Inachus*^y. The period at which the misfortunes of the *Pelasgi*

border of Mesopotamia, 35 English miles direct distance south of Nineveh, corresponds with the description πάλις Συρίας in Stephanus. Raoul-Rochette tom. I. p. 154. ascribes this *Larissa* to an Argive colony. This name appears to prove that the *Pelasgi* had penetrated to the Tigris; but whether the *Pelasgi* from Argos or from Thessaly, or the *Pelasgi* from the coasts of Asia Minor were the founders, cannot be shewn by any certain arguments.

7. Steph. ἐβδόμη Λυδίας. Strabo IX. p. 440. τὸν Τραλλέων διέχοντα κάμη τριάκοντα σταδίους.

8. Steph. ὑδόν Θεσσαλίας πρὸς τὴν Μακεδονίαν. Schol. Apollon. I. 40. Λάρισσα ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τῆς Θεσσαλίας, ἦν "Ομηρος" Αργισταν φησι, πλησίων τῆς Γυρτώνης.

9. Steph. ὑπέρη Κρήτης. Strabo IX. p. 440. Λάρισσα εἰς τὴν Κρήτην πάλις ἡ νῦν εἰς Ιεράπετραν συνακιθεῖσα, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ἔποκειμενον πεδίον νῦν Δαρίσσια καλεῖται. Steph. Γόρτυν πάλις Κρήτης—ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Λάρισσα. As Hierapetra and Gortys were not contiguous places, it is evident that there were two *Larissa* in Crete; which might have been named by the *Pelasgi* who accompanied the Dorians thither two generations before Minos. See above p. 16. u.

10. A second Cretan *Larissa*: see No. 9.

11. Steph. καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔστι Λάρισσα. Conf. Strab. IX. p. 440. et Tzschuck. ad locum.

12. Steph. ἡ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Ἀργείου Λάρισσα. Strabo IX. p. 440. ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἡ τοῦ Ἀργείου ἄκρα. Schol. Apollon. I. 40. Λάρισσα ἀρχαιοτάτη μὲν ἡ Ἀργεῖστις ἔστιν ἡ ἀκρόπολις. Conf. Pausan. II. 23, 9.

13. Steph. Στράβων δὲ κάμην φησὶν Ἐφέσου. sc. XIII. p. 620. See No. 5.

14. Strabo IX. p. 440. ἡ τὴν Ἡλείαν ἀπὸ Δίμης διορίζειν Λάρισσας πεταῖος· θεότοπος δὲ καὶ πόλιν λέγεις ἐτῇ αὐτῇ μεθορίᾳ κειμένην Λάρισσαν.

15. Strabo Ibid. ἐν Σίῃ τῆς Μιτιλήνης ἀπὸ πετρίκων σταδίων εἰσὶ Λάρισσαι πέτραι κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Μηθύμνης ὁδὸν.

16. Strabo Ibid. καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς δὲ τοῦ πόντου κάμη τις καλεῖται Λάρισσα πλησίον τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ Αἴμου.

17. *Larissa* in Italy.

o Dionys. p. 56. p Ibid. p. 57.

q Ibid. p. 58. r Ibid. p. 59.

* Thucyd. VI. 2. where he relates that in his time some few Sicels still remained in Italy, which was so called from *Italus*: ἀπὸ Ἰταλοῦ βασιλέως τινὸς Σικελῶν. So edited by Bekker from eleven manuscripts: vulgo βασιλέως τινὸς Ἀρκάδων.

t Dionys. p. 60. u Ibid. p. 62.

* Thucyd. IV. 109. v Dionys. p. 68.

"*lasgi* led them to this second migration was about the second generation before the Trojan war; and it continued after that war till the Pelasgians gradually declined in Italy: for, "except Croton in the Umbrian territory and a few towns among the *Aborigines*, the Pelasgian establishments in Italy decayed^z.

"Among those who occupied the vacant seats of the *Pelasgi* in Italy, the *Tyrrhenes* were "the chief; a race considered by some as indigenous in Italy. Others consider them as foreigners, who migrated thither under the conduct of *Tyrrhenus*, a Lydian. They think "that *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus* were brothers, sons of *Atys*; that *Lydus* remained in Asia Minor in the region named from him Lydia; that *Tyrrhenus* led a colony into Italy. This is the account of Herodotus^a. According to others, *Tyrrhenus* was the son of *Telephus*, and came thither after the Trojan war^b. Xanthus of Lydia makes no mention of "any settlement of Lydians in Italy, and makes the sons of *Atys* to be *Lydus* and *Torybus*, "who both remained in Asia^c. Hellanicus, after mentioning that the Pelasgians were driven "out of Greece by the *Hellenes*, relates that they settled in Italy, seized upon Croton, and "occupied that country which was afterwards called *Tyrrhenia*. Myrsilus, on the contrary, "says that the Tyrrhenians, when they emigrated, were called *Pelasgi* from their wandering "habits^d. My own opinion is, that those are in an error who account the Tyrrhenians and "Pelasgi to be the same people; that these names were naturally confounded and applied in "differently to those who belonged to the same region, as often happens in such cases. Thus "the names of Trojan and Phrygian are used as synonymous, and the Latins, Umbrians, "and Ausonians, are all indifferently called Tyrrhenians by the Greeks. That the *Tyrrhenes* and *Pelasgi* were a different people is proved by their languages, which had no resemblance^e. Neither do I think the *Tyrrhenes* a colony of Lydians; for there is no resemblance here in language. These two people differ in laws, in manners, and institutions. That opinion, then, seems the most probable, which supposes these people an indigenous "race in Italy^f.

"The Pelasgian settlers, then, who remained after these successive emigrations, were intermixed with the *Aborigines* in Latium, till their descendants in process of time founded "Rome^g. But in the 60th year before the Trojan war another Grecian colony settled in "those parts of Italy under *Evander* of Arcadia, according to the accounts of the Romans "themselves^h. *Evander* emigrated from Arcadia in consequence of a faction in his own "country. *Faunus* at that time was king of the *Aborigines*ⁱ, who received the Arcadians "amicably, and they were admitted to seat themselves on the Palatine hill, a space sufficient "for the crews of two ships, the whole number of the followers of *Evander*. *Evander*

^z Dionys. p. 69.

^a Herodot. I. 94. Whence Velleius I. 1. *Per hæc tempora* (after the time of *Orestes*) *Lydus et Tyrrhenus fratres, cum regnarent in Lydia, sterilitate frugum compulsi sortiti sunt uter cum parte multitudinis patria decederet. Sors Tyrrhenum contigit. Pervectus in Italiam et loco et incolis et mari nobile ac perpetuum a se nomen dedit.* Strabo V. p. 219. οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις Ἐπρᾶσκοι καὶ Τοῦσκοι προσαγορεύονται, εἰ δὲ Ἔλληνες οὗτοις ὀνόμασται αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦ Ἀτυς κ. τ. λ. Idem Ibid. as amended by Ruhnken. ad Velleium I. c. 8 *Ἀτυς—κλήρῳ Λυδῷ μὲν κατίσχε τὸν

τὸν Τυρρηνὸν, τὸν πλεῖν συστῆσας λαὸν, ἐξέστειλεν.

^b Dionys. p. 69—72.

^c Ibid. p. 73.

^d Ibid. p. 75.

^e Ibid. p. 77.

^f Ibid. p. 78.

^g Ibid. p. 80.

^h Strabo V. p. 230. ἄλλῃ δὲ τις προτίρα (τῆς Ῥώμης κτίσιος) καὶ μυθόδης Ἀρκαδικὴν λέγουσα γενέσθαι τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐπὸν Εὐάνδρου· τούτῳ δὲ ἐπικεκριθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα κ. τ. λ.—καὶ δὲ Κεκίλιος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίον συγγραφεὺς τοῦτο τίθεται σημεῖον τοῦ Ἐλληνικὸν κτίσμα εἶναι τὴν Ῥώμην, τὸ παρ' αὐτῇ τὴν πάτριαν θυσίαν Ἐλληνικὴν εἶναι τῇ Ἕπακλεῖ.

ⁱ Dionys. p. 82.

"brought with him into Italy the use of letters, which had been lately acquired by the Arcadians^k. This second colony of Greeks (after the Pelasgians from Thessaly^l) dwelt on the spot on which afterwards Rome was founded, in common with the *Aborigines*."

These testimonies in Dionysius establish the fact that *Pelasgi* from Greece emigrated to Italy; but the circumstances and the time of that earliest migration are lost in remote antiquity. In the account of the Oenotrian colony there appear to have been two traditions; one which placed it seventeen generations before the Trojan war; another which derived it from Arcadia. Dionysius and Pausanias have both confounded these two traditions together. It is not likely that the Oenotrians proceeded from Arcadia; but, if they are rightly referred to the seventeenth generation, they proceeded from Peloponnesus during the period when the whole of Greece was under one dominion, of which Argos was the head; and long before the Arcadian dynasty existed. If the tradition which calls these colonists the children of *Lycaon* rightly marks their time, they proceeded to Italy in the seventh generation before the Trojan war. But *Oenotrus* and *Peucetius*, like *Macedon* and *Thesprotus*, are called sons of *Lycaon* only because these were all Pelasgic tribes, and because Arcadia was by some considered as the source of the *Pelasgi*. This genealogy, then, cannot be wholly trusted as any sure indication even of their time. The time assigned, however, is probable; for if the *Oenotri* and *Peucetii* proceeded from Peloponnesus in the seventh generation before the war of Troy, this emigration would coincide with the period of that general movement in Greece which we have already noticed ^m, and in which so many new dynasties arose: it would also agree with the time of that other Pelasgic migration, which proceeded from Thessaly to Italy upon the rise of the *Hellenes*ⁿ.

According to the account of Dionysius, the *Pelasgi* might begin to decline in the south of Italy about B. C. 1170. We have evidence, however, that the country was still occupied by a Pelasgic population near 500 years after that period: for when the Greek colonies were planted in *Magna Graecia* they found the inhabitants to be *Pelasgi*, whom they reduced to the condition of vassals^o.

Contemporary with the Pelasgic kings of Argos another Pelasgic dynasty reigned at Sicyon. *Aegialeus* the founder is made contemporary with *Phoroneus*, and placed in the nineteenth

^k Dionys. p. 87. λέγονται δὲ καὶ γραμμάτου Ἐλληνικῶν χρήσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρότι μικρούσσαι νεωτερί φανεῖσαν Ἀρκάδες. So Cod. Vat. But the edd. have 'Αρκάσσι.

^l Ibid. p. 86. δεύτερον ἔθνος Ἐλληνικὸν μετὰ Πελασγοῦς. These two were exclusive of the first colony of Oenotrians. The Greek or Pelasgic colonies in the whole were three. Dionysius I. p. 230. II. p. 235. recapitulates these three sources of the Greek original of the Latin people.

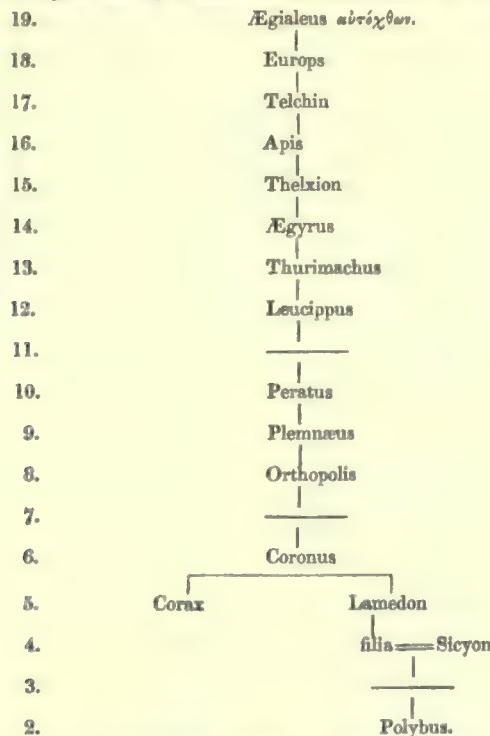
^m See p. 23.

ⁿ It is possible that an earlier Pelasgic migration to Italy really occurred, which was confounded with the Oenotrian colony, although it preceded that colony by ten generations.

^o Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieget. 533. ιστορεῖται τὸ Χίον πρότοις τοῖς ἑκεῖ θεράποντας χρήσασθαι, οὗτον καλούμενον κατ' Ίδιαν τινὰ κλῆσιν δουλευτικὴν ἡ δουλικήν· ὃς

καὶ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἔχρησαντο ποτε Εἴλωσι, καὶ Μακεδόνες Πενέστας, καὶ Ἀργεῖοι Γυμνησίοις, καὶ Σικυώνιοι Κορυφέροις, καὶ Κρῆτες Μνωῖταις, καὶ Ἰταλιῶται Πελασγοῦς· ὅπει κατὰ τὴν ιστορίαν τούτην δυνικὰ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὄντοτα εἶναι τοὺς Εἴλωτας, τοὺς Πενέστας, τοὺς Γυμνησίους, τοὺς Κορυφέρους, τοὺς Μνωῖτας, τοὺς Πελασγούς, τοὺς Θεράποντας. Less fully in the epitome of Stephanus v. Χίο. οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἔχρησαντο θεράποντος, ὃς Δακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Εἴλωσι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοῖς Γυμνησίοις καὶ Σικυώνιοι τοῖς Κορυφέροις καὶ Ἰταλιῶται τοῖς Πελασγοῖς καὶ Κρῆτες Μνωῖταις. These passages may be added to those already given upon this subject in F. H. II. p. 412. c. The correction *Mnōitai*, which Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 52. ascribes to Meineke, had been already made in Steph. Byz. by Salmasius ad locum. The *Pelasgi* as a subordinate race in Italy are named by Cicero Fin. II. 4.

generation before the Trojan war by Pausanias^p, from whom we obtain the following genealogy:



Of *Apis* the fourth king Pausanias observes: ἐς τοσόνδε ηὔξηθη Δυνάμεως ὡς τὴν ἐντὸς ισθμοῦ χώραν Ἀπίαν καλεῖσθαι. Between *Corax* the thirteenth king and *Lamedon* *Eropeus* intervened. *Lamedon* was succeeded by *Sicyon*, and he by *Polybus* the seventeenth king of *Sicyon*^q. With *Polybus* the original dynasty failed; for he was succeeded by *Adrastus* king of Argos. After *Adrastus* followed *Janiscus*, of Attic descent; then *Phæstus* a son of *Hercules*; then *Zeuxippus*, upon whose death *Agamemnon* subjected *Sicyon*. *Hippolytus*, who reigned at

^p Pausan. II. 5—8.

^q Pausan. II. 6. Κόρακες ἀποθανότος ἄπταιδος, ὑπὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Ἐπωπεὺς ἀφικέμενος ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ—στρατὸν σφιστούμενος λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν χώραν τότε ἀδεῖην πρῶτον—Ἀγιστὴρ τὴν Νυκτέως—Ἐπωπεὺς ἀρπάζει. After *Eropeus*, *Lamedon* reigned: Ibid. Λαμέδων δὲ Κοράκην βασιλεύσας μετὰ Ἐπωπέα ἐξέδωκεν Ἀγιστήρ—Λαμέδων δὲ βασιλεύσας ἤγημεν ἐξ Ἀθρῷ γυναικαὶ Φηρῷ Κλυτίον καὶ βασιλεὺς γενομένου οἱ τολέμειοι πρὸς Ἀρχαδόρον καὶ Ἀρχιτελῆ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς συμμαχήσαστα ἐπηγάγετο Σικυῶνα ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ταυτέρᾳ ταὶ συγκίσσειν αὐτῷ Ζευξίππην· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτουν βασιλεύσαντος ἡ γῆ Σικυωνία καὶ Σικυὼν ἀντὶ Αιγαΐδης ἡ τάπις ἀνομάσθη. Σικυῶνα δὲ οἱ Μαραθῶνοι τοῦ Ἐπωπέας, Μητίωνος δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Ἐρεχθίων φασίν. δημολογεῖ δὲ σφιστοὶ καὶ Ἀστοῖς· ἐπειδὸς γε καὶ Ἰβυκος, διὸν ἐποίησεν ὡς Ἐρεχθίων εἶναι Σικυὼν, Ἰβυκος δὲ εἶναι Πέλοπος φησιν αὐτὸν. The account which places *Archander* and *Architeles* in the time of *Lamedon* and *Metion* is inconsistent with the tradition already mentioned p. 16. which places them in the

time of *Danaüs*, and three generations before *Lamedon*. *Polybus* was the grandson of *Sicyon*: Pausan. Ibid. Σικυώνος δὲ γίνεται Χθονοφύλη· Χθονοφύλη δὲ καὶ Ἐρμοῦ Πόλυβου γενέσθαι λέγουσιν—Πόλυβος δὲ Ταλαρῇ τῷ Βίατος βασιλεύστι Ἀργείων Δυσιάδασσαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἔδωκε· καὶ ὅτε Ἀδράστος ἐφευγεῖ ἐξ "Ἀργοῦς, παρὰ Πόλυβου ἥλθεν ἐς Σικυώνα" καὶ ὕστερον ἀποθανόντος Πόλυβου τὴν ἐν Σικυώνῃ ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. Ἀδράστον δὲ ἐξ "Ἀργοῦς κατελθόντος Ἰανίσκου ἀπόγονος Κλυτίου τοῦ Λαμέδοντος κυδεύσατος ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευσεν" ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἰανίσκου, Φαῖστος τῶν Ἡρακλέοντος λεγόμενος ταῦθαν καὶ οὗτος εἴναι. Φαῖστου δὲ κατὰ μαυτέαν μετοικήσαντος ἐξ Κρήτης, βασιλεύσας λέγεται Ζευξίππης—μετὰ δὲ Ζευξίππου τελευτήσαντα Ἀγαμέμνονα στρατὸν ἥγαγεν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἰππόλιτον· Ροτάλοις ταῦθα τοῦ Φαῖστου—Ιππόλιτον δὲ ἢ τούτου Λακεστάλης. Φάλκης δὲ ὁ Τημένους καταλαβάνων νόκτωρ Σικυῶνα σὺν Δωρεῖσι κακὸν μὲν ἀπει Ἡρακλεῖδην καὶ αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν οὐδὲν, κοινῶν δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ Δωρεῖς μὲν Σικυῶνις γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ μοιρα τῆς Ἀργείας.

the time of the expedition of *Agamemnon*, was grandson of *Phæstus*. He was succeeded by his son *Lacestades*, in whose time *Phalces* son of *Temenus* occupied Sicyon.

Of the twenty-one kings who reigned before the Trojan war, the eight last were included within a century; for *Epopeus*, the fourteenth king in this account, was contemporary with *Labdacus*¹. The thirteen reigns which preceded *Epopeus*, estimated at thirty years to each, would give only 390 years; and the first king of Sicyon would be placed less than 500 years before the Trojan era. According to Castor, *Zeuxippus* is the twenty-sixth king; and to these twenty-six reigns are ascribed 959 years. They are followed by six Carnean priests for thirty-three years, and these terminate 352 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*. This chronology, which is followed by Eusebius and Syncellus, places *Ægialeus* 940 years before the Trojan war, and eight or nine generations before *Phoroneus*^s. The account of Castor is evidently

^r Pausan. II. 6, 2. * The sum of the computations of Castor has been given F. H. III. p. 546. The two lists of reigns in Pausanias and Castor may be here compared:

PAUSANIAS.

1. *Ægialeus*.
2. *Europs*.
3. *Telchin*.
4. *Apis*.
5. *Thelxion*.
6. *Ægyrus*.
7. *Thurimachus*.
8. *Leucippus*.
9. *Peratus*.
10. *Plemnaeus*.
11. *Orthopolis*.
12. *Coronus*.
13. *Corax*.
14. *Epopeus*.
15. *Lamedon*.
16. *Sicyon*.
17. *Polybus*.
18. *Adrastus*.
19. *Janiscus*.
20. *Phæstus*.
21. *Zeuxippus*.
22. *Hippolytus*.
23. *Lacestades*.

CASTOR apud Euseb. p. 126.

1. *Ægialeus* 52. *circa 15^{um} annum Beli*.
2. *Europs* 45. *Nino coætaneus*.
3. *Telchin* (29. S.) ... 20. *ætate Semiramidis*.
4. *Apis* 25. *ex quo Apia*.
5. *Thelxion* 52.
6. *Ægydrus* 34.
7. *Thurimachus* 45. *hujus ætate Inachus*.
8. *Leucippus* 53.
9. *Messapus* 47.
10. *Eratus* 46.
11. *Plemnaeus* 48.
12. *Orthopolis* 63.
13. *Marathonius* 30. *quo tempore Cecrops*.
14. *Marathon* 20.
15. *Chyreus* 55. *eo tempore Danaüs*.
16. *Corax* 30.
17. *Epopeus* (32. S.) ... 35.
18. *Laomedon* ... (43. S.) ... 40.
19. *Sicyon* (42. S.) ... 45. { *Desiverunt Argivorum reges*
 qui annis 540 permanserunt,
20. *Polybus* (43. S.) ... 40.
21. *Inachus* (45. S.) ... 40.
22. *Phæstus* (10. S.) ... 8.
23. *Adrastus* (7. S.) ... 4.
24. *Polyphides* 31. *hujus ætate Ilium captum*.
25. *Pelasgus* 20.
26. *Zeuxippus* ... (30. S.) ... 31.

959

Summa regum 26 a quibus regnum est annis 959. Exin non reges sed Carnii Sacerdotes, quorum

1. *Archelaus* 1
2. *Automedon* 1
3. *Theoclytus* 4
4. *Euneus* 6
5. *Theonomus* 9
6. *Amphichyes* 12 (18)

33 (39)

7. *Denique Charidemus*, qui impensis exhaustus fugit. *Ab hoc ad Ol. 1. anni 352. Sicyoniorum regum et Sacerdotum temporibus anni conflantur 998.*

formed upon the artificial schemes of chronologers after chronology had become a system. The years of every reign are assigned upon no authority, and his interpolated reigns, *Messapus*, *Marathonius*, *Marathius*, *Inachus*, *Pelasgus*, bear the marks of fiction. The account of Pausanias appears to have been drawn from the early traditions, and to represent the narrations of the early poets. Apollodorus follows traditions which agree with the times assigned by Pausanias, making *Ægialeus* son of *Inachus*^t, *Thelxion* and *Telchin* contemporary with *Apis*, and *Eopeus* contemporary with *Antiopa* and *Lycus*^u.

Mr. Lewis^x properly distinguishes between the names of imaginary kings derived from popular tradition and the lists which were fabricated by chronologers to adapt dynasties to their own schemes of chronology. The reigns interpolated by Castor belonged to the latter class: many names in this account of Pausanias belong to the former. *Ægialeus* son of *Inachus*, *Thelxion*, *Apis*, *Telchin*, *Coronus*, *Corax*, *Sicyon*, were imaginary kings, but they were derived from ancient traditions; and some of them represent the connexion between Sicyon and Argos, and establish that these cities were inhabited by the same race of people.

The LELEGES were widely diffused over various parts of Greece and the adjacent countries. Their station in Megara and Locris and the west of Greece has been already noticed ^y. Other testimonies concur in assigning them to Locris ^z. They were the early inhabitants of Eubœa ^a, and are enumerated with the *Aones*, *Temmices*, and *Hyantes*, as the original possessors of Boeotia ^b. That they inhabited Magnesia may be collected from the tradition that

Castor, who reckoned 33 years to the priests, appears to have made the sum of the years 992. Eusebius, who made it 998, computed for the priests 39 years; which verifies the number 18 for 12 in the Greek copy. Eusebius, in quoting Castor, has a slight variation. In p. 126. Castor is made to say that *Charidemus* is the sixth priest: *Carnii sacerdotes sex—anis 33. quorum postremus Charidemus*. But in p. 301. *Charidemus* is the seventh: *Carnii sacerdotes sex qui sacerdotio annis 33 perfuncti sunt. Deinde sacerdos fuit Charidemus*. The contemporary notices of time are probably added by Eusebius himself. They agree, however, with the Chronology of Castor. Syncellus p. 97. adopts the account of Castor: conf. p. 102. B. 104. D. 109. C. 124. B. 148. A. 152. A. He has some variations in the years of some reigns, and reckons the whole period p. 152. A. to be $967 + 33 = 1000$: διαν τὰ τάρτα ἐπη χίλια. He differs in the synchronisms, making *Orthopolis*, the eleventh king, contemporary with *Inachus*: p. 68. D. Varro seems to have followed the longer computations adopted by Castor: Augustin. C. D. XVIII. 2. *Ninus jam secundus rex erat Assyriorum—erat etiam tempore illo regnum Sicyoniorum admodum parvum, a quo ille undecunque doctissimus M. Varro scribens de gente populi Romani velut antiquo tempore exorsus est.*

^t See above p. 10.

^u Apollod. II. 1, 1. Απις—ιπεὶ Θελξίονος καὶ Τελχίους ἐπιβιωνεῖς ἄπαις ἀπέθανε, καὶ νομισθεὶς θεὸς ἐκλήθη Σάρατης. Idem III. 5, 5. ἡ δὲ Ἀγιότη—εἰς Συκῶνα ἀπεδιδράσκει πρὸς Ἐπιστέα καὶ ταῦτα γαμεῖται—ἐ δὲ Λόκος στρατευόμενος Συκῶνα χειροῦται, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἐπιστέα κτείνει τὴν δὲ Ἀγιότην ἤραγε αἰχμαλότον. The tale is differently told by Pausanias; but Apollodorus agrees in the Thessalian origin of *Eopeus*: conf. I. 7, 4.

^x Philological Museum vol. II. p. 47.

^y See above p. 4.

^z Dicaearchus 70. p. 78.

ἄτοι κατακούσιι δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν
Αἰτωλίας, Δέλεγες τὸ πρὸς κεκλημένοι,
ἔπειτα Φίκες ἐκ Δελέγου φερόμενοι—

Steph. Byz. Φίσκος ἀφ' εἰς Λίλεγες οἱ τὸν Λεκρό.
Seymnus 590.

——Φίσκος ἔς γεννᾷ Λεκρόν,
ἢ τὸν Λίλεγας ἀνέμαστεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Λεκρός.

^a Seymnus 571.

πράτους δὲ αἰτῆι φασὶν οἰκῆσαι πρετοῦ
μηγάδας συνεκοὺς Λίλεγας—

^b Strabo IX. p. 401. ἡ δὲ Βιωτία πρότερον μὲν ἵππο βαρβάρων φέστη Ἀΐων καὶ Τεμικίας ἐκ τῶν Σουνίων πεπλανημένης, καὶ Λελέγης καὶ Ὑάγταν· ἔτα Φίνικες ἔσχον εἰ μετὰ Κάδμων. Another ancient tribe is mentioned by Steph. Byz. v. Προνάσται. ἔθνος Βιωτίας “ “ Βιωτῶν δὲ τινὲς παλαιὸν ἔθνος Προνάσται καὶ λοῦται.” ”

the Centaurs were *Leleges*^c. But their most powerful seat was in Laconia, called from them *Lelegia*; which they possessed for about nine generations down to the time of the Trojan war. The genealogy of this Lelegian dynasty is thus delivered by the ancient mythologists^d:

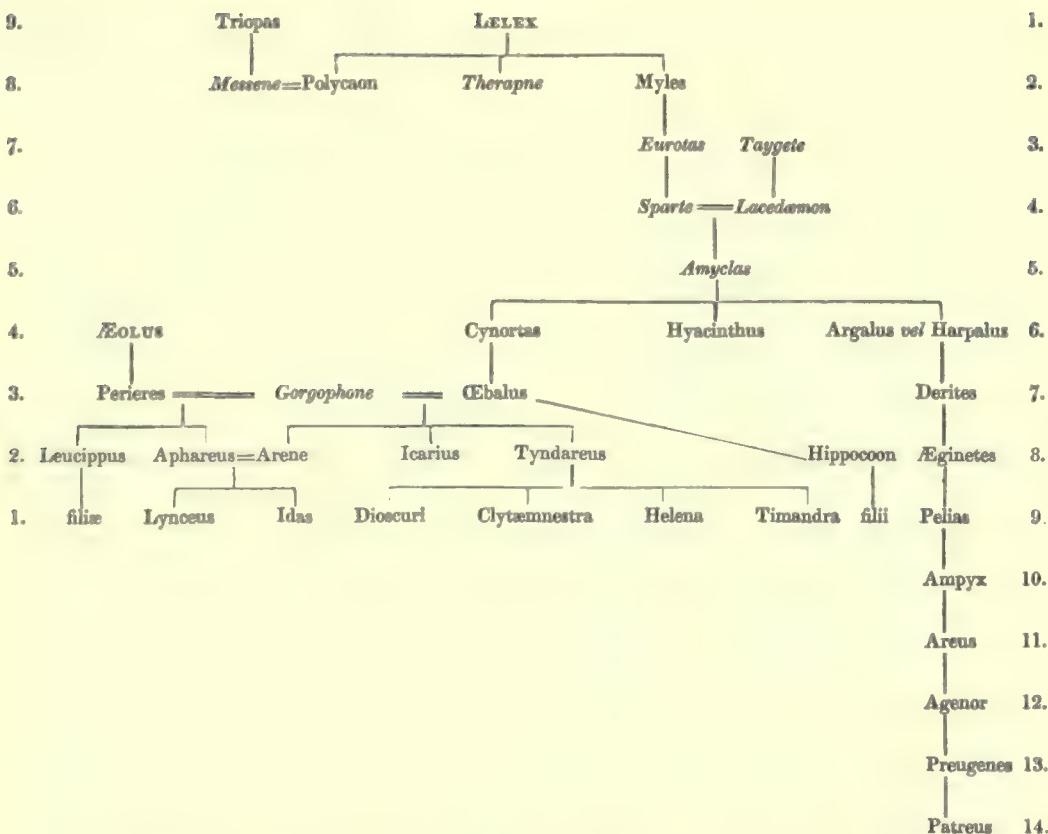
^c Schol. Pindar. Pyth. II. 78. εἰσὶ γε μὴν οἱ τὸν δλὸν μῆνον [de Centauris] ταρεγκειερίκαστιν ὃς ἐδιφύων γεγονόταν. Δέλεγας γάρ φασι πρότερον αὐτὸν προσαγορευομένους διὰ τὸ ἀπικεντήσαι τοὺς ταύρους προσαγορευθῆναι ιπποκέταύρους· οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἕποις κέλησιν ἐποχρήστες πρῶτοι πάντοι τοῦτο διεπράξαντο. Steph. Byz. Ἀμυραῖος πόλις Θεσσαλίας. — Σοῦδας ἐν ταῖς γενεαλογίαις ἔτι οὗτοι ἐκαλοῦντο Ἑρόδοι· ὑστερὸν δὲ Δέλεγες οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ Κένταυροι καὶ Ἰπποκέταύροι· καὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἀμυρικὴν καλεῖ.

^d Pausan. III. 1. 1. Δέλεξ αὐτόχθων ὁν ἔβασιλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τῇ γῇ ταῦτη, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Δέλεγες ἐν ἥρην ἀνομάσθησαν. Δέλεγος δὲ γίνεται Μύλην, καὶ νεώτερος Πολυκάνων. Idem IV. 1. 1. ἀποθανόντος Δέλεγος, ὃς ἔβασιλευσεν ἐν τῇ νῦν Λακωνικῇ τότε δὲ ἀπὸ ἑκείνου Δελεγίη καλούμενή [Hesych. Δελεγῆς ἡ Δακεδαίμονος πάλαι], Μύλης μὲν πρεσβύτερος ὁν τῶν παΐδων ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν, Πολυκάνων δὲ νεώτερός τε ἦν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἴωστης, ἐς δὲ Μεσσήνην τὴν Τρίότα τοῦ Φόρβαντος ἔλαβε γυναικα ἐξ Ἀργείου. Schol. Eur. Or. 615. Δακεδαίμονος πρῶτος ἦρξε Δέλεξ, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Δέλεγες ἀνομάζετο. ἔσχε δὲ παῖδας ἐκ Περιόδαις Μύλην, Πολυκλενα [sic], Βοιμόλοχον, Θεράπην [Pausan. III. 19. 9. Θεράπην ὄνομα τῷ χωρὶ γέγονεν ἀπὸ τοῦ; Δέλεγος θυγατρός]. τούτον ὁ Μύλης ἐκ Τηλεθίκης ἶσχει Εὔρότας καὶ Κητεδίαν.

Pausan. III. 1. 2. Μύλητος δὲ τελευτήσαντος, παρέλαβεν δὲ ταῖς Εὔρότας τὴν ἀρχὴν· ὅπος τὸ θύερ τὸ λυρινάζον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ διάρρυγι κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ θαλάσσαν· ἀποβιβύντος δὲ (ἥν γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἐπόδιον ποταμοῦ ἥειμα) ἀνθυμαστοῖς Εὔρόταν. ἄπε δὲ οὐκ ὄντων αὐτῷ παΐδων ἀρρένων βασιλεύεν καταλείπει Δακεδαίμονα, μητρὸς μὲν Τάκινέτης ὡτα ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀνομάσθη, ἐς Δία δὲ πατέρα ἀνήκοντα κατὰ τὴν φύμην. συνέφει δὲ ὁ Δακεδαίμονος Σπάρτην θυγατρὶ τοῦ Εὔρότα. Schol. Eur. Or. 615. Εὔρότας δὲ ἄρκεις μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν λιμναζόμενον ἔργαστάμενος καὶ ποταμὸν ποιήσας Εὔρόταν ἀνέμασεν. ὅπος δὲ Κλήτης ἶσχει θυγατέρα Σπάρτην, ἣν ἀγαγόμενος Δακεδαίμονος ὁ τούτης ἄρκεις τοὺς μὲν Δέλεγες Δακεδαίμονίους τὸ δὲ ὄρος Ταῦγετον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἦν ἔκτιστο Σπάρτην ἀνέμασε. Apollodorus III. 10. 3. omits Myles: Ταῦγέτη δὲ ἐκ Δίδε Δακεδαίμονας ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Δακεδαίμονος ἡ χώρα καλεῖται. Δακεδαίμονος δὲ καὶ Σπάρτης τῆς Εὔρότα, ὃς ἦν ἀπὸ Δέλεγος αὐτόχθωνος καὶ νόμφης Νηῆδος Κλεοχαρείας, Ἀμύκλας καὶ Εὔρυδις, ἣν ἔγινεν Ἀκρίσιος. Αμύκλα δὲ καὶ Διομῆδης τῆς Δακέδης Κυνότης καὶ Τάκινος. According to some accounts Sparta was founded by *Spartus son of Phoroneus*: Syncell. p. 149. B. derived from Euseb. Chron. anno 300. Another *Spartus* may be traced in Steph. Byz. Δακεδαίμονος — ἡ Σπάρτη πρότερον, ἀπὸ Σπάρτου τοῦ Ἀμύκλαντος τοῦ Δέλεγος τοῦ Σπάρτου ἡ διὰ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους συνοικήσαντας τὴν πόλιν Δέλεγας διεσπαρμένους εἰς ταῦτο συνελθεῖν

καὶ μίαν οἰκησιν ποιήσασθαι. *Spartus* the father of *Lelex*, in the tenth generation before the Trojan war, is scarcely intended for the same person as *Spartus* son of *Phoroneus* in the seventeenth. Four persons, then, appear to have been fabricated out of the name of the city of *Sparta*: 1. *Spartus* son of *Phoroneus*. 2. *Spartus* father of *Lelex*. 3. *Spartus* son of *Amyclas*. 4. *Spartē* daughter of *Eurotas*.

The descendants of *Lacedaemon* are given in the following testimonies: Apollod. III. 10. 3. Κυνότου δὲ Περιήρης, ὃς γαμεῖ Γοργοφόρην τὴν Περσέως, καθάπερ Στησίχορδος φησι, καὶ τίκτει Τυνδάρεων, Ἰκάριον, Ἀφαρέα, Λεύκιππαν. Ἀφαρέως μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀρίτης τῆς Οιβάλου Λυγκέως τε καὶ Ἰδας καὶ Πείσος—Λεύκιππου δὲ —θυγατέρες ἔγενοντο Ἰλάιρα καὶ Φοιβή· τούτας ἀράσαντες ἔγημαν Διόσκουροι——εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγαντες Ἀφαρέα μὲν καὶ Λεύκιππου ἐκ Περιήρης γενέσθαι τοῦ Αἴδουν· Κυνότου δὲ [Περιήρης τοῦ δὲ] Οιβάλου Οιβάλου δὲ καὶ Νηῆδος νόμφης Βατείας Τυνδάρεων, Ἰπποκένταυρος, Ἰκαρίων. Idem I. 9. 5. Περιήρης δὲ (δι Αἴδουν) Μεσσήνην κατασχὼν Γοργοφόρην τὴν Περσέως ἔγημεν ἐξ ἧς Ἀφαρέως αὐτῷ καὶ Λεύκιππος—ταῖδες ἔγενοντο. Πολλὲ δὲ τὸν Περιήρην λέγουσιν οὐκ Αἴδουν παῖδα δὲλλὰ Κυνότου τοῦ Ἀμύκλη. Pausan. III. 1. 3. Ἀμύκλας ὁ Δακεδαίμονος βουλόμενος ὑπολιέσθαι τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς μηνυμὸν πόλισμα ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ γενούμενα δὲ οἱ παῖδων, Τάκινον μὲν νεώτερον ὃντας καὶ τὸ εἶδος κάλλιστον κατέλαβεν ἡ πεπρωμένη πρότερον τοῦ πατρὸς—ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀμύκλα, ἐς Ἀργαλού τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν Ἀμύκλα παΐδων καὶ θυτερον ἐς Κυνότου, Ἀργάλου τελευτήσαντος, ἀφίκετο ἡ ἀρχὴ. Κυνότητα δὲ ἔγενετο Οιβάλος, ὅπος Γοργοφόρην τὴν Περσέως γυναικα ἔσχει ἐξ Ἀργούς, καὶ παῖδα ἔσχε Τυνδάρεων, φερὲ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰπποκένταυρος ημεροβῆται, καὶ κατὰ τρεσβείαν ἔχειν ἡδίου τὴν ἀρχὴν. προσλαβὼν δὲ Ἰκάριον καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας τυρά τούτο τε ὑπερβάλλετο δυνάμει Τυνδάρεων, καὶ ἡνάγκασεν ἀποχωρῆσαι δείσατα, ὃς μὲν Δακεδαίμονός φασιν, ἐς Πελλάγαν. Μεσσηρίου δὲ ἔστιν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος Τυνδάρεων φείγοντα ἐλθεῖν ὡς Ἀφαρέα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηρίαν, εἴναι τε Ἀφαρέα τὸν Περιήρης ἀδελφὸν Τυνδάρεων πρὸς μητρός· καὶ οἰκῆσαι τε αὐτὸν τῆς Μεσσηρίας φασὶν ἐν Θαλάμαις, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐγένεσθαι τούτοις οἰκοῦντι αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. χρόνῳ δὲ θυτερον κατηγέλε τε ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους Τυνδάρεων καὶ ἀγενεύσαστο τὴν ἀρχὴν. Apollodorus III. 10. 5. has a slight difference: 'Ιπποκένταυρος Ἰκαρίων καὶ Τυνδάρεων ἐξεβαλε Δακεδαίμονος οἱ δὲ φείγοντο πρὸς Θεσσαλίαν καὶ συμμαχοῦντι αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὄμρους πόλεμον ἔχοντι, καὶ γαμεῖ Τυνδάρεων θεοτόκην θυγατέρα Λήδαν. αὐτοὶ δὲ, δτε 'Ηρακλῆς Ἰπποκένταυρος καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπέκτεινε, κατέρχονται, καὶ παραλαμβάνει Τυνδάρεων τὴν βασιλείαν. With whom Strabo X. p. 461. agrees: φασὶ δὲ Τυνδάρεων καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν



αὐτοῦ Ἰκάριον ἀπεισόντας ὥπε 'Ιπποκόνιτος τῆς οἰκείας ἀλλεῖν παρὰ Θέστιον τὸν τῶν Πλευρῶν ἄρχοντα, καὶ συγκατακτήσασθαι τῆς περιάς τοῦ Ἀχελώου τολλὰ ἐπὶ μέρει· τὸ μὲν ὅν Τυνδάρεων ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε γῆματα Δῆμαν τὴν τοῦ Θεοτοῦ θυγατέρα. And Schol. Hom. Il. β. 581. Οἰβάλος ὁ Περιήρος ἦρχε Λακεδαμονίων, ὁ Τυνδάρεως, Ἰκαρος, Ἀρη, καὶ νόθος Ἰπποκόνιος, ἡ συμφρασάμενος Ἰκάρῳ τὸν Τυνδάρεων ἀπελαύνει. Schol. Eur. Or. 447. Οἰβάλον τοῦ Περιήρους παῖδες εὗται· Τυνδάρειος, Ἰκαρος, Ἀρη, [καὶ Νῆθος] καὶ ἐκ Νικοστράτης [ι. καὶ νόθος ἐκ Νικοστράτης] Ἰπποκόνιον. οὗτος μετὰ θάνατον Οἰβάλου ἀστατασταν περὶ τῆς ἄρχης. Ἰκαρος δὲ συνθέμενος μετὰ Ἰπποκόνιος ἔξελαύνει τὸν Τυνδάρεων τῆς Σπάρτης ὃ δὲ οἰκεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἑσχάτοις τῆς Αιτωλίας καὶ γαμεῖ Δῆμαν κ. τ. λ. Diodorus IV. 33. relates the expulsion of Tyndareus, and his restoration by Hercules, but without naming Icarius.

Patreus the founder of Patras was descended from Lacedaemon: Pausan. VII. 18, 3, 4. Ἀχαιῶν ἐκβαλλοντον Ἰωνας, Πατρεὺς δὲ Πρευγένους τοῦ Ἀγήρος κ. τ. λ. — Ἀγήρος δὲ διετήρη τοῦ Πρευγένους Ἀρέως παῖς ἦν τοῦ Ἀμπικος^ς δὲ διετήρη Πελίου τοῦ Αἰγισήπου τοῦ Δηρέτου τοῦ Ἀρτάδου τοῦ Ἀρμίλλα τοῦ Δακεδαλίμωνος. Clavier H. des Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 105. and Siebelis ad

Pausan. III. 1, 3. conclude Harpalus and Argalus to be the same person; perhaps rightly: and yet, if Argalus had left children, he would scarcely have been succeeded by his brother Cynortas. Some accounts, as we have seen, interposed Perieres between Cynortas and Ebalus; but as Apollodorus omits Myles, Lelex would still be in the ninth generation before the war of Troy.

Of Polycyon the following account is given: Pausan. IV. 2, 1—3. πρῶτοι βασιλεύοντες Πολυκάνων τε ὁ Δέλεγος καὶ Μεσσηνή—χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ὡς ἦν τὸν Πολυκάνον οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἀπογόνον ἐξ γενεᾶς πέτερε (ἔμοι δοκεῖν) προελόντων καὶ οὐ πλέοντας, Περιήρη τὸν Αἴλον βασιλέα ἐπάγεσται—Περιήρει δὲ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ Γοργοφόνης τῆς Περσέως Ἀφαρεύς καὶ Λεύκιππος, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε Περιήρης ἐσχαν οὗτοι τῷ Μεσσηνίον ἄρχην^ς κυριώτερος δὲ ἔτι Ἀφαρεύς ἦν. οὗτος βασιλεύοντας πόλιν ἐκίστεν^ς Ἀρίην ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰβάλου θυγατρὸς αἵτης δὲ γυναικὸς τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἀδελφῆς δομομητρίας, καὶ γὰρ Οἰβάλῳ συφίκησε Γοργοφόνη. Idem II. 21, 8. πρώτην αὐτῆν φασι τελευτήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Περιήρους τοῦ Αἴλον (τούτῳ γὰρ παρθένος συφίκησε) τὴν δὲ αὐτής Οἰβάλῳ γῆμασθαι.

According to this genealogy *Tyndareus* was of Lelegian race, and the *Leleges* possessed Messenia as well as Laconia ^c till the *Aeolidæ* came into that province about three generations before the Trojan war.

The *Leleges*, like the *Pelasgi*, were found in Asia Minor and the islands. According to Herodotus ^f they held the islands in the time of *Minos*. According to Strabo ^g they were anciently intermixed with the Carians, and found in many parts of Asia Minor. They were in the Troad down to the time of the Trojan war, and occupied Ionia till the Ionian colonists expelled them. This last particular is also recorded by Pausanias ^h, and their residence in these countries is attested by occasional notices in the early poets ⁱ. The *Leleges*, like the *Pelasgi*, of whom they seem to have been a part, disappeared gradually before the *Hellenes*, by whom they were reduced to the condition of vassals. Hence Eratosthenes ^k reckoned them among the extinct races of Asia.

With the *Pelasgi* and *Leleges* the CAUCONS and DRYOPES are named by Strabo among the early inhabitants of Greece. Of these the Caucons are traced in the west of Peloponnesus^l.

^e Palmerius, however, without sufficient authority (Græc. Ant. p. 65.) supposes them to originate in Laconia : *Prima eorum origo non ex insulis sed ex Laconica deducitur*; for which there is no more reason than there is for the opinion that the *Pelasgi* originated in Arcadia.

^f Herodot. I. 171. Κάρες τὸ παλαιὸν ἔποις Μίνω τε κατήκου καὶ καλέθμενοι Δέλεγες εἶχαν τὰς νῆσους.

In Strabo VII. p. 321. τοὺς δὲ Δέλεγες τινὲς μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς Καρούς εἰκάζουσι, εἰ δὲ συνοίκους μόνον καὶ συστρατιώτας δύπερ ἐν τῇ Μίλησιᾳ Δελέγεων κατοικίας λέγεσθαι τινας, πολλοχῷ δὲ τῆς Καρίας τάφρου Δελέγεων καὶ ἔρματα ἔρμα, Δελέγεια καλούμενα. ηὔτε τὸν Ἰανία λεγομένη τάπα σὺν Καρῷ φέκτοι καὶ Δελέγεων ἐκβαλότες δὲ τοιτοὺς εἰς Ἰωνές αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν κατέσχον ἔτι δὲ πρότερος οἱ τὴν Τροάν ἔδιπτοι ἐξήλασαν τοὺς Δέλεγες ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰδρὺ τίταν τῶν κατὰ Πήδασον καὶ τὸν Σατυίνετα τοπαριάν. Idem XIV. p. 632. φησὶ Φερεκύδης Μίλητον μὲν καὶ Μιωντα καὶ τὰ περὶ Μικάλην καὶ Ἐφεσον Κάρες ἔχειν πρότερον τὴν δ' ἐξῆς παραδίαι μέχρι Φυκαίας καὶ Χίου καὶ Σάμου, ής Ἀγκαῖος ὥρχε, Δέλεγες ἐκβληθῆναι δ' ἀμφοτέρους πέρι τῶν Ἰωνέων καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς Καρίας ἐκπεσεῖν. Ib. p. 634. φησὶ δὲ Ἐφερός (τὸν Μίλητον) τὸ πρώτον κτίσμα εἶναι Κρητικόν—Σαρπιδίναις ἐκ Μιλήτου τῆς Κρητικῆς ἀγαγόντος εἰκότερας καὶ θεμένους τούτον τῷ πόλει τῆς ἑκεὶ πόλεως ἐπώνυμον, κατεχόντων πρότερον τὸν τόπον Δελέγεων. Hence Mile-tus was called *Lelegeis*: Steph. Byz. Μίλητος—Δίδυμος δὲ ἐν Συμποτακῷ φησιν διτον Λελεγῆς ἐκαλέστη ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων Δελέγεων. Strabo XIV. p. 640. τὴν δὲ πόλιν (τὴν Ἐφεσον) φοινὶ μὲν Κάρες τε καὶ Δέλεγες ἐκβαλάν δὲ ὁ Ἀνδροκλος; τοὺς πλείστους ἔκιστοι ἐκ τῶν συνελθόντων αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ Ἀθήναι καὶ τὴν Τελέαν. Idem XIII. p. 611. Ἐε δὴ δὲ Καρία καὶ ἐν Μιλήτῳ Δελέγεων τάφος καὶ ἔρματα καὶ ἵρη κατοικῶν δείκνυται. Idem XII. p. 570. (εἰ δὲ ὀρεινὸς Πισιδᾶς) φασὶν αὐτοῖς τῶν Δελέγεων συγκαταμιχθῆναι τινας τὸ παλαιὸν πλάνητας ἀνθράτους, καὶ συμμεῖται διὰ τὴν διαιτηρίαν αὐτόθι.

^h Pausan. VII. 2. 4. speaking of Ephesus : Δέλεγες τοῦ Καρικοῦ μοίρα καὶ Λιδῶν τὸ πολὺν οἱ γερμόμενοι τὴν χώραν ἡσαν — Ανδροκλος δὲ — Δέλεγες μὲν καὶ Λιδῶν τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔχοντας ἐξέβαλεν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας. Some however remained: ibid. τοι; δὲ περὶ τὸ ιερὸν οἰκοῦσι δεῖμα ἡ οὐδέν. ἀλλὰ "Ιωνινὸν ὄρκους δόντες καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος παρ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἐκτὸς ἡσαν πολέμου.

ⁱ Homer Il. 2. 96. φ'. 86. quoted by Strabo XIII. p. 605. places the *Leleges* at Pedasus ; and enumerates them among the forces of Troy κ. 429. καὶ Δέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες διοι τε Πελασσοῖ. Alceæus apud Strab. XIII. p. 606. speaks of *Antandrus* : πρώτα μὲν καὶ "Αντανδρος Δελέγεων πόλις. Aleman placed them in Gargarus: Steph. Byz. Γάργαρα.—Ἀλκμάν δὲ θηλυκῶς τὴν Γάργαρον φησιν ἢ κατήκουν Δέλεγες. The garment of *Anteheus* prince of Halicarnassus, is called by Alexander Αἴτολος apud Parthen. c. 14. Δελεγήνιον εἶμα. And although Alexander is a late poet, he doubtless followed early traditions. The station of the *Leleges* in Caria was recorded by Philippus of Theangala apud Athen. VI. p. 271. b. See F. H. II. p. 412. c. who is also quoted Schol. Eur. Rhes. 508. e cod. Vat. Τερμέρια κακά ὑπὲρ ὅν Φίλιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Καρῶν περὶ φησιν εἴτες “Τέρμερον καὶ Λίκον Δέλεγες γενέσθαι θηριώδεις τὴν φύσιν τούτον δὲ τὸν Τέρμερον πον τόλμην οἰκησις εἰς τοικίδειν” ἢ δὴ ἀτ' αὐτοῦ Τέρμερον οὐνομάσθαι. τούτους δὲ φασὶ πρότοις ληστεῖσας καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰ περὶ Καρίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ σχεδίας καὶ βίτας ποιήσασται εἰς Κῶ ἐξπλεῖν [ἐκπλεῖν]. Steph. Byz. Νινόν. ἢ ἐν Καρίᾳ Ἀφροδισίας κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν Δελέγεων, καὶ ἐκδήνη Δελέγεων πόλις.

^k Plin. H. N. V. 30. *Ex Asia interiisse gentes tradit Eratosthenes Solymorum, Lelegum, Bebrycum, Colycantiorum, Trepseudorum.*

^l Strabo VIII. p. 345. ἔμφει τὰ χωρία ταῦτα [Leprea and Cypress] Καύκωνες κατεῖχον, καὶ τὸν Μάκιστον δέ—φασι δὲ ἐν τῇ Δεπρεάτidi καὶ Καύκωνες εἶναι μηῆς, εἴτ' ἀρχηγέτους τιδες εἴτ' ἄλλως ὁμαλόμενον τῷ

Like the *Pelasgi* and *Leleges*, they found their way into Asia, where they appear in the Iliad among the forces of Troy^m, and are placed by Strabo in Paphlagoniaⁿ. They are considered as an extinct race^o.

The *Dryopes* inhabited mount Οeta for three generations before *Hercules*^p, by whom they were

έθει. τλείους δὲ εἰσὶ ληγοὶ περὶ τὴν Καικάνων καὶ γὰρ Ἀρκαδικὸν ἔθνος φασὶ, καθάπερ τὸ Πελαστικὸν, καὶ πλανητικὸν ἄλλως ὅπερ ἐκεῖνο—οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὄλην τὴν τὸν Ἡλέας ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσσηρίας μέχρι Δύμης Καικάνων λεχθῆναι φασιν. Ἀττικαῖς οὖτε Επειόντες καὶ Καίκυρας ἀπαντας προσαγαργεῖσι. τοὺς δὲ, ὄλην μὲν μὴ κατασχεῖν αὐτὸς δίχα δὲ μεμρισμένους εἰκεῖ, τοὺς μὲν τρὶς τῇ Μεσσηρίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Τριφύλιαν τοὺς δὲ τρὶς τῇ Δύμῃ κατὰ τὴν Βουτρασθεὰ καὶ τὴν κείλην Ἡλίου. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐνταῦθα μέλλοτα οἴδει θρυμμένους αὐτοὺς· καὶ δὴ τοὺς ἴνφερούς οἱ Ομήρου λεγομένους [Odys. γ. 366] μαλαγεῖ μᾶλλον ἡ ιστάτη ἀπόφασις· κ. τ. λ. Ib. p. 387. τῷ δὲ Ἀντιμάχῳ Καικύρια τὴν Δύμην εἰπάντος, οἱ μὲν ἐδέξαντο ἀπὸ τὴν Καικάνων ἐπιβήτας εἰρῆσθαι αὐτὸν, μέχρι δέρρε καβοκόντες—οἱ δὲ Καίκυρος ποταμοῦ τινές. In Apollod. III. 8, 1. *Caucus* is named among the sons of *Lycaon*; which gives him an Arcadian and therefore a Pelasgic original.

^m Hom. Il. κ'. 429. ς. 329.

ⁿ Strabo XII. p. 542. τοὺς δὲ Μαριανδιοὺς καὶ τοὺς Καίκυρας οὐχ ὄμοις ἀπαντεῖς λέγοντες· τὴν γὰρ δὴ Ἡράκλειαν ἐν τοῖς Μαριανδιοῖς θρύσθαι φασι—τοὺς δὲ Καίκυρας, οὓς Ιστορεῖται τὴν ἐφεβῆς εἰκῆσαι παραδίαις τοῖς Μαριανδιοῖς μέχρι τοῦ Παρθενίου ποταμοῦ, πόλις ἔχοντας τὸ Τίεν, οἱ μὲν Σκύθες φασὶν οἱ δὲ τὸν Μακεδόνων τινάς οἱ δὲ τὸν Πελασγῶν—Καλλισθένης δὲ καὶ ἔγγραφε τὰ ἔτη ταῦτα εἰς τὸν διάκοσμον μετὰ τὸ “Κρέμναν τ' Αὐγανὸν λόν τε [Iliad. β. 855]” τίθεις.

Καίκυρος; αὐτὸς ἡγετεῖ Πολικλέες οὐδὲ ἀμύνεται,

εἰ τερὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλιτὰ δόματα^q ἔναισται.

— τὸ δὲ τὸν Καικάνων γένος τὸ περὶ τὸ Τίενον μέχρι Παρθενίου—καὶ τὸν δὲ τὴν Καικάνων εἶναι τινὰς περὶ τὸν Παρθενίον.

^o Strabo VII. p. 322. ἐκλελοπέντε τὸ γένος (τὸν Λελέγον)· ἀπερ ἄν τις καὶ περὶ Καικάνων λέγοι νῦν οὐδαμοῦ ὄντων, πρότερον δὲ τὸν πλείστους τόπους κατεψημένουν. Idem VIII. p. 355. Πιστᾶν δὲ καὶ Τριφύλιαν καὶ Καικάνων μῆτρα λεφθέντα.

^p Diod. IV. 37. Φύλατος τοῦ Δρυπτῶν βασιλέως δέξαντος εἰς τὸ δὲ Δελφοῖς ιερὸν παρανευμηκέπαι, στρατεύεται μετὰ τῶν Μηλιέων τὸν τὸ βασιλεῖα τῶν Δρυπτῶν ἀνεῖπε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξαναστῆσας Μηλιέστι παρίσκε τὴν χώραν.—τὸν δὲ ἐκπειθετῶν Δρυπτῶν οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Εὔρωπαν κατατήσαντες ἔκτισαν πόλιν Κάρυστον οἱ δὲ εἰς Κύπρον τὴν ἥπαν πλεύσαντες καὶ τοῖς ἐρχωρίοις ἀναμιχθέντες ἐγταῦθα κατεψηγαν· εἰ δὲ λεπτοὶ τῶν Δρυπτῶν καταφυγώσατε εἰς τὴν Εύρωπαν βοηθείας ἔτιχα διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν τρὸς Ἡρακλέα. τετταὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς σπερρυόντος τρεῖς πόλεις ὄκισαν δὲ Πελοπόνησον, Ἀσίνη καὶ Ἐρμίνη ἔτι δὲ Ἡίβα. In Schol. Apollon. I. 1212. is somewhat a different account of the contest: Ἡρακλῆς θεὸς κατὰ τὴν Δρυπτῶν ἐγένετο—ἐγνυ-

χὸν Θεοδάμαντι γέτε ἐλλήνης τροφῆν· οὐδὲ οὐκ ἐλέου, ἀρπάσας ἔνα τὸν βοῦν αὐτοῦ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἔθυσε καὶ εὐεχεῖτο. Θεοδάμας δὲ ἐτανάλθων εἰς τὴν τῶν Δρυπτῶν πόλιν εἰς πόλεμον διῆγετες αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους· γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς, εἰς τοσαύτην ἀνάγκην ἤλθεν Ἡρακλῆς ἀστεῖ καὶ τὴν γυναικαν αὐτοῦ (Δημάνειραν) ὀπλίσαι—τέλος δὲ περιγενθέμενος αὐτῷ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ ἀνελὼν τὸν Θεοδάμαντα τὸν μὲν οὐλὸν αὐτοῦ Τλαν ἀνεδέξατο τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἀπαν μετέκιστοι εἰς Τραχίνα πόλιν Θεσσαλικὴν, καὶ τὴν Οἴτην. Apollodorus II. 7, 7. seems to mention two wars: διεξιὸν δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Δρυπτῶν χώραν ἀπὸρων τροφῆς· ἀπατήσαντος Θεοδάμαντος θυλαττοῦτος, τὸν ἔτερον τὸν τάιρον λίστας εἰσχέστησε· οὐδὲ ἡκεῖ εἰς Τραχίνα πόλις Κήνηκα, ὑποδεχθεὶς δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ Δρύπτωνας καταπολέμησον. αὐθίς δὲ ἐκεῖτες ὄμρυθεις Αλυμποὶ βασιλεῖ Δωρέων συμμάχησεν—ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ Λαογόραν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, βασιλέα Δρύπτων, ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τεμένει δαιμόνιον, ἐβρίστηρ ὄντα καὶ Δασιθῶν σύμμαχον. Pausanias IV. 34, 6. describes their original station on mount Οeta, their expulsion by *Hercules*, and their settlement in Peloponnesus: ‘Ασιναῖς τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Λικυρείταις ὄμοροι περὶ τὸν Παρασσόν ψκους ὄντα δὲ ἢ αὐτοῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐς Πελοπόνησον διεώσαντο ἀπὸ τοῦ οικιστοῦ Δρύπτες. γενεῖ δὲ ὑπεροπτὸς τρίτη, βασιλεύειται Φύλατος, μάχη γε τοις Δρύπτοις ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέους· ἐκρατήσθαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνάθημα ἥχθησαν δὲ Δελφοῖς ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐς Πελοπόνησον, χρήσαντος Ἡρακλέος τοῦ θεοῦ, πρώτη μὲν τὸν πρὸς Ἐρμίνην Ἀσίνην ἔσχω, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐκτεσίστες ὑπὲρ Ἄργειαν [in the reign of Nicander king of Sparta: Pausan. II. 36, 5.] οἰκούσιν ἐν Μεσσηρίᾳ Δακεδαιμονίους δύνταν. —Ασιναῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ περὶ σφὸν ὀπτεῖς λέγοντες· κρατηθῆναι μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέους μάχη συγχωροῦσιν ἀλλονταί τε τὴν ἐν τῷ Παρασσῷ πόλιν· αιχμάλωτοι δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ ἀχθῆναι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὐ φασι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λόσκεται ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ τεῖχος ἐκλοπεῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀναφυγεῖ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρασσοῦ· διαβάτες δὲ ὑπεροπτοὶ ναυσὶν ἐς Πελοπόνησον γενέσθαι φασὶν Εὐρωπέων ἵκεται, καὶ σφίσιν Εὐρωπέα, ἀπετεχθανόμενοι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, δεῦνται τὴν δὲ τῇ Ἄργειῳ Ἀσίνῃ. μόνοι δὲ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δρυπτῶν οἱ Ασιναῖοι σεμνύνονται καὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῷ δόματι, οὐδὲν διμοίσιος Εὐβόεων οἱ Στύρα ἔχοντες εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Στύρεις Δρύπτες τὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς δους τῆς τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα οὐ μετέσχον μάχης, ἀπανέρευ τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντες τὰς οἰκήσεις. We learn from Pausanias that Diodorus gave the tradition of the Asineans. Both Pausanias and Diodorus agree in *Phylas* king of the *Dryopes*. *Phylas* also occurs in a fragment quoted by Heyne ad Apollod. p. 465. καὶ Δρύπτων τελέων πάντας ἀλλαζει τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποσφέντας. The Scholiast and Apollodorus describe a war distinct from that second war which was carried on with

expelled and transplanted into Peloponnesus. Their settlement in Peloponnesus is marked by Herodotus^a. They may also be traced in the early times in the neighbourhood of Ambracia^b.

Phylas, and which ended in the deportation to Peloponnesus. *Laogoras*, named in Apollodorus, is in none of the other accounts.

^a Herodot. VIII. 43. οἱ δὲ Ἐρμιονεῖς εἰσὶ Δρύοπες, ὃν Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηδέων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεόμενης χώρης ἔσαναστάντες. Hence called *Dryopis*: Idem I. 56. τὸ Δυρικόν—ἴς τὸν Δρυοτίδα μετέβη. VIII. 73. οἰκεῖ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔντες ἐπάντα τοιτέων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα—τὰ δὲ λοιπά—τέσσερα ἐπήλυδα ἔστι, Δωρίες τε καὶ Λιτώλοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Λήμνιοι. Δωρίεων μὲν πολλαὶ τε καὶ δόκιμαι πόλις, Λιτώλοι δὲ Ἡλις μονή, Δρύοπων δὲ Ἐρμόνη τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἡ τρόδος Καρδαμίλη τῇ Λακωνίᾳ. Conf. Pausan. V. 1, I. Strabo IX. p. 434. describes their original seat: Δρυοτίδα τετράπολις γεγονίδιν τοτε, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν Δωρίδα, μητράπολις δὲ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Δρύοπων νομίζουμενην. And Steph. Byz. Δρύοπες πόλις τερὶ τὴν Ἐρμίνα γράφεται καὶ Δρύπα. ὁ τολμήτης Δρυοπᾶς, ὁς Ἡρόδορος, ἐν παρατίθεντι Ἐκαφρόδιτος, οἱ δὲ τερὶ τὴν Οἴτην Δρύοπες ἀπὸ Δρυόπης τῆς Εὐρυτάνεων θυγατρές, ἔστι καὶ Δρυοπῖα τῶν Δρύοπων περὶ Τραχίνα. Herodorus doubtless mentioned the *Dryopes* in his Ἡρακλῆς. For Herodorus, see F. H. III. p. 560. In Steph. Byz. for Εὐρύτανοι Verheyk ad Antonin. Lib. p. 215. with much probability corrects Εὐρύτου, from Ovid Met. IX. 356. 395. Hercules was said to have assigned the boundaries of the Dryopian settlement in Argolis: Pausan. II. 28. 2. ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνακούστι τὸ Κόρυφον ἔστι καθ' ὅδον στρεψτῆς καλαυριέντης ἡλίαι φυτόν, αἰτίου τοῦ περιαγαγόντος τῇ χειρὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα. εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀσίναις τοῖς ἐτῇ Ἀργολίδῃ ἔθηκεν δρόν τούτον οὐκ ἀν ἔνοχη εἰδεῖν. Etym. Magn. p. 154. also ascribes their establishment to Hercules: Ἀσίνεῖς: οἱ Δρύοπες οἱ τὴν Ἀσίνην κατοικήσαντες—εἴρηται δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τοὺς Δρύοπας ληστεύοντας ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Πισσῶν χωρίων ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ μετέφρισεν, ἵνα διὰ τὴν πολυεληθίαν τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἐίργοντο τοῦ κακουργεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀσίνεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐκούσθαι, ὡς μηρέτι κατὰ τὸ πρότερον σινομένουν. Aristotle, however, ascribed their settlement at Asinē to *Dryops*: Strabo VIII. p. 373. Δρυόπων δὲ οἰκητήριον φασι (τὴν Ἐρμόνην) καὶ τὴν Ἀσίνην εἴτ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ Σπερχείου τότων ὄντας αὐτοῖς Δρύοπος τοῦ Ἀρκάδος κατοικήσαντος ἐνταῦθα, ὃς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, ἡ Ἡρακλέως ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Δωρίδος ἐξελεῖσαντος αὐτοῖς. Eustath. ad Il. β'. p. 287. ὁ δὲ γεωγράφος λέγει—ὅτι Ἀσίνη καὶ Ἐρμίαν Δρύοπαν οἰκητήριον, Δρύοπες τοῦ Ἀρκάδος κατοικήσαντος αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τῶν περὶ Σπερχείου τόπων.

^a Dicaearchus p. 76. v. 24—30.
τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔστιν Ἀμβρακία πρώτη πόλις·

ἐπιφανεῖς

δὲ ιερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ λιμὴν κλειστός· καλεῖται Δρυεῖς ἡ χώρα δὲ ὄλη.

Pliny H. N. IV. 1. places them in Epirus: *Epirus—in ea primi Chaones—dein Thesproti—Perrhaebi, quorum mons Pindus, Cassiopaei, Dryopes, Sellii, Hellopes, Molossi, apud quos Dodonei Jovis templum.* Palmerius Græc. Ant. p. 313. quotes Dicearchus and Pliny doubtfully: *Regio circa Ambraciā tota a Dicæarcho Δρυεῖς dicta est, nescio quam bene: nullus enim alias habitationem Dryopum qui montani erant ad maris littus usque extendit;* Plinius—eorum ordinem et situm non notavit. Omnes vero alii qui de *Dryopibus* verba fecerunt eos in montibus ponunt justa (Etcœs; nullus maritimos facit aut Ambracia collimitaneos. *Ab antiquissimâ, credo, et jam deleta memoria id nomen revocavit Dicæarchus.* But the connexion of the *Dryopes* with Ambracia is confirmed by Antonin. Liber. c. 4. whom Palmerius has overlooked: ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων ἔστι τῷ προσήκειν ἔλεγε τὴν πόλιν ἦτι Μελανές νιός ἢ αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσας μὲν Δρύπων καὶ πολέμηρ λαβὼν τὴν τάσαν Ἡπειρον, γεννήσας δὲ παιδίας Εύρυτον καὶ Ἀμβρακίαν, ἐφ' ἣς ἡ πόλις Ἀμβρακία καλεῖται. Steph. Byz. in his present text v. Νεμέα mentions *Dryopes* in Elis: Νεμέα χώρα τῆς Ἡλιδος ἐν ταύτῃ Δρύοπες φύκου. τὸ ἔνικον Νέμεος καὶ Νεμεῖος. Στράβων ὑδόν κ. τ. λ. But as this passage is evidently mutilated (conf. Berkel. ad loc.) the *Dryopes* were perhaps referred in the original passage to Nemea in Argolis. That the *Dryopes* settled in Eubœa at Carystus, is attested not only by Diodorus already quoted, but by Thucydides VII. 57. *Καρυστίων* οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ Δρύοπες. Their settlement at Styra (Pausan. IV. 34, 6) is confirmed by Herodotus VIII. 46. who also places them in Cythnus: Στυρέες—Κύθνιοι—ἔοντες συναμφίτεροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες. According to Strabo XIII. p. 586. the *Dryopes* had occupied the neighbourhood of Cyzicus and Abydos soon after the Trojan war: τότε μὲν ὅν [in the time of Priam] τοιάστα ἴτηρχεν. Ίστορον δὲ ἡκαλούσθων μεταβολαι πατροῖσι τὰ μὲν γάρ περὶ Κύζικον Φρύγες ἐπόκησαν ἔως Πρακτίου, τὰ δὲ περὶ Ἀβδον Θρῆκες, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον τούτων ἀμφοῖν Βέρυκες καὶ Δρύοπες. They appear however even before the Trojan war to have found their way into the Troad; for *Dryops* occurs Apollod. III. 12, 5. among the sons of Priam. In the Iliad v. 455. *Dryops* is named among the warriors on the part of Troy, but is not called the son of Priam. Diodorus, already quoted, has shewn that the *Dryopes* after their dispersion by the victory of Hercules penetrated to Cyprus; and Raoul-Rochette Colonies Grecques tom. I. p. 441. traces them there in Asinē, mentioned by Steph. Byz. Ἀσίνη Κύπρου. This settlement, however, at Asinē

The genealogies concerning the *Dryopes* all attest a Pelasgic original^s. They are mentioned by Aristides with the *Pelasgi* as an obsolete race^t.

The AONES, HYANTES, and TEMMICES, have been already mentioned^u. These tribes are found in Boeotia in the time of *Cadmus*. The two former are described by Pausanias^x: γῆν τὴν Θηβαΐδα οἰκήσται πρῶτον λέγουσιν Ἐκτηνας, βασιλέα δὲ εἶναι τῶν Ἐκτήνων ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα Ωγυγον γ. — καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπολέσθαι λοιμάδει νόσῳ φασὶν, ἐποικίσασθαι δὲ μετὰ τοὺς Ἐκτηνας ἐξ τῆς

in Cyprus was probably later than their establishment at Asinē in Argolis, and may be perhaps referred to the period of their expulsion by the Argives, when part of the *Dryopes* seem to have proceeded to Cyprus, and a part to have settled in Messenia.

^s According to Aristotle, already quoted, the Dryopians were planted in Asinē by *Dryops*, an Arcadian. In Homer Hymn. Pan. 34. the mother of the god *Pan* is an Arcadian nymph, daughter of *Dryope*: νύμφῃ ἔπλοκάμω Δρύστος. In Pherecydes, *Dryops* who reigned in Cœta was sprung from the river Sperchius and a daughter of *Danaüs* king of Argos: Antonin. Lib. c. 32. Δρύσις ἐγένετο Σπερχεῖον ταῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Πολιδώρης μιᾶς τῶν Δαναῶν θυγατέρων. ὅτος ἐβασίλευεν ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ, καὶ θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ μονογενῆς ἐγένετο Δρύστη, καὶ ἐποίμανεις αὐτῇ τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ πατρός. From Apollo and *Dryopē* is born *Amphissus* the founder of Amphissa: Antonin. Ibid. From this passage Schol. Apollon. I. 1212. has been properly corrected: Φερεκύδης ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ φρούρῳ ἦτος Πολιδώρη τῇ Δαναῷ μιογέται Πηγεός ὁ ποταμός [l. Σπερχείος: conf. Sturz. ad fr. p. 93]. τὸν δὲ γένεται Δρύσις ἀφ' οὗ Δρύστης καλοῦται· οἰκεῖσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ Σπερχείῳ ποταμῷ. According to another account, he was the son of Apollo and of a daughter of the Arcadian *Lycas*: Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 480. Ἀγαπήνωρ ἀπὸ Δρύστος ἔσχε τὸ γένος· ὃ δὲ Δρύσις οὐλός ἦν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Δίας τῆς Λικάνους—ἢ δὲ τεκοῦστα τὸ βρέφος ἔκρυπτε δρύς στελέχει, θνετοῖς καὶ Δρύσις ἐκλήθη· καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ Δρύστες οἱ περὶ Παρνασσόν. Etymol. Magn. Δρύσις, ὄνομα ἔνθικόν τοις Δρύστας ὑπὸ τῷ Παρνασσὸν οἰκοῦντας μετέστησεν Ἦρακλῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον. καλοῦνται δὲ ἀπὸ Δρύστος οὐλός Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Δίας τῆς Λικανείας. for Λικάνους—Λικανείας read Ἀπόλλωνος—Λικάνους. with Berkel. ad Steph. Byz. v. Δρύσις.

^t Aristid. Panath. p. 177. Dindorf.=111. Jebb. ἔστι δὲ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκκεχωρότα τὸν γένος τῶν Ἐλλήνων καταφεύγειται εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνέλαβεν [sc. Athens]. ὁσπερ Δρύστας καὶ Πελωποῦς· ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν σημεῖα τῆς συτηρίας λείπεται. αἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ἐπανυπλασία σύμβολον ἔσται τῆς οἰκήσεως αὐτῶν ἄμα καὶ τῆς συτηρίας εἰσὶν. On what occasion the *Dryopes* applied to Athens for aid is not preserved to us: conf. Schol. ad locum. But as Herodotus I. 146. attests that

some of the *Dryopes* accompanied the Ionian colonists to Asia, we may conjecture that they sought and found refuge at Athens after the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus. It may be remarked that Aristides does not scruple to call the *Dryopes* and *Pelasgi* Ἑλλήνων γένη.

^u See above p. 31. ^x Pausan. IX. 5, 1.

y Lycophr. 1206—1213.

ζεῦ σε πεισθεὶς Ὁγύγου σπαρτὸς λεὼς

ἄξεις Καλύδνου τύροις Ἀόνων τε γῆν
σωτῆρι, ὅταν κάμνουσιν ὀπλίτη στρατῷ
πέρθονται χύραν Τηγέρου τέ ἀνάκτορα.
κλέος δὲ σὸν μέγιστον Ἐκτήνων πρόμοι
λοιβαῖστος κυδανοῦσι—

Tenerus is explained by Strabo IX. p. 413. τὸ Τηγερικὸν τείλειν ἀπὸ Τηγέρου προστηρύσεται· μιθεῖται δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος οὐλός ἐκ Μελίας, προφήτης τοῦ μαντείου κ. τ. λ. Steph. Byz. v. Βοιωτία recites the early appellation of Boeotia: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀονία, καὶ Μεσαπία, καὶ Ωγυγία, καὶ Καδμῆτης ὡς Θεοκυδίδης [sc. I. 12]. Idem Αονες. ἔθνος Βοιωτίας ἀφ' ὃν ἦν Ἀονία, καὶ Αον τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ Αονίος καὶ Αονία. Schol. Hom. Il. β'. 494. ἡ Βοιωτία τὸ πρότερον Ἀονία ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀονῶν μετανομάσθη δὲ Βοιωτία κατά τινας ἀπὸ Βοιωτοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀρῆς. Hence Thebes is Αονίη in Callimachus Hymn. Del. 75. And Boeotian steel is Αονίφιος σιδήρος in Dionys. Perieg. 476. conf. Eustath. ad loc. Schol. Apollon. III. 1178. Αονίοις: ἀντὶ τοῦ, Βοιωτικῶν. Αονία γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ἡ Βοιωτία. Ωγυγίας δὲ τάς Θηβαΐας ἀπὸ Ωγύγου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος αὐτῶν. Κορίννα δὲ τὸν Ωγύγου Βοιωτοῦ οὐλὸν εἶπεν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ Ωγύγια τῶν Θηβῶν τύλαι. The Aones are named by Euripides Phœn. 653. τελία—πιρορόφορος Ἀόνων. Ωgygus who reigned at Thebes seems to have been the same person as Ogygus who founded Eleusis, and reigned in Attica in the time of the flood, and who is made by Acusilaüs contemporary with Phoroneus: see above p. 7. Attica and Boeotia seem in the earliest times to have been one province. The Boeotian tribes the Aones and Temmices inhabited Attica, since they came from Sunium: Strabo IX. p. 401. Cecrops reigned over both provinces: Strabo IX. p. 407. κατὰ Κέρκοπα, ἥνκα τῆς Βοιωτίας ἴστηρε, καλούμενη τόπε Ωγυγίας. The term Ogygian is applied by Aeschylus to Thebes in Egypt: τὰς Ωγυγίας Θηβαῖς; Pers. 37. to Thebes in Boeotia: τόλιν δὲ Ωγυγίαν Sept. Th. 321. and

χώραν "Ταντας καὶ Ἀονας, Βοιωτια (έμοι δοκεῖ) γένη καὶ οὐκ ἐπιλύθων ἀνθρώπων. Κάδμου δὲ καὶ τῆς Φοινίκων στρατιᾶς ἐπελθούσης μάχῃ νικηθέντες οἱ μὲν "Ταντες ἐς τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἐπερχομένην ἐκδιδράσκουσι, τοὺς δὲ Ἀονας ὁ Κάδμος γενομένους ικέτας καταμεῖναι καὶ ἀναμιχθῆναι τοῖς Φοίνιξι εἰσαντεν. The *Hyantes* thus ejected from the country may be traced in Phocis and Aetolia^z. The *Temmices* occur in Strabo^a, in Stephanus, and Lycophron^b. It will be shewn below that *Cadmus* may be placed about an hundred and thirty years before the fall of Troy; whence it will follow that these tribes, the *Aones*, *Temmices*, and *Hyantes*, were still found in Boeotia after the period at which the Dorians and Aeolians were established in Thessaly.

The CARIANS, who were considered by Herodotus and many other writers the same people as the *Leleges*, were masters of the southern islands of the Aegean sea till *Minos* subdued them^c in the third generation before the Trojan war. They had also occupied the eastern coast of Peloponnesus^d. How long they retained possession of the islands is not delivered to us; but Isocrates implies that they did not appear there earlier than the times of *Danaüs* and *Cadmus*^e, five or six generations before *Minos*. They afterwards passed into Asia Minor,

to Athens: τὰς Ὀγυγίους Ἀθάνας Pers. 935. Steph. Byz. Ὀγυγία—λέγεται καὶ ἡ Βοιωτία καὶ ἡ Θήβη, ἀπὸ Ὀγυγοῦ—έλέγετο καὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ πᾶσα Ὀγυγία, ὡς Χάραξ φρονίν ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς.

^z Strabo IX. p. 424. "Τάμπολις ἐκλίθη ἵπο τινων εἰς ἣν ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἐκπεσεῖν τοὺς "Ταντας ἔφαμεν. p. 401. "Ταντες τῆς Φάκλου, Τάμπολιν φίσταν. Rausan. X. 35, 4. "Τάμπολις.—Ταντες οἱ ἐκ Θηβῶν Κάδμους καὶ τὸν σὸν ἑκείνῳ φρύγοτες στρατὸν ἀφίκοντο ἐνταῦθα. Steph. Byz. Αἰτωλία—ἀπὸ Αἰτωλῶν τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος—πρότερον δὲ Τάντις ἐκαλεῖτο. Eustath. ad II. β. p. 311, 16. Αἰτωλία ἡ χώρα καὶ Αἰτωλοί τὸ ἔθνος ἀπὸ Αἰτωλοῦ καλοῦνται τινοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος—πρότερον δὲ φασιν "Ταντες ἐκαλοῦντα, whence it might seem that Steph. had written "Ταντες ἐκαλοῦντο. Strabo X. p. 464. "Αἰτωλῶδος δὲ εἴρηκεν [Heyn. fragm. p. 1114.] ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἀπελθόντας "Ταντας ιστορεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐποίκικους τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς γενομένους. Palmerius Graec. Ant. p. 426. unnecessarily finds a difficulty in this account, because *Ætolus* was five generations later than *Deucalion*: *At Cadmus qui Hyantes expulit omnium chronologorum consensu Deucalione multo antiquior fuit. Aut igitur Apollodorus graviter peccavit in rationem temporum, vel, ut excusatetur, voce Αἰτωλῶς abusus est κατὰ πρόληψιν—nomen Άετολορυν scilicet anticipans quod suo tempore notum erat et frequentatum.* In the first place he has himself solved the difficulty, which would in reality be none at all. In the next place, Palmerius has erred in supposing that *Cadmus* was much older—*multo antiquior*—than *Deucalion*; for *Cadmus* was in the seventh generation before the fall of Troy, and *Deucalion* in the eighth. *Cadmus*, therefore, according to the genealogies was later than *Deucalion*, and is placed after him by the Parian marble, which dates the reign of *Deucalion* fifty-five years before the coming of *Cadmus*. We shall see reasons below for

placing *Cadmus* at a still lower date than that which the marble assigns.

^a See above, p. 5.

^b Steph. Byz. Τέμιμιξ. ἔθνος πρῶτων οἰκήσαν ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ. Δικάφρων. [v. 644]

^c Ἀρης παλαιᾶς γένη Τεμιμίκων πρόμοι. τὸ θηλυκὸν Τεμιμίκα παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ. [v. 786]

ἐν Βοιωτίαις κλιτὸς ἡ Τεμιμίκα.

καὶ θηλυκὸς Τεμιμίκης· καὶ Τεμιμίκειος τὸ κτητικόν. Μενέλαος δὲ διὰ τοῦ “Τεμιμίκων ἄστυ” ἐν πράτῳ Θηβαΐδος. According to Tzetzes, a mountain in Boeotia was so called: ad Lycophr. 644. Τεμιμίκων τὸν Βοιωτῶν, ἀπὸ ὄρους Τεμιμίκου. ad 786. ἡ Τεμιμίκια ὄρος ἐστὶ Βοιωτίας.

^d Herodot. I. 171. εἰσὶ δὲ Κᾶρες ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων τὸ γάρ ταλαιὸν ἔντες Μίνω τε κατήκους καὶ καλέμενοι. Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φέρων μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέντες—οἱ δὲ, δκοις Μίνως δέοντες, ἐπλήρων οἱ τὰς νέας. Strabo XIV. p. 661. τοῦδην λόγων εἰρημένων τερπὶ Καρῶν, ὁ μάλιστα διμολογούμενός ἐστιν οὗτος, ὅτι οἱ Κᾶρες ἐπὶ Μίνω ἐτάττοντο τότε Λέλεγες καλέμενοι, καὶ τὰς νήσους φέρουν. Thucyd. I. 4. Μίνως τε γάρ—τῶν Κυκλαδῶν νήσων ἥρκε τε καὶ εἰκιστῆς πρῶτος τῶν πλεοτάτων ἐγένετο Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας. Idem I. 8. οὐχ ἥστον λησταὶ ἦσαν οἱ προϊόται Κᾶρες τε ὄντες καὶ Φοίνικες· οὗτοι γάρ δὴ τὰς πλεοτάτας τῶν νήσων φέρουν. μαρτυροῦν δέ Δήλου γάρ καθαιρούμενης—καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεῖσιν ἔσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν—καταστάτος δὲ τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλοϊμότερα ἐγένετο ταρπὸν ἀλλήλους. Conon Narr. 47. τὴν δὲ Ρόδον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον λαὸς αὐτούχων ἐνέμοτο, ὃν ἥρχε τὸ Ἡλιαδῶν γένες· οὓς Φοίνικες ἀνέστησαν καὶ τὴν νήσον ἔσχον. Φοίνικων δὲ ἐκπεσόντων Κᾶρες ἔσχον ὅτε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους τὰς τερπὶ τὸ Αιγαῖον φέρουσαν.

^e Strabo VIII. p. 374. ἡ Ἐπιδαυρος δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Ἐπικαρος φησὶ γάρ Ἀριστοτέλης κατασχεῖν αὐτὴν Κᾶρας, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐρμόνη.

^f Isocr. Hel. Enc. p. 219. c. Δαναὸς μὲν οἱ Αἰ-

and dwelt in the country around Miletus till the Ionians expelled them^f about eight generations after the reign of *Minos*. It seems, however, that at the death of *Minos* the Carians retained, or at least recovered, possession of the *Cyclades*; and that they were not finally expelled till the time of the Ionian colonies; for Isocrates and Plutarch describe them as possessing the *Cyclades* after the return of the *Heraclidae* into Peloponnesus, and ascribe their expulsion to the Athenians^g. After the Ionian settlement, the Carians appear to have been confined to the province called *Caria* from them. The Carians of that province acknowledged a connexion with the Mysians and Lydians^h. In the time of the Trojan war the Carians, like the *Pelasgi* and *Leleges*, had already been partly expelled from their original seats, and inhabited the neighbourhood of Miletus. They were early considered as barbariansⁱ; and yet in a late period it was remarked that many Greek terms were found in their language^k.

II.

HELLENES.

HAVING taken this short survey of the early tribes, we proceed to consider the HELLENES, who traced the beginning of their power to *Deucalion*. The descendants of *Deucalion* down to the Trojan war are delivered to us in the following manner:

γίνεται φυγὴ Ἀργος κατέσχε, Κάδμος δὲ Σιδώνιος Θηβῶν ἀβασίλευστε, Κᾶρες δὲ τὰς νῆσους κατέφκουν, Πελοπονήσου δὲ συμπάσης διατάσσουν. —

^f Strabo XIV. p. 661. εἰτ' ἡπειρότας γενήμενοι πολλὴν τὴν ταραλίας καὶ τῆς μεσογαλας κατέσχουν, τοὺς πρακτεύχοντας ἀφελέμενοι· καὶ ὅτι δὲ ἡσαν εἰ πλεῖστος Διὸς γενεὴ καὶ Πλειστοῦς· πάλιν δὲ τούτους ἀφείλαστο μέρος εἰ Ἑλλήρες, Ἰωνές τε καὶ οἱ Δωριεῖς. See above p. 34. g. for their expulsion from Ionia.

^g Isocrates Panath. p. 241. c., having expressed that he should commence his survey from the Return of the *Heraclidae*, proceeds thus: οἱ μὲν τοινυῖς ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι—πρῶτον μὲν τὰς Κυκλαδας νῆσους, περὶ δὲ ἐγίνετο πολλαὶ πραγματεῖαι κατὰ τὴν Μίση τὸν Κρητὸν διαστέλλαν, ταύτας τὸ τελευταῖον ἐπειδή Καρῶν κατεχαμένας ἐκβαλόντες ἐκείνους οὐκ ἔξιδινσασθαι τὰς χώρας ἐτίμησαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μάλιστα βίου τὸν Ἑλλήνων δεομένους κατέκινσαν εἰς αὐτάς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλὰς πόλεις ἐφ' ἐκατέρας τῶν ἥπερων καὶ μεγάλας ἐκτίσαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἀντοτελας ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. Plutarch. de Exil. p. 603. B. τὰς Κυκλαδας πρίτερον μὲν εἰ Μίση παῖδες ὑστεροῦ δὲ εἰ Κέδρου καὶ Νείδαι κα-

τόκησαν. Isocrates then refers to the Ionic migration, when the colonists seized upon the *Cyclades*: and this is consistent with the account of Herodotus I. 171. that the Carians were not expelled by *Minos*, but only reduced to obedience.

^h Herodot. I. 171. ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μιλάτους Διός Καρον ἴδιον ἀρχαῖον, τῷ Μισσοῖς μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖς μέτεστι ὃς κατηγράπτοιτο ἐνσι τοῖς Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μισσὸν λέγοντι εἴναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. Strabo XIV. p. 659. ἔχουσιν οἱ Μιλατεῖς, ιερὰ δύο—τρίταν δὲ στὸν τοῦ Καρον Διός κοινὴν ἀπάντων Καρῶν, οἱ μέτεστι καὶ Λυδοῖς καὶ Μισσοῖς ὃς ἀδελφοῖς.

ⁱ Hom. Il. β. 867.

Νάστης αὖτε Καρῶν ἦγήσατο βαρβαροφόνων
οἱ Μιλητοὶ ἔχον κ. τ. λ.

The epithet βαρβαροφόνων is variously explained. Conf. Strab. XIV. p. 661. Schol. ad Il. β. 867.

^k Strabo XIV. p. 662. ἡ γλώττα τῶν Καρῶν—πλεῖστα Ἑλληνικὰ δύματα ἔχει καταμειγμένα, ὃς φησι Φίλιππος [Philippus of Theangela: see above p. 34. i] ὁ τὰ Καρικὰ γράψας.

10.

9.

8.

7. *Amphyctyon*6. *Phryxus* *Itonus**Xuthus**Dorus*5. *LOCRUS* *Bœotus* *Achæus* *Ion* *Tectamus*4. *Cynus* *Itonus*3. *Hodædocus*2. *Oileus*1. *Ajax* *Peneleus*

HELLEN

*Asterion**Actor^b**Phylacus^c**Deion**Cretheus^e**Cephalus^d**Pheres**Æson**Cilleus**Arcisius**Admetus**Jason**Laërtes**Eumeles**Euneus**Amythaon**Melampus^f**Abas**Antiphates**Mantius^g**Idmon^h**Oicles**Thestor**Amphiaraüs**Calchas**Alcmaeon**Theoclymenus*

^a Pindar. Ol. IX. 81. Ιαπετιοῦς φύτλας : Schol. ad loc. 'Ιαπετοῦ Προμηθεὺς ἐξ οὐ καὶ Κλυμένης γίνεται Δευκαλίων, ἐξ οὐ Πρωτογένεια' τάλαν Ιαπετοῦ Επιμηθεύς, ἐξ οὐ καὶ Παδώρας Πύρρα' Πύρρας δὲ καὶ Δευκαλίων Πρωτογένεια. Apollod. I. 2, 3. Ιαπετοῦ καὶ Ασίας τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ Ατλας—καὶ Προμηθεὺς καὶ Επιμηθεύς.

^b Schol. Iliad. μ'. 1. Πάτροκλος ὁ Μενοίτιος τρέφομενος ἐν Οσυόντι. Idem π'. 14. Μενοίτιος ἀποκήτας εἰς Ὀσυόντα Πάτροκλον ἐτέκνωσεν. Idem σ'. 11. Ἄκτωρ Δοκρὸς μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Οσυόντος τόλεως, γῆμας δὲ ἐν Οἰνάνῃ τόλει Φθιώτιδος γεννᾷ Μενοίτιον. Alius : κατὰ τινὰς τῶν μετ' Ομηροῦ Ἄκτωρ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Μενοίτιου λέγεται λαβεῖν Αἰγύναν, ἐκ ταῦτης δὲ γενέσθαι Μενοίτιον. Pindar. Ol. IX. 104. νῖνος Ἄκτωρος Αἰγύνας τε Μενοίτιον. Actor is son of Deion in Apollod. I. 9, 4. Μενοίτιος ἐξ Οσυόντος ΙΙ. ψ'. 85. Μενοίτιος Ἄκτωρος νῖνος Iliad. χ'. 785. He is still living at the action of the Iliad : ΙΙ. π'. 14.

ζόειν μὲν ἔτι φασὶ Μενοίτιον Ἄκτωρος νῖνον.

^c Schol. Odyss. χ'. 326. Κλυμένη Μινύον—γαμψηῖτα Φυλάκων τῷ Δηϊδίον [Apollod. I. 9, 4. 12] "Ιφικλος τίκτει ποδάκη παιδία. Pausan. IV. 36. 3. Ιφίκλου τοῦ Πρωτεστίλαος πατέρας. Hom. Iliad. β'. 705. —Ποδάρκης Ιφίκλουν μὲν τολμήμενον Φυλακίδαο, Αύτοκαστργητος μεγαθύμου Πρωτεστίλαον. Schol. Iliad. β'. 695. εἰς τὸν Αἰολιδῶν ὁ Δηϊδίον, οἱ Φύλακος, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Φυλάκη· οἱ Ποιας, οἱ Πρωτεστίλαος καὶ Ιφικλος. I. οἱ Ποιας καὶ Ιφικλος, οἱ Πρωτεστίλαος. Eustath. p. 323. εἰς τὸν Αἰολιδῶν Φύλακος κτίσας πόλιν Φύλακην ὀνόμασεν οἱ Ιφικλος, οἱ Φύλακος, οἱ Ποιας καὶ Ιφικλος, ὃν Παλαντος μὲν καὶ Μεθώνης Φιλοκτήτης, Ιφίκλου δὲ καὶ Αστυχῆς Πρωτεστίλαος καὶ Ποδάρκης. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ζητητέον ποιός ἦν ὁ ποδακέστατος Ιφικλος, περὶ ὃ δηλῶν Ησίοδος κ. τ. λ. Conf. Schol. Apollon. I. 45. Apollod. I. 9, 12. παῖς Ιφικλοφ Ποδάρκης ἐγένετο. Eustathius is interpolated : read εἰς τὸν Αἰολιδῶν Φύλακος—ἀνόμασεν οἱ Ποιας καὶ Ιφικλος δην, κ. τ. λ.

^d Schol. Iliad. ς'. 330. Κέφαλος ὁ Δηϊδίον Αθρυαῖος ὃν [conf. Apollod. II. 4, 7, III. 15, 1] ἄκιστε τὴν Κεφαλληγίαν [conf. Strab. X.

p. 461]. Idem β'. 173. Λαέρτου τοῦ Ἀρκειόν τοῦ Κιλέως τοῦ Κεφάλου τοῦ Ἐρυτοῦ. Idem β'. 631. Κέφαλος ὁ Δηϊδίος—ἐκ τούτου Κιλλεὺς, οἱ Ἀρκειός, οἱ Λαέρτης. Eustath. p. 307, 3. Κεφάλου Κηλλεὺς, οἱ Ἀρκειός, οἱ Λαέρτης.

^e Cretheus and his sons, Æson, Pheres, and Amythaon, are named by Homer Odyss. χ'. 258.

^f The descendants of Melampus were a family of prophets. Hence Hesiod apud Nic. Damasc. p. 239.

ἀλλὴν μὲν γέρη ἔδωκε Ολύμπιος Αλαίδησι, νῦν δὲ Αμυθανίδαις, πλοῦτον δέ περ Ἀτρεΐδησι.

^g Hom. Odyss. σ'. 242. Μελάμπους—

γενεντο δὲ Αντιφάτηρ καὶ Μάντιον, οὐδὲ κραται· Αντιφάτης μὲν ἔτικτε Οἰκλῆγα μεγαθύμουν αὐτὰρ Οἰκλεῖης λαοσσόν Αμφιάρην.

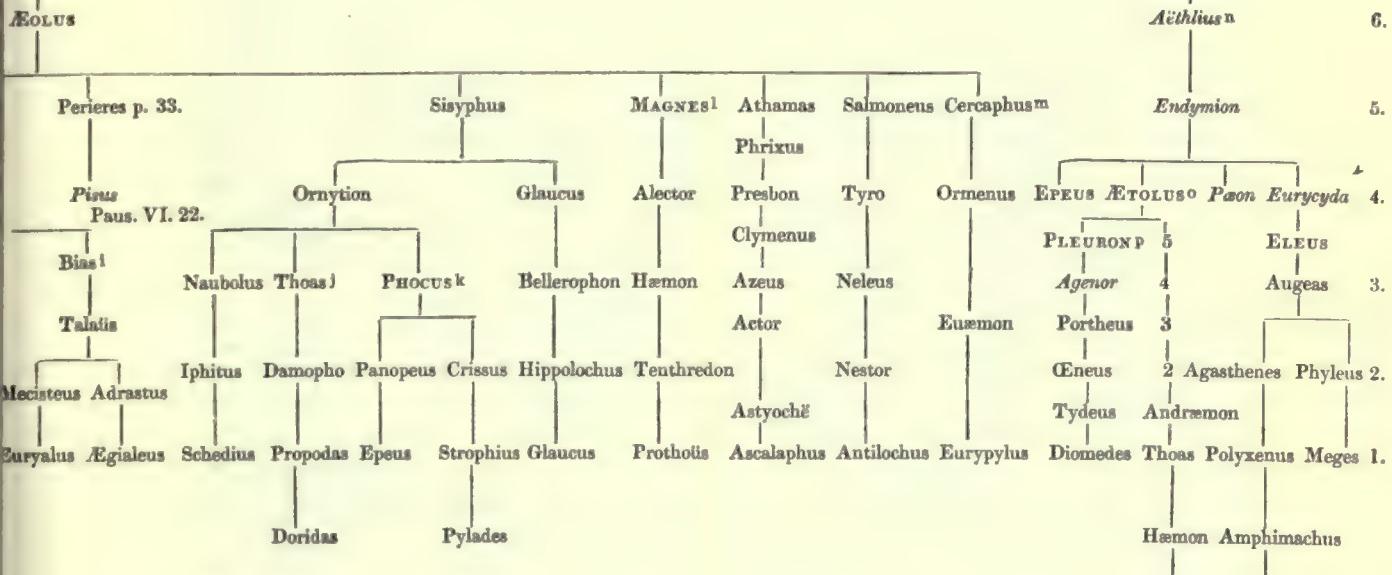
τοῦ δὲ νιεῖς ἐγένετον Αλκμαίων Αμφιλοχός τε· Μάντιος αὖτε τέκετο Πολυφέιδεα τε Κλεῖτον τε·

αὐτὰρ ὑπέρθυμον Πολυφέιδεα μάντιν Απόλλων θῆκε βροτῶν ὧχ' ἄριστον, ἐπειδή θάνετον Αμφιάρης·

τοῦ μὲν ἄρ' οὐδὲ ἐπῆλθε Θεοκλύμενος δὲ θύμοντος ηγε.

Pausanias VI. 17, 4. makes Oicles the son of Mantius. See Siebel. ad locum.

^h Schol. Apollon. I. 139. Χαμαιλέων φησὶ τὸν Θέστορα Ιδμονα πατέρα τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις καλεῖσθαι διὰ ἐμπειρίαν—δὲ Ιδμων, ὃς ιστορεῖ Φερεκύδης, παῖς ἡ Αστερίας τῆς Κορώνης καὶ Απόλλωνος, οἱ καὶ Λαεύθην Θέστορας τοῦ δὲ Κάλχας.—οὗτος δὲ [sc. v. 142] Αβαντος φησὶ νομισθῆναι τὸν Ιδμωνα. συμμαρτυρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ηρόδωρος. Idem ad 143. Αβας δὲ Μελάμποδος ἦν τοῦ Αμυθανοῦς τοῦ Κρητέως τοῦ Αἴθεν.



¹ Pausan. IV. 34, 2. Βίαντος τοῦ Ἀμιθάνους. Brother of *Melampus*: Idem IV. 36, 3. Idem II. 6, 3. Ταλαρᾶς τῷ Βίαντος. Apollo. I. 9, 11. Ἀμιθάνως—παῖδες αὐτῷ Βίας καὶ Μελάμπον. §. 13. Βίαντος καὶ Πηρρᾶς Ταλαρᾶς, ὁ καὶ Λισιμάχη τῆς Ἀβδυτος; τοῦ Μελάμπονος: "Αδραστος—Μηκιστεύς—Μηκιστέων δὲ Εύριδας, δὲ ἡκεν εἰς Τροαν. Schol. Iliad. β. 565. interpolates a generation: Βίαντος Περιάλκης, ὁ Ταλαρᾶς, ὁ Μηκιστεύς, ὁ Εύριδας.

J Pausan. II. 4, 3. Σισύφης ὥτι Γλαικος μόνον δὲ Βελλεροφόντου πατήρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτερος νῦν ἐγένετο Ὁρντιλος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Θέρσαυρος τε καὶ Ἀλμος. Ὁρντιλος δὲ ἦν Φάκος—Θόας δὲ Ὁρντιλος; νῦν γενέτερος κατέμενεν δὲ τῇ Κορύνθῳ. Θόατος; δὲ Δαμοφένης Δαμοφάντος; δὲ ἦν Προπόδας. Προπόδας δὲ Δωρίδας καὶ Τανθίδας. τοῖτον βασιλεύντων Δωριεῖς στρατεύωντος ἐπὶ Κόρινθον.

¹ Scymnus 487. Ἐξῆς δὲ Φάκεις, οὓς δοκεῖ συνικέσαι Φάκος κατελθὼν μετὰ Κορύνθων προτοῦ. Γενεαλογεῖται δὲ Ὁρντιλος τοῦ Σισύφου. Schol. Iliad. β. 517. Ὁρντιλος δὲ Σισύφου εἰς Τάμπολιν ἐλθὼν κ. τ. λ. οὐ νῦν Φάκος, ἀρὴ ὁ Φάκεις αὐτὸς ἀνθρακας· ὁ δὲ Ὁρντιλος δὲ Ναύβαλος· ὁ Ιφίτος ὁ Σχεδίας. Pausan. IX. 17, 3. Φάκοις τῷ Ὁρντιλονος—ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Φάκου τοῖτον περὶ Τιθορέας τε καὶ Παραστόδης ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Φάκης—Φάκη δὲ Ἀστος—γενέσθαι φησὶ Πανεπίλα καὶ Κρίσιν. καὶ Πανεπίλας μὲν ἐγένετο Ἐπειδης—Κρίσιν δὲ ἦν ἀπόγονος τρίτος Πυλάδης, Στρφίου δὲ τοῦ Κρίσιν. *Ornytion* son of *Phocas* in the Scholiast seems to be nothing more than an interpolation, from the repetition of *Ornytus* or *Ornytion* father of *Phocas*.

1 Schol. Iliad. β. 756. Μάργης εἰς τῶν Αἰλιδῶν ἐπὶ τὸ Πήλιον ἤτοις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Μελίσσων ἐκάλεσεν, ὅπεραν δὲ τὴν τάσσαν χώραν Μαγγησίαν ὁ Αλέκτωρ ὁ Τενθρόδων ὁ Πρόδος. Eustath. p. 338. Μάργης γάρ φασιν εἰς τῶν Αἰλιδῶν—ταῦτα ἀλέκτωρ ὁ Αἴμων ἢ Τείρης ἢ ἔγγρος Τενθρόδων δὲ τοῦ Πρόδον πατήρ.

Strabo IX. p. 438. φησὶ δὲ δὲ Σκήνιον—(τὸ Ὄρμένιον) ἐκτίσθαι. ἵπο Ορμένον—τοῦ Κερκάρου τοῦ Αἰλίου παῖδας δὲ τοῦ Ορμένου γενέσθαι τὸν τε Ἀρύντορα καὶ Ειδαίμονα· ἐν τῷ μὲν εἶναι Φοίνικα τοῦ δὲ Εύρυπλουν.

² Pausan. V. 1, 2. βασιλεύσας πρῶτον δὲ τῇ γῇ ταῦτη λέγουσιν Ἀθέλιον, παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Διός τε εἶναι καὶ Πρωτογενεῖας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, Αεθλίον δὲ Ενδυμίανα γενέσθαι. 8, 1. Ενδυμίων δὲ Αεθλίου—εἴναι φασιν Ἀθέλιον Αἰλίου, Διός δὲ ἐπίκλησιν. Schol. Pindar. Ol. IX. 36. Ἐπειδης τοὺς Ἡλείους, ἀπὸ Ἐπειδης τοῦ Ενδυμίωνος κληθέντας τινὲς δὲ τὸν Ἐπειδης Ἀθέλιον φασιν ("Αεθλίον τοῦ Ενδυμίωνος Alius Schol.).

³ Pausan. V. 1. Ενδυμίων—γενέσθαι φασὶ Παίονα καὶ Ἐπειδης καὶ Αἰτωλὸν καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς Εύρυκίδαν [Εύρυπλη Ετύμ. v. Ἡλίς]—Αἰτωλῷ δὲ μετὰ Ἐπειδης βασιλεύσας τινέτεσσιν ἐκ Πελοπονήσου φυγεῖ—ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰτωλῶν τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀχελέωνος οἰκουντες ἐκλήθησαν [conf. Scymnum 474—477],—τὴν δὲ Ἐπειδης ἐσχειν ἀρχὴν Ἡλείους Εύρυκίδας τε τῆς Ενδυμίωνος καὶ—Ποσειδῶνος—Ἡλείου δὲ ἦν Αὔγεας. The descendants of *Augeas* are in the following traditions: Hom. Il. β. 623. Παλύζεινος θεοειδῆς, Τίδης Αὔγασθίνος, Αὐγμάδας ἄντικτος. Pausan. V. 3, 4. βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἡλείων Αὔγασθίνος ἐσχειν ὁ Αὔγεας. *Phyleus* son of *Augeas*: Pausan. V. 1, 7, 3, 2. Apollod. II. 5, 5. *Meges* son of *Phyleus*: Hom. Il. β. 627. Μέγης—*Philebe*, ὃν τίκτε Διτί φίλος ιστότα *Phileus*. *Agamedē* daughter of *Augeas*: Iliad. λ. 738. *Augeas* himself is the son of *Eleus* in Pausan., but the son of *Helius*, or the son of *Phorbas*, in other traditions: Schol. Apollon. I. 172. Αὔγεις: ὁτος λόγω μὲν ἦν Ἡλείου τῷ δὲ ἀλέκτηρος Φόρβαντος. Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 303. Ἀλέκτηρ δὲ Ἐπειδης τοῖς νῦν κομμῇ βασιλεύειν Ἡλείας καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πέλοπος ἐπιβούλην δεδιῶς συλλαμβάνεται Φόρβαντα τὸν δὲ Πλέονον ἐπὶ ημισείρης τῆς βασιλείας. γίνεται δὲ τῷ μὲν Αλέκτηρος ἐκ Διογενείας τῆς Φόρβαντίδος νῦν Ἀμαργυκέν—τῷ δὲ Φόρβαντι ἐξ Τρηλίης ἀλέκτηρος Ἀλέκτηρος Αὔγειας καὶ Ἀκτωρ—τοῖτον δὲ Ἀμαργυκέν μὲν Διόρης Αὔγειον δὲ Φίλευς καὶ Ἀγασθίνος—

1. *Deucalion* is placed 365 years before the fall of Troy by the Parian Marble^q, and 358 years before it by Eusebius^r. But as by the genealogies, which were their sole authorities, *Deucalion* is only in the eighth generation before the Trojan war^s, this period is too long by at least a century; and we may reckon not more than 250 years from *Deucalion* to the fall of Troy. He is the son of *Prometheus*^t. But *Prometheus* is the brother of *Atlas*^v, and *Atlas* reigned in Arcadia^w. *Prometheus* himself was seated in Peloponnesus^x. The followers of

"Ακτορὸς δὲ Κτέατος καὶ Εύρυτος· ὃν Κτεάτου μὲν Ἀμφίμαχος Εύρυτον δὲ Θάλτιος. Apollod. II. 5, 5. ἦν Αὐγέας βασιλεὺς Ἡλίου ταῖς Ἡλίου, ὃς δὲ τινες, Ποσειδῶν, ὃς δὲ ἔνοι, Φόρβαντος. Idem II. 7, 2. Εύρυτος καὶ Κτέατος—παιδεῖς δὲ ἡσαν Μολιόνης καὶ Ἀκτορός, ἐλέγοντο δὲ Ποσειδῶνος "Ἀκτωρ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἦν Λιγέων. *Epeus* is here the ancestor of *Amarynceus*. In Pausan. V. 1. *Amarynceus* comes from Thessaly, and *Epeus* is the father of *Hyrminē*, who is the mother of *Actor*: "Ἀκτωρ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ γένος ἦν ἐπιχώριον—"Ἀκτωρ γάρ πατρὸς μὲν Φόρβαντος ἦν τοῦ Δατίθεου μητρὸς δὲ Τρυπίης τῆς Ἐπειοῦ. In another account *Epeus* is the son of *Eleus*: Etym. v. Ἡλίς, Schol. II. λ'. 688. Ἡλεῖος ταῖς Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Εύρυτίλης τῆς Ἐβδυμιανοῦ. Ἡλεῖον δὲ "Αλεξίς καὶ Ἐπειδής βασιλεὺς ἀφ' οὗ Ἐπειοὶ ὢντες οἱ Ἡλεῖοι, ὃς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ πέτρῳ. From these traditions we may collect that the *Epei*, *Ætolī*, and *Elei*, tribes represented under the persons of *Epeus*, *Ætolus*, and *Eleus*, first appeared in the west of Peloponnesus about four generations before the Trojan war: that the *Ætolī* passed into *Ætolia*, from whence a part of them returned with *Oxylus* eighty years after the fall of Troy to their original seats in the west of Peloponnesus. To these tribes the Homeric heroes *Augeas*, *Actor*, *Amarynceus*, *Porthes* or *Porthaon*, and their posterity, belonged. The descendants of *Polyxenus* are in Pausan. V. 3, 4. Πολυκέντρον δὲ ἀναστόντι ἐκ Τροίας ἐγένετο νῦν Ἀμφίμαχος—"Ἀμφίμαχον δὲ Ἡλεῖος, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἡλεῖον βασιλεύοντος ἦν Ἡλίδης τρικαῦτα διαδρέπων στόλος.

R Apollod. I. 7, 7. Αἰτωλοῦ—Πλευρῶν καὶ Καλυδάν δύνετο.—Πλευρῶν μὲν οὖν γῆμας Ξανθίστην τὴν Δάρου παιδαὶ ἐγένετοντο Ἀγήνορα—Ἀγήνωρ δὲ ὁ Πλευρῶνος—ἐγένετος Πορθέαν—Πορθάνος δὲ—ἐγένετο παῖδες Οἰνεῖς, "Ἄγριος, Ἀλκάθοος, Μέλας, Δευκοτεύς. Idem I. 8, 4. ἐγεννήθη δὲ Οἰνεῖ Τυδεύς. Diomedes apud Iliad ξ. 115.

Πορθεῖ γαρ τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμύμανες ἐξεγένετο,
φίκεο δὲ ἐν Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰτεῖνη Καλυδᾶνι,
"Ἄγριος ἥδε Μέλας, τρίταος δὲ ἦν ισπότα Οἰνεύς,
πατρὸς ἔμοιο πατήρ—

q No. 2. 25.

r Euseb. Chron. II. annis 477. 835.

s Proclus ad Hesiod. Opp. 85. ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ τετάρτου γένους τοῦ ἡρωϊκοῦ Δευκαλίων, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ κατακλυσμός, γαμεῖ Πύρραν τὴν Πανδώρας καὶ Ἐπιμηθέων. Idem ad 156. μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν γένος παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον Ιερὸν, τὸ τῶν ἡμιθέων, ἀρκέσαν ἔνι τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐπὶ

έπιδα ἡ καὶ ὅκτω γενέας. He adds the descent of *Eumelus* through *Cretheus*, and of *Glaucus* through *Sisyphus*. In the twenty descents through *Ætolus*, exhibited in the Table at p. 40, 41, there are nine of eight generations, six of seven, two of nine, two of ten, and one of eleven. In the descents through *Amphyctyon*, one has eight generations and the other seven. In the line of *Dorus* there are also eight generations. Proclus, then, is justified in limiting the period to seven or eight generations. The mean between seven complete, or 233 years, and eight complete, or 266 years, will place *Deucalion* 250 years before the fall of Troy.

t Of *Prometheus* and *Clymenē* according to Dionysius and Schol. Pindar. Ol. IX. 72. Προμηθέως καὶ Κλυμένης δὲ Δευκαλίων, but of *Prometheus* and *Pandora* according to Hesiod: Schol. Apollon. III. 1086. ὅτι Προμηθέως καὶ Πανδώρας νῦν Δευκαλίων Ἡσίδος; ἐν πρώτῳ καταληγει φησι. Apollod. I. 7, 2. Προμηθέως ταῖς Δευκαλίων ἐγένετο. ὡτες βασιλεύει τῶν περὶ τὴν Φθίαν τόπων γαμεῖ Πύρραν τὴν Ἐπιμηθέως καὶ Πανδώρας. Hesiod Theog. 507—511. makes *Clymenē* the mother of *Prometheus*. Schol. Apollon. III. 1085. 1086. ὅτι Προμηθέως νῦν Δευκαλίων ἐβασίλευε Θεσσαλίας Ἑλλάνικος ἐν πρώτῃ τῆς Δευκαλίωνας φησι. καὶ δι: δώδεκα θεῶν βασιλεῖς δὲ Δευκαλίων θύρσατο, Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φησι συγγράμματι. Strabo IX. p. 443. makes *Pandora* the mother of *Deucalion*: ἔνοι, διελόντες (τὴν Θεσσαλίαν) δίχα, τὴν μὲν πρὸ νότου λαχεῖν φασι Δευκαλίωνι, καὶ καλέσαι Πανδώραν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός.

v Hesiod. Theogon. 507—511.

κούρη δὲ Ἰατετός καλλίσφυρον Ὀκεανίην
ἡγάγετο Κλυμένη καὶ δύον λέχος εἰσανέβανεν
ἡ δέ αἱ Ἄτλαντα κρατερόφρονα γενέσατο παιδαὶ
τίκτε δὲ ὑπερκύδαντα Μενίτιων ἥδε Προμηθέα
ποιίλον, αἰολόμητιν ἀμαρτίνον τ' Ἐπιμηθέα.

w See above p. 22. h.

x Hesiod. Theogon. 535.

καὶ γάρ ὅτι ἐκρίνοντο θεοὶ θυητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι
Μηκόνη κ. τ. λ.

Schol. ad loc. Μηκόνη ἡ ποτὲ Σικυῶν λεγομένη. Strabo VIII. p. 382. τὴν δὲ Σικυῶνα πρότερον Μηκόνην ἐκάλουν, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον Αλγιαλόν. Schol. Pindar. Nem. IX. 123. οἰκεῖων ιερὸν τὴν Σικυῶνα [sc. v. 127] προσηγόρευεν· ἡ γὰρ Μηκόνη ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐστιν, ἐφ' ἣς οἱ θεοὶ διεδάσταντο τὰς τιμάς. "Ἡσίδος· " καὶ γάρ"—κ. τ. λ.

Deucalion were *Curetes* and *Leleges*. It seems, then, that *Deucalion*, the reputed founder of the *Hellenes*, may himself be traced to a Pelasgic original.

His kingdom is placed in Thessaly². According to the Parian Marble^a his seat was at Lycorea in Phocis. Pindar^b makes Opus his first habitation after the flood: others seated him at Cynus^c. The flood of *Deucalion* is placed by Aristotle^d near Dodona. It was generally, however, placed in Thessaly^e; near mount Othrys by Hellanicus^f. According to some, it extended to Attica^g; according to other accounts it reached the neighbourhood of Delphi^h. It was limited, however, to Thessaly and the adjoining districts, or at least to Northern Greece, by the early accounts. It seems to have been gradually invested with the circumstances of the general delugeⁱ.

² See above p. 16.

^a See note ^t. Schol. Apollon. IV. 266. οἱ δὲ Δευκαλίωνες τὸ γένος ἔχοτες ἐβασιλεὺς Θεσσαλίας, οἵ φησιν Ἐκαταῖς καὶ Ἡσίδος. Strabo IX. p. 432. ιστορεῖται δὲ Δευκαλίων τῆς Φθιώτιδος ἄρχαις καὶ ἀπλῶς τῆς Θεσσαλίας. Proclus in Timaeum Platon. Θεταλίες ἄλλῃ τούτῳ ἡ ἀρχαιότης.

^b Mar. Par. No. 2. ἀφ' οὐ Δευκαλίων παρὰ τὸν Παραστὸν ἐν Λυκορείᾳ ἐβασίλευσε . . σιλε . . ντε; Ἀθηνᾶς Κέκροπος, ἔτη ΧΗΗΗΗΔ. The flood was forty-five years later: No. 4. That he was supposed to hold authority in Lycorea may be collected from Plutarch Qu. Gr. p. 292. D. who records that at Delphi πίνετε εἰοῖς δύο διὰ βίν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μετά τοῦ προφτῆτον δράσιν ὅτι καὶ συνειρυγόντιν, οἱ γεγονότας δοκοῦστες ἀπὸ Δευκαλίωνος.

^c Pindar. Ol. IX. 64=44.

—φέρις δὲ Πρωτογενείας
ἀστεῖ γλάστας, ἵν' ἀιδοβρύντα Διὸς αἰσχρά
Πύρρα Δευκαλίων τε Παραστοῦ καταβάντε
δόμαι ἔθετο πρότες.

^d Schol. Pindar. Ol. IX. 64. ἡ δὲ Πύρρα καὶ Δευκαλίων ἐκ τοῦ Παραστοῦ ἀθίστες· ἐν τῇ λάρνακα πρώτον φύγουσαν ἐν τῇ Ὁσπίτη πλησίον Παραστοῦ. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἐν Ὁσπίτη φασι Δευκαλίωνα καὶ Πύρραν εἰκόσαι· ὁ γάρ Αἰαδῶνος εἴτε γράφει· “οἰκήσαι δὲ ἐν Κίνη τὸν Δευκαλίωνα λέγεται καὶ τῷ Πύρρᾳ, καὶ τῷ Πρωτογενείαν “ ἐκεὶ τετράφθι φασίν.” Ιστορεῖ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ἐλλάνικος—δὲ Ἐλλάνικος καὶ τὴν λάρνακαν οὐ τῷ Παραστῷ φησι προσενεχθῆναι ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Ὁθριν τῆς Θεσσαλίας. Cynus, however, was not far from Opus: Strabo IX. p. 425. Κύνος ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον—μεταξὺ δὲ Ὁσπίτης καὶ Κίνης πεδιῶν εἰδούμενος—ἐν δὲ τῷ Κίνη θεοῦ Δευκαλίωνα φασι φύγοντας [conf. Schol. Theocr. XV. 141]. καὶ τῆς Πύρρας αἰτόντων δεικνύεται σῆμα, τοῦ δὲ Δευκαλίωνος Ἀθῆνης.

^e See above p. 20. ^r.

^f Apollod. I. 7, 2. τὰ κατὰ Θεσσαλίαν ὅρη διέστη καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ισθμοῦ καὶ Πελοπονῆσου συνεχόντα πάντα. Δευκαλίων δὲ ἐν τῇ λάρνακα—τῷ Παραστῷ προσισχεῖ. He escapes to Lycorea in Lucian. Timon. c. 3. tom. I. p. 73. μόνης ἐν ταῖς κιβώτοις περιστέψαντα προσκεῖται τῷ Λυκορεῖ. In the Parian Marble No. 4. ἔφυγες ἐκ Λυκορείας εἰς Ἀθήνας.

^g See above, note ^e.

^h Pausan. I. 40, 1. Μέγαρον—ἔκφυγεν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος πόλην ἐπομβίαν, ἔκφυγεν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανίας. In I. 18, 7., describing the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, he adds: λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος συμβάσαν ὑπορηγηταὶ ταῦτα τὸ θέρετρον κ. τ. λ.—τοῦ δὲ Ὁλυμπίου Διὸς Δευκαλίωνα αἰκονομηταῖς λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ιερὸν, σημεῖον ἀποφαντάστες δὲ Δευκαλίων Ἀθηνῶν φύκησε τάφον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκότα. The Parian Marble No. 4. notices a temple at Athens: ἀφ' οὐ κατακλυσμὸς ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐγένετο καὶ Δευκαλίων—τοῦ Διὸς νῦν Ο. μ. εν τῷ ἤρει Β. ο ... τὰ συτήρια ἔθυσεν, τη ΧΗΗ ΙΔΙ ΔΠ βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Κρ. v. eū.

ⁱ Pausan. X. 6, 1. πόλιν δὲ ἀρχαιοτάτην εἰκοστήναν φασι ἐπαῦθα [at Delphi] ἐπὸ Παραστοῦ, Κλεοδώρας δὲ εἶναι νύμφης παῖδα αὐτῶν—ταῦτην μὲν οὖν κατακλυσθῆναι τῷ πόλει ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅμβρων τῶν δὲ αἰδοβρύντων ὅσοι διαφυγεῖν τὸν χειμῶνα ἥδυνθησαν λίκεν ἀργαῖς ἀπεσάθησαν εἰς τοῦ Παραστοῦ τὰ ἄκρα—πόλιν δὲ ἣν ἐκτίσαν ἐκάλεσαν δὲ τούτην Λυκόρειαν. We have here a different tradition from that which represented *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* as the only persons who escaped.

¹ These circumstances were partly at least added after the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. Hellanicus, however, mentioned an ark. Lycophron 79. describes a general deluge extending over the Troad,

ὅτε ἡμάστην πᾶσαν ὁμβρήσας χθίσα

Ζητὲς κακλάζων ναυμάς—

which Tzetzes ad loc. understands of the flood of *Deucalion*; although Lycophron does not name *Deucalion*. Plutarch Solert. Anim. p. 968. F. mentions the dove: οἱ μὲν οὐ μισθόροι τῷ Δευκαλίων φασι περιστέραν ἐκ τῆς λάρνακος ἀφιεμένην δῆλωμα γενέσθαι χειμῶνος μὲν, εἶσω πάλιν ἐνδυομένην, εἰδίας δὲ, ἀποπτάσαν. Lucian de Dea Syria tom. IX. p. 93. describes a temple in Syria, which was founded by *Deucalion* the Scythian: τοῦτον Δευκαλίωνα ἐπὶ τοῦ τῷ πολλῶν ὕδωρ ἐγένετο. Δευκαλίωνος δὲ πέρι λόγοις ἐν “Ελλησι” ἡκουσα τὸν “Ελληνες ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λέγουσι. δὲ μῆδος ἀδεῖ ἔχει. ηδε ἡ γενεὴ, οἱ νῦν ἀνθράκαι, εἰ πράττει δύεντες, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνη μὲν ἡ γενεὴ πάντες ὄλαντο.

2. *Hellen* and his sons are acknowledged by Hesiod^k, and even by Thucydides^l. Other accounts generally agree that *Hellen* was the son of *Deucalion*, that he reigned in *Phthiotis*, and that from him the Greeks were called *Hellenes*^m. Some accounts made *Hellen* the son of *Prometheus*ⁿ, and his authority was extended to *Bœotia*^o. *Hellen*, the founder of Hellas in Thessaly, was said by another tradition to be the son of *Phthius* and grandson of *Achæus*^p.

εῖτοι δὲ γένεος τοῦ δευτέρου εἰσὶ, τὸ αὐτὸς ἐκ Δευκαλίωνος ἐς πλῆθιν ἀπίκετο. ἑκίνου δὲ τέρη τῶν ἀνθρώπων τάδε μυθέσθαι. ὑβριστοὶ κάρτα έντετος κ. τ. λ.—Δευκαλίων δὲ μαῦρος ἀνθράκης ἐλίπετο ἐς γενεὴν δευτέρην εἰβουλίης; τε καὶ τοῦ εὐτεύθεος εἴνεκα. ή δὲ οἱ σωτηρίην θέες ἔγνετο: λάρνακα μεγάλην τὴν αὐτὸς ἔχε, ἐς ταῦτην ἐσβιβάσσας ταῖδες τε καὶ γυναικας ἁντοῦ ἐσέβη. ἐσβαίνοντι δέ οἱ ἀπίκετο σύνες καὶ ίτισι καὶ λέωντας γένεας καὶ ὄφεις καὶ ἀλλὰ διάστα ἐν γῇ γέμονται, τάπτα ἐς ζεύγεας ὁ δὲ τάπτα ἐδέκετο—καὶ ἐν μηρὶ λάρνακι πάντες ἐπλευνταν ἔστε τὸ ίδιον ἐπεκράτεε. τὰ μὲν Δευκαλίωνος πέρι "Ελλῆνες ιστορέουσι. Some obscure tradition of the general deluge might have descended through the first successors of *Noah*, and might have been incorporated by the Greeks with their own local traditions concerning *Deucalion*; but the circumstances in Plutarch and Lucian were derived from the Hebrew Scriptures, which were known to the Greeks from the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*.

^k Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 284. Δωρεῖς στρατός: δ' Ἐλληνιδες, ἀπὸ Δάρου τοῦ "Ελλῆρος παιδὸς" ὡς φησιν Ἡσίοδος ἐν τῇ Ἡραϊκῇ γενεαλογίᾳ.

"Ἐλληνος δὲ ἐγένοντο θεμιστοπόλεις βασιλῆες
Δᾶρος τε Εσιῦδες τε καὶ Αἴδος ἵπποιούραι,
Αἰδοῖδαι δὲ ἐγένοντο θεμιστοπόλεις βασιλῆες
Κρηθεῖδες δὲ Ἀθάμας καὶ Σίτυφος αἰδομούρτης,
Σαλμανεῖς τ' ἄδικος καὶ ἐπέρθυμος Περιήρης.

The two first lines are preserved by Plutarch Sympos. IX. 15. p. 747. F. who has θεμιστοπόλεις βασιλῆες. The three last in Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 253. καὶ Ἡσίοδος: "Αἰδοῖδαι—Περιήρης." The second in Schol. Thucyd. I. 3.

^l Thucyd. I. 3. τῷ "Ἐλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνι οὐδὲ εἴναι ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὐτῇ, κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ τλεῖστον ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν τὴν ἐπανυμάνων παρέχεσθαι." Ἐλληνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι Ισχυράντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ὀφελεῖᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ἔκαστους μὲν ἥηδη τῇ ὅμιλᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαις "Ἐλληνας."

^m Strabo VIII. p. 383. φασὶ Δευκαλίωνος μὲν "Ἐλληνας εἴναι τούτον δὲ περὶ τὴν Φθιώτιδα μεταξὺ Πηνειοῦ καὶ Ἀσωτοῦ διναστεύοντα τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν παιδῶν παραδούνας τὴν ἀρρεῖν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἔχων διαπέμψας ζητήσοντας θύρων ἔκαστον αὐτῷ· δὲν Δᾶρος μὲν τοὺς περὶ Παραστὸν Δωριέας συνοικίσας κατέλεπτεν ἐπανύμενος αὐτοῦ, Σοῦθος δὲ τὴν Ἐρεχθίων θυγατέρα γάμας ἤκισε τὴν τετράπολιν τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Conon Narr. 27. apud Phot. cod. 186. p. 437. τὰ περὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἀπαγγέλλει, δὲς ἐβασίλευε τῆς Φθιώτιδος, καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν τῆς "Ἐλλαδος κατακλυσμοῦ" καὶ περὶ "Ἐλληνες τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, δὲν ἔνιοι

τοῦ Διὸς παιδα ἔναι φασιν, δὲς καὶ διεδέκατο τὴν βασιλείαν τελευτήσαντος Δευκαλίωνος, καὶ τίκτει ταῖδες τρεῖς· δὲν Αἰολὸς μὲν τὸν πρώτον βασιλεύειν ἐδικαίωσεν ἡς ἥραγμος, Ἄστωρ δὲ Ἐπικτῆς διοικεῖ ποταμοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν διορισάμενος, δὲς οὐ τὸ Αἰολικὸν κατάρχεται γένος· Δᾶρος δὲ δεύτερος μοίραν τοῦ λαοῦ λαβὼν παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ἀποκλίζεται, καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Παρνασσὸν τὸ δρός κτίζει πόλεις Βοιόν, Κυτίνον, Ἐρίνεον, δὲς οὐ Δωρεῖς· δὲ δὲ γενέτας Ἀθήναζε ἀρικόμενος κτίζει τετράπολιν καλουμένην τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ γαρεὶ Κρέσσων τὴν Ἐρεχθίων. Mar. Par. No. 6. ἀφ' οὐ "Ἐλληνος δὲ Δευκ. ὧτιδος ἐβασίλευε καὶ Ἐλληνες .. ορισθησαν τὸ πρότερον Γραικοὶ καλούμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα Παυ. i ΧΗΝ [α] Π ΙΙ βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀρικτίσιον. Placed in the Marble fifty-three years after the reign of *Deucalion*: see N°. 2. But as *Deucalion* was a century too high with reference to the Trojan war, *Hellen* is placed too high. For the name *Γραικοὶ* see above p. 20. r. Mr. Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 312. has very properly rejected Παναθήναια, which former editors had inserted, and has supplied the lacuna in the Marble with Πανελλήνια. The *Panhellenia* celebrated by *Aeacus* are in Pausan. I. 44, 13. θυσαντος Αιακοῦ κατὰ τι δὴ λόγων τῷ Πανελλῆνιῳ Διτὸν Αἰγαίην. Conf. II. 30, 3. 4. *Jupiter Hellanius* was acknowledged at Sparta by the direction of the Delphian oracle to *Lycurgus*: Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 6. Διὸς Ἐλλανίν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς; Ἐλλανίς; ιερὸν διορισμένον κ. τ. λ. To the testimonies concerning *Hellen* we may add the following. His tomb was shewn at Melitea: Strabo IX. p. 432: τὸν δὲ τῇ ἀγορῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τάφον τοῦ "Ἐλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος νιῶν καὶ Πύρρας". Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. 8, 4. p. 730. D. οἱ ἀφ' "Ἐλληνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ πατρογενείων Ποσειδῶνος θύσαντι. Palæphat. p. 150. "Ἐλλῆνες ἀπὸ "Ἐλληνος, καὶ Ἰωνες ἀπὸ Ἰωνος. Clem. Al. Strom. VI. p. 679. A. ἀπὸ "Ἐλληνος τοῦ Διὸς [conf. Conon. I. c. Schol. Odys. κ'. 2.] τοῦ κατ' ἐπικλησιν Δευκαλίωνος τὰς "Ἐλληνικὰς συνέβη κεκλήσθαι διαιλέκτους.

ⁿ Schol. Apollon. III. 1086. cod. Par. Ἡσίοδος δηγγεῖται ἐν τῷ α' τῶν καταλόγων—ὅτι Προμηθεὺς ἡ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ Πύρρας "Ἐλλην, δὲς οὐ οἱ "Ἐλλῆνες ὀνομάσθησαν καὶ ἡ "Ἐλλας.

^o Schol. Hom. Il. β'. 494. et Eustath. p. 262, 35. "Ἐλλην δὲ Δευκαλίωνος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ ἔκησε.

^p Steph. Byz. Ἐλλάς: πόλις Θεσσαλίας.—ἐκτίσθη ὑπὸ "Ἐλληνος, οὐ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Φθίος ἢν Ἀχαιοῦ. See above p. 18.

This *Achæus* we have already seen ^q was the son of *Larissa* and the grandson of *Pelasgus* in the tenth generation before the war of Troy. This genealogy accordingly derives *Hellen*, the founder of Hellas, from a Pelasgic origin. But, as *Hellen* the son of *Deucalion* or *Jupiter* or *Prometheus* is only known to us as a king of *Phthiotis*, we may conclude that under *Hellen* the son of *Phthius* the same person is described. The name of *Hellen* may in both cases express the Hellenic chief who, about seven generations before the Trojan war, founded an Hellenic state in *Phthiotis*. From this beginning the influence of the *Hellenes* was gradually extended till their name became general for the Grecian people. When the name *Hellenes* became general for the whole nation is not clear. In the *Iliad* this name is only given to the town in *Phthiotis*^t. But in the *Odyssey* the term is used in a wider sense^s. Apollodorus remarks that Hesiod and Archilochus used this designation for the Greeks generally^t. The term Hellenic, then, was gradually extended in its application, and came to be applied to the whole Greek nation some time after the Trojan war and before the time of Hesiod^v.

3. *Æolus*, after the death of *Hellen*, reigned in *Phthiotis*^w. Five of his sons are named by Hesiod^x; seven sons and five daughters by Apollodorus. Others gave him ten sons, one of whom was *Macedony*. From these children of *Æolus* were descended the chief families in every part of Greece. Some of the descendants of *Deion* were seated in

^q See p. 16.

^r That is, if we allow with some ancient critics the line *Iliad*. β. 530, to be spurious: οὐτι—“Ελλῆνας εἰδέπετε εἴρηκε ἀλλ' Ἀργεῖον; ἡ Δαναῶν; καὶ οὐδὲ Ἑλλάδα τὴν οἰκουμένην ἵντες Ἐλλήνων, ἀλλὰ μίαν πόλιν Θεσσαλίας.” That verse appears not to have been in the copy of Thucydides: conf. Thuc. I. 3.

^s *Odys. 8. 726. 816.* —τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἀργου. σ'. 80. Εἰ δὲ ἔθνεις τρεφθῆναι διὸ Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἀργος. The Scholiast in the remark at 8. 726. περιττὸς ὁ στίχος—οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς ὁ “Ομηρος τὴν καθ' ἥμας Ἑλλάδα. and at σ'. 80. ἀποκαὶς τὸ “ἀν’ Ἑλλάδα.” κοινὴ [I. cum Porsono μόνη] γὰρ τὴν ἵντες Ἀχιλλεῖ Ἑλλάδα καλεῖ “Ομηρος”—felt that in these lines more was implied than the little state near Phthia.

^t Strabo VIII. 370. Ἀπολλόδωρος μύθους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ καλεῖσθαι φησιν “Ἑλλῆνας [sc. in Homer].” “Μυριάδες δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ Ἑλλῆνες” [II. β. 684]. “Ἡσίοδος μάντις καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ἦδη εἰδένει καὶ Ἑλλῆνας λεγομένους τοὺς σύμπαντας καὶ Πανέλληνας” τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν Προτιθέντων λέγοντα ὃς Πανέλληνες ἐμνήστενος αὐτάς τὸν δὲ ὃς Πανελλήνους ἔτιδες ἐς Θάσον συνέδραμεν. Hesiod also in the extant poem Opp. 526. βράδιον δὲ Πανελλήνεσσι φασίνει.

^v Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 511. quoting Hesiod. Opp. 526. observes that the genealogy of the chief races of the Greeks (given above from Hesiod apud Tzetz.) “could not have been made before the name *Hellenes* was applied to the whole nation;” and that “it is first thus used in the Works and Days of Hesiod, before which time therefore the above genealogy can-

“not have been formed.” This observation contains two propositions, to which we cannot agree. In the first place we cannot admit that, because the genealogy was invented to express the affinity of the races, this invention was delayed till the name *Hellenes* had become general. If that affinity was a real affinity, which many circumstances concur to prove, that expression of it might have been produced at any time after the Ionians, Achæans, Doriens, and *Æolians*, had appeared. In the next place, because the extended use of the name *Hellenes* first occurs in the Works of Hesiod, it by no means follows that the genealogy was not formed before that poem was composed: for we only know from Hesiod that the term did not come into use later than his time. How long before him it had been in use we have no means of knowing. But there is no reason for assuming that the name *Hellenes* for the Greek nation began to be general precisely at the time when Hesiod composed his poem, and not before.

^w See above p. 44. m. Apollod. I. 7, 3. Αἴολος βασιλεύειν τὸν περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν τίκτων τὸν ἐνικάντας Αἴολεις προστήρευσε. According to Pindar Pyth. IV. 185—195. Iolcos was a part of his territory: τάν ποτε Ζεὺς ἀπαντει λαγέτῳ Αἴολῳ καὶ παῖσι τιμάν. and the right descended from *Æolus* through *Cretheus* to *Æson* the father of *Jason*. conf. Schol. ad loc.

^x See p. 44. k.

^y Eustathius quoted above p. 21.g. Constantin. Porphyrog. Them. 2. 2. p. 84. ed. Meurs. quoted by Sturz. Hellanic. p. 79. Μακεδονία ἡ γέρα ἀν-

Thessaly^a; *Cephalus* occupied Cephalenia^a; *Perieres* son of *Aeolus* possessed Messenia^b; *Magnes*, Magnesia^c. The descendants of *Sisyphus* reigned at Corinth^d. From *Sisyphus* and *Athamas* were sprung the kings of Orchomenus^e. *Salmoneus* occupied

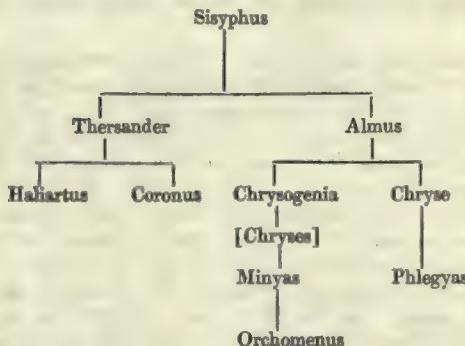
μάσθη—ἀπὸ Μακεδόνος τῶν Αἴδηνος, ὃς Ἐλλάνικος ἵερῶν πρότυ τῶν δι' Ἀργεῖ· “καὶ Μακεδόνος Αἴδηνος, ὃς ταῦτα

“Μακεδόνες καλοῦνται, μένοι μετὰ Μυσῶν τόπε οἰκοῦντες.”
The children of *Aeolus* are thus delivered:

1. *Cretheus*: Hesiod. Homer. Apollod.
2. *Sisyphus*: Hesiod. Homer. Apollod.
3. *Athamas*: Hesiod. Apollod.
4. *Salmoneus*: Hesiod. Homer. Apollod.
5. *Deion*: Apollod.
6. *Magnes*: Apollod.
7. *Perieres*: Hesiod. Apollod.
8. *Cercaphus*: Demetr. Scepsius.
9. *Macedon*: Hellanic.
10. *Mimas*: Diod. IV. 67.

Daughters:

1. *Canace*. } Apollod.
2. *Alcyone*. } Apollod.



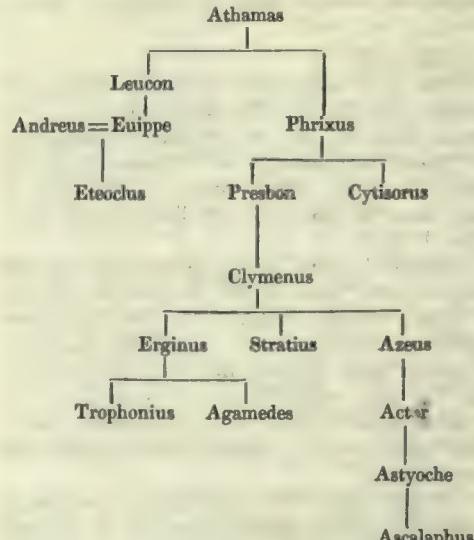
3. *Pisidicē*.
4. *Calycē*.
5. *Perimedē*. }
6. *Tanagra*: Pausan. IX. 20, 2.
7. *Tritogenia*: Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 120.

^a See above p. 40. b. c. ^b p. 40. d.

^b See above p. 32. d. ^c See above p. 41. 1.

^d p. 40. j.

^e The kings of Orchomenus, as described by Pausanias IX. 34—37, originate in *Andreus* a Thessalian, *Athamas* son of *Aeolus*, and *Almus* son of *Sisyphus*:



Pausan. IX. 34, 5. Ἀνδρέας πρῶτος ἐνταῦθα Πηρειοῦ παῖδες τῶν πεταμῶν λέγουσιν ἐνοικῆσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν γῆν Ἀνδρεῖα διοικεῖναι. παραγενομένου δὲ ὃς αὐτὸν Ἀθάμαντος, ἀπένειμε τῆς αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀθάμαντι τὴν τε περὶ τὸ Λαφίσιον χώραν καὶ τὴν τὴν Κορώνειαν καὶ Ἀλιαρτίαν. Ἀθάμας δὲ—ἐποίησατ Ἀλιαρτες καὶ Κορωνοὺς τοὺς Θερσάρδους τοῦ Σισύφου [conf. X. 30], Σισύφου γὰρ ἀδελφὸς ἦν ὁ Ἀθάμας. Ὁστερν δὲ ἀναστρέψαντος εἰς Κάλχην οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ Φρίξου φασὶν εἰ δὲ Πρέσβειος—εἴτε συγχωρέσσιν οἱ Θερσάρδους παῖδες οἵκοι μὲν τὸν Ἀθάμαντος Ἀθάμαντι, καὶ ταῦς ἀπὸ ἐκείνου προσήκειν, αὐτοὶ δὲ (μοῦρα γὰρ δίδωσι σφίσιν Ἀθάμας τῆς γῆς) Ἀλιαρτους καὶ Κορωνας ἐγένετο οἰκισταί. πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τούτων Ἀνδρεῖς Εὔποτην θυγατέρα Λείκηνην λαμβάνει παρὰ Ἀθά-

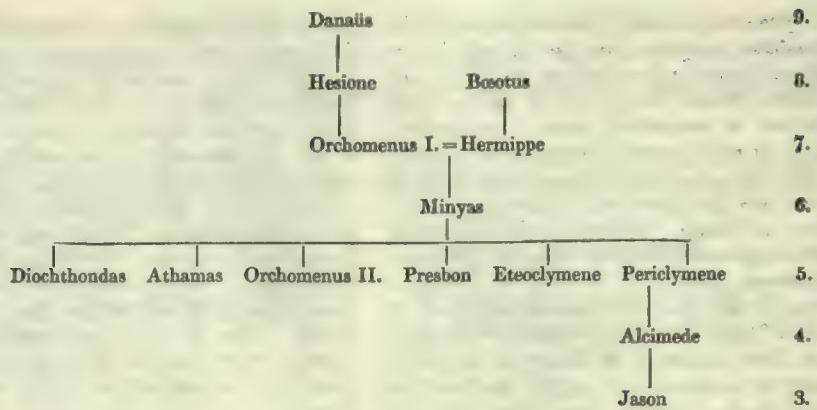
μαντος: γυναῖκα καὶ υἱὸν Ἐπεοκλῆς αὐτῷ γίνεται, Κηφισιοῦ δὲ τοῦ πεταμοῦ κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν φῆμην, ὅστε καὶ τῶν ποιησάντων τινὲς Κηφισιαδηνοὶ τὸν Ἐπεοκλέας ἐκάλεσαν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεοι. ὅλος δὲ ἐβασιλεύει δὲ Ἐπεοκλῆς τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀπὸ Ἀνδρέων ἔχειν τὸ ὄνομα εἶσει, φυλᾶς δὲ Κηφισιαδας τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο. ἀφικομένῳ δὲ τρίτῃ Ἀλιαρτῷ τῷ Σισύφου δίδωσιν οἰκησταῖς τῆς χώρας οὐ πολλὴν, καὶ αἱ κώμαι τόπε οἰκλήθησαν Ἀλιαρτες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλιαρτούς τούτου χώρῳ δὲ ἐξειλησεν Ὅστερν εἶναι τῇ κώμῃ “Ολμωνας”. In this account *Andreus*, *Athamas*, *Almus*, *Haliartus*, *Coronus*, are contemporary settlers occupying different districts. The first who could be called king is *Eteocles*. *Eteocles*, or *Eteocles*, first sacrificed to the

Graces : Pausan. IX. 35. Schol. Theocr. XVI. 104. Ἐτεοκλέων θυγατέρας ἦφη τὰς Χάριτας διὰ τὸ Ἐτεοκλέα τὸν Κηφισοῦ πρώτων αὐτοῖςσαι Χάρισιν ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ. Schol. Pindar. Ol. XIV. init. ταύταις Ἐτεοκλέας ὁ Κηφισοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὲν πρώτος ἔθυσε, ὡς φησιν Ἡσίδεος, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ ὁ Κηφισὸς ἦται. Strabo IX. p. 414. Ἐτεοκλῆς, τὸν βασιλευσάνταν ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τις, Χαρίτιν οἱρόν θρυσάμενον πρώτος ἀμφότεροι ἐμφάνει, καὶ πλεῖτον καὶ δύναμιν. After Eteocles follow the successive reigns of Phlegyas, Minyas, Orchomenus, Clymenus, Erginus : Pausan. IX. 36. γενομένης Ἐτεοκλέη τῆς τελευτῆς ἡ βασιλεία περῆλθε εἰς τὸ Ἀλμενόν γένος. Ἀλμενὴς δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν θυγατέρες Χρυσογένεια ἐγίνετο καὶ Χρύση. Χρύσης δὲ τῆς Ἀλμενῆς καὶ Ἄρεως ἔχει φίμη γενεῖσαν Φλεγύνα, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς Ἐτεοκλέους ἀπειδαύτος ἀταῖδος ὁ Φλεγύνας ἔσχει ὁδοῖς, τῇ μὲν δὴ χώρᾳ τῇ πάσῃ Φλεγυντίᾳ ὅπου εἶναι μιτέθετο ἀντὶ Ἀλδρήπος, τῷλις δὲ ἔγενετο ἡ τε ἐξ ἀρρήξ εἰκοσιεῖδος Ἀλδρῆς, καὶ προσάκτισεν ὁ Φλεγύνας ὄρωντος αὐτῷ, τοὺς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀρίστους Ἑλλάγοντα συλλέκτας εἰς αὐτῆς. καὶ ἀπέστησά τε ἀπὸ χρίου ὅποι τὸν ἄλλον Ὀρχομενὸν ἐνὸς ἀναῖς καὶ τάλπῃς οἱ Φλεγύναι καὶ ἤγονται καὶ ἔφεραν τοὺς προστύκους· τέλος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ιερὸν συνήσυντες στρατεύεσθαι τὸν Δελφοῦς—τὸ μὲν δὴ Φλεγυνῶν γένος ἀνέτρεψεν ἐκ βάθρων ὁ θεὸς κ. τ. λ.—διλύριον δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίαν διαφεύγοντας εἰς αὐτῷ. Φλεγύνα δὲ οὐ γενομένην ταῖςν δικέχεται Χρύσης τὴν ἀρχὴν Χρυσογένειας τε ἀν τῆς Ἀλμενῆς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος. τεύτηρος δὲ τοῦ γίνεται Χρύση Μινύας, καὶ ἀτὸς αὐτοῦ Μινύας καὶ τοῦ ἔτι ἄλλου ἄρχοντος ὁμοίζοντας. πρόσοδοι δὲ ἐγίνετο τῷ Μινύῳ τηλικαῖται μεγέθεος ὡς ἵπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς τρὸν αὐτῷ τηλότῳ· θηταυρὸν τε ἀνθράκων ἀν οἴμεια Μινύας τούτος εἰς ὑποδοχὴν χρημάτων φιλοδομεῖστατο.—Μινύων δὲ ἡ Ὀρχομενός καὶ ἐπὶ τούτον βασιλεύεσθαις ἔτει τοῖς Ὁρχομενοῖς καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκλήθησαν Ὁρχομένους·—ἔδει δὲ ἄρα ταυτήν καὶ τὸ Ἀλμενόν γένος· οὐχ ἴπολείτεται γάρ ταῖδας Ὁρχομενός, καὶ οὐτοις εἰς Κλυμένην τὸν Πρέσβιτος τοῦ Φρίξου περῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχῇ. Κλυμένη δὲ γίνεται ταῖδες πρεσβύτατος μὲν Ἐργυνοῦ ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Στράτιος καὶ Ἄρεων καὶ Πύλεως, πεντάτος δὲ Ἀζεύς.

The Phlegyæ were formidable to Thebes, which was fortified διὰ τὸ δεινόκεντος τοῦ Φλεγύνας μετὰ δὲ τελευτὴν (Ζήθειν καὶ Ἀμφίσιον) Εὐρύμαχος ἥρμισε τὰς Θήβας, ὡς φησι Φερεκύδης ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ Schol. Odyss. λ. 264. Eustath. ad Odyss. λ. p. 1692. 55. Ζήθειν καὶ Ἀμφίσιον θανάτων, Εὐρύμαχος Φλεγυνῶν βασιλεὺς—τὰς Θήβας ἥρμισε. Κάδμος δὲ δοτερος ἀνέτισεν. conf. Schol. Odyss. λ. 262. Schol. Apollon. I. 735. Ἀμφίσιον καὶ Ζήθειν εἰ καὶ τὰς Θήβας ἐτείχισαν—Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν παραδίδωσι τῆς οἰκοδομῆς διότι Φλεγύνας πολεμίους ὤντας οὐλαβοῦντο βασιλεύεσται Κάδμῳ. Schol. Illiad. v. 301. Φλεγύναι Γέρτυναν κατεικίστες παρανομέτατο καὶ λογοτρικὸν διῆγον βίον, καὶ κατατρέχοντες τοὺς περισκούς χαλεπῶς ἤδικουν. Θηβαῖον δὲ πληριέχοντο ὄντες θεούλεκεσταν καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ, εἰ μὴ Ἀμφίσιον καὶ Ζήθεις—ἐτείχισαν τὰς Θήβας—τούτων μὲν ὅτι

ζόντων οὐδὲν οἱ Φλεγύναι τοὺς Θηβαίους ἥδουντο διαθεῖναι. θανότων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπελθόντες σὺν Εὐρυμάχῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς Θήβας εἷλαν πλεῖστα δὲ τολμῶντες ἀδικήματα—ἐπὸν Ἀπόλλωνος διεφθάρησαν. οὗτοι δὲ ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς γαῖα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἡ ιστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδης. Schol. Victor. adds ἔργμα γενέσθαι τὴν τάλιν (τὰς Θήβας) μέχρι τῆς Κάδμου ἀφίξεως, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν διειλέκτας Ἐφερός, ἀποδεικνὺς ὅτι τὴν Δαυλίδα καὶ εἰ τὴ Γερτώνα φύκονταν· θέντε καὶ παρὰ Φωκεῖσι τὸ ὑβρίζειν φλεγυνᾶν λέγεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ τῇ Δημοφίλῳ. The unseasonable mention of Cadmus is properly rejected by Heyne ad Apollod. p. 583. The Phlegyæ are named in the first Theban war : Pausan. IX. 9, 1. τοὺς Θηβαίους μισθοφορικὰ ἥλθε παρὰ Φωκέων, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μινύαδος χάρας οἱ Φλεγύναι.

Minyas is made the son of Chrysogenia by Schol. Apollon. III. 1094. who omits Chryses : Σισύφου ταῖδες ἐγένοντο Ἀλμενῆς καὶ Ποσειδῶν. Χρυσογένης δὲ τῆς Ἀλμενῆς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Μινύας, ὁ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν κτίσας. Minyas by this account, like Phlegyas, is the fourth from Sisyphus. But by another account he is the son of Callirhoe, and marries the daughter of Aeolus : Schol. Pindar. Ol. XIV. 1. Ὀρχομενὸς ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Μινύειος ἀπὸ Μινύεων τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ, Καλλιρής καὶ Ποσειδῶνος νιᾶν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν. Μινύειοι γάρ οὗτοι λέγονται, ad v. 5. Μινύου τοῦ Θετταλοῦ. Μινύας δὲ ἐκ Καλλιρήνης τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ Ποσειδῶνος. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 874. Ὀρχομενὸς Μινύειος οὐτας ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ Μινύου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ταῖδος καὶ Καλλιρήνης τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ θυγατρός οὐτεπερ Μινύειον καὶ Τριγονεῖς τῆς Αἰόλου οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 120. οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν εἰς Μινύας τὸν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Τριγονεῖς τῆς Αἰόλου τὸ γένος ἀπῆγον. This would make Minyas contemporary with Sisyphus. A different genealogy is also given in Schol. Apollon. I. 230. δὲ Ιάσον τὸν Ἀλκιμέδης ἐστὶ τῆς Κλυμένης [Περικλυμένης Cod. Par.] τῆς Μινύεων θυγατρός [Κλυμένη Μινύου γαμιθεῖσα Φιλάκῳ Schol. Odyss. λ. 326]. Στησίχορος Ἐτεοκλέμενης φησίν· Φερεκύδης δὲ Ἀλκιμέδης τῆς Φιλάκου. Ησίδης δὲ τῆς Δαυανῆς καὶ Διος γίνεται Ὁρχομενός· Ὁρχομενοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἐρμίτης τῆς Βοιωτοῦ γίνεται Μινύας ἐπίκλησιν. φίστε δὲ Ποσειδῶνος· δειπνεῖ δὲ Ὁρχομενός ἀφ' οὗ ὁ λαὸς Μινύας ἐκλήθησαν. ἐκ δὲ Μινύου καὶ Κλυτοδόρας γίνεται Πρέσβιτος καὶ Περικλυμένη καὶ Ἐτεοκλυμένη. δὲ δὲ Φανοσίρας τῆς Παιώνης καὶ Μινύου τάλιν Ὁρχομενός καὶ Διοχθόνεας καὶ Ἀθάμας· δὲ δὲ Σκῆψιος Δημήτριος φησὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ιωλάδην οἰκοῦντας Μινύας προσαγορεύεσθαι. Idem I. 763. τὴν Ιωλάδην Μινύας φέρειν, ὡς φησι Σιμωνίδης ἐν συμπλεκτοῖς. δύναται δὲ καὶ (Φρίξος Μινύειος) ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁρχομενοῦ πολλοῖ γάρ φασιν ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ οἰκῆσαι τὸν Ἀθάμαντα. Idem III. 265. Ἐλλάνικές φησι τὸν Ἀθάμαντα Ὁρχομενὸν φιηκέναι. The genealogy is this :



There was a Thessalian Orchomenus: Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 272. ἔστι δὲ Θετταλικὸς Ὀρχομενός εἰδὸς καὶ αὐτῷ σύνεται μέχρι καὶ τὸν ἡ κλῆσις. καὶ Μακεδονικὸν δέ φασι εἶναι Ὀρχομενὸν, καὶ Καρύστιον ὁ Βιούτιος δὲ τῷ τεῦ Διὸς Ὀρχομένῳ ἐπωνύμασται. Schol. Apollon. II. 1186. Φθίητο πόλιν Ὀρχομενοῖς: εἰ μὲν τὴν Φθίαν Ὀρχομενοῦ πόλιν φασὶν εἰρῆσθαι, παρόστον οἱ Ὀρχομένοις ἀποκεί εἰσθ Θεσσαλῶν. δύναται δὲ καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ μημονεύειν τοῦ μεθορίου Μακεδονίας καὶ Θεσσαλίας. ἔστι γάρ Ὀρχομενὸς καὶ ὄρος καὶ πόλις Θεσσαλίας, καὶ Βιούτιας, καὶ Ἀρκαδίας, καὶ Πόντου [founded by Ialmenus after the Trojan war: Eustath. ad Dionys. 683. ad Iliad. p. 272. Strabo IX. p. 416]. Sturz. ad Pherecyd. p. 226. suspects that the Thessalian Orchomenus may be referred to in this genealogy. Both genealogies are mentioned Schol. Pindar. Isthm. I. 79. Ὀρχομενὸς Μινύεως—τοῦτον τὸν Μινύαν εἰ μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ γενεαλογοῦσιν, ὡς Φερεκύδης, ἕνοι δὲ ἔμπται τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύον, ἕνοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους Ἐτεακλέους γενεαλογοῦσι. Διονύσιος δὲ τὸν Μινύαν "Ἄρες ἀναγράφει. Ἀριστόδημος δὲ Ἀλεοῦ τὸν Μινύαν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀργυαύτας δὲ Μινύας ἐτεῦθεν γράφει προσηγρεῦσθαι. Sons of Orchomenus are mentioned Steph. Byz. Ἀσπληδών. Ὀρχομενοῦ δὲ νεῖς:

"Ἀσπληδὼν Κλύμενος τε καὶ Ἀμφίδοκος θεοειδῆς." Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 272. Ὡς Ἀσπληδῶν ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ Ἀσπληδόνος οὐδὲ Ποσειδῶνος, ὥς Πρέβανος, ὥς Ὀρχομενοῦ. Ὀρχομενοῦ γάρ φασιν νεῖς "Ἀσπληδών" κ. τ. λ. *Orchomenus* is no other than the *Orchomenus* of Pausanias. He was succeeded by *Clymenus*, whom the author of this verse has made to be his son. *Aspledon* in the lines of Chersias apud Pausan. IX. 38, 6. is the son of *Neptune* and *Midea*. *Presbon* in Eustath. I. c. was probably *Presbon* brother of *Orchomenus*, in that pedigree of the Scholiast. Sturz. ad Hellanic. p. 81. ad Pherecyd. p. 220. thinks that Hellanicus apud Schol. Apollon. III. 265. described the reign of *Athamas* at Orchomenus in Thessaly, and that the Thessalian Orchomenus was planted from the Boeotian. Van Staveren ad Hygin. fab. I. p. 17.

on the contrary supposes Hellanicus to mean Orchomenus in Boeotia, and the Boeotian Orchomenus to be derived from the Thessalian: *Orchomenii in Bœotia quin ex Orchomeno Thessaliæ oriundi sint nullus dubitaverit sanus*. In the former proposition he is probably right. *Athamas* in Pausan. IX. 34, 5. dwelt in the district afterwards called Orchomenus. He is called king of Thebes, Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 22. and *rex Thebanorum, sive, ut quidam volunt Orchomeniorum* Serv. ad En. V. 241. whence Van Staveren reasonably infers that Hellanicus expressed (by an anticipation of the name) Orchomenus in Boeotia. The second proposition seems to be contradicted by Strabo IX. p. 414. who implies that the Boeotian preceded the Thessalian settlement: Μινύεων Ὀρχομενὸν ἀπὸ ἔθνους τοῦ Μινύων ἐτεῦθεν δὲ ἀποκῆται τινὰς τὸν Μινύον εἰς Ἰωλόν φασιν, ὅθεν τοὺς Ἀργυαύτας Μινύας λεχθῆναι. *Athamas* himself is traced from Thessaly to Boeotia, and then back again to Thessaly: Apollod. I. 9, 1. 2. Ἀθάμας διασπεινούς Βοιωτίας—ἐκπεσὼν τῆς Βιούτιας—πολλὴν χώραν διελθὼν—κτίσας τὴν χώραν Ἀθαμάντιαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσηγρέψει. Apollon. VII. 514. ἀπτέδιος Φθίης Ἀθαμάντιος. Steph. Byz. Ἀλος: τόλις Φθιώτιδος—κτίσαι δ' αὐτὴν Ἀθαμάντια ἀπὸ τῆς συμβάσης αὐτῷ ἄλης κ. τ. λ. Strabo IX. p. 433. φύκει δὲ δὲ Ἀθάμας τὸν Ἀλαν. Memorials of *Athamas* at Alos, remained in the time of Herodotus: VII. 197. ταῦτα πάρχοντι εἰ Κυτισσώρων τῷ Φρίξῳ παιδὸς απόγονοι, διέτι καθαριὸν τῆς χώρας ποιευμένων Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθαμάντια τὸν Αἴλουν, καὶ μελλόντων μη θεῖν, ἀπικέμενος οὗτος δὲ Κυτισσώρος δὲ Αἴης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐβρύσατο. This occurred at the temple of Ζεὺς Δαφνίτιος at Alos; and *Athamas* had attempted to sacrifice *Phrixus* in the temple of Ζεὺς Δαφνίτιος near Coronea: Pausan. IX. 34, 4. *Athamas* then, ended his life in his original country: hence Palæphatus fab. 31. Ἀθάμας δὲ Αἴλου τοῦ Ἑλληνος ἐβασίλευε τῆς Φθίας. The opinion however of Van Staveren is justified by the genealogy in the Scholiast. *Orchomenus I.* seems

Elis f. His descendants *Neleus* and *Nestor* were seated in the neighbouring district of Tri-

to represent the Thessalian city of the name from which the *Minyæ* (represented by *Minyas*) migrated to Boeotia and there founded the Boeotian Orchomenus, represented by *Orchomenus II.* *Andreas* son of the *Peneüs* marks the Thessalian origin of the first settlers. *Minyas* is three generations before *Jason* in the Scholiast, but in the genealogy of Pausanias, *Minyas*, the supposed author of the name of *Minyæ*, is below the time of *Jason*; an inconsistency similar to that which we have observed on other occasions, and arising from the same cause; a tribe or people converted into an individual. In the preceding testimonies the ancient genealogists seem to have imagined only one *Minyas* under all those various descriptions. And yet they might have avoided inconsistency by supposing two. In that case, *Minyas* son of *Hermippë* would have represented the *Minyæ* of Thessaly, and *Minyas* son of *Chrysogenia* the *Minyæ* of Boeotia. Strabo, who appears to make the Boeotian Orchomenus the earlier of the two, we may explain by supposing an intercourse between the *Minyæ* of Boeotia and the *Minyæ* of Thessaly. Some of the former might return, like *Athamas*, to their original country.

The descent of *Erginus* from *Presbon* is recorded in the oracle apud Pausan. IX. 37, 2. 'Εργίνος Κλυμένος ταῖς Πρεσβωνιάδαις. But the descent of *Presbon* from *Athamas* is not attested by all the accounts: Schol. Apollon. II. 1123. τοῖς Φρίξεν παῖδας, Ἡρόδορος φρεὶν ἐκ Χαλκιδῆς τῆς Αἴγατρος θυγατρὸς· Ἀκωνίδαις δὲ καὶ Ησίδος ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις Ἡσίας φρεὶν τοῖς Ισφάσσος τῆς Αἴγατρος καὶ οὐτοῖς μὲν [sc. Apollonius] φρεὶν αὐτοῖς τέσσαρας, Ἀργυροῖς, Φράνται, Μίλαναι, Κυτισσοῖς [conf. Herodot. VII. 197. Apollon. II. 1155]. 'Επιμενίδης δὲ καὶ πέμπτον τριστήνης Πρεσβωνα. Some accounts, then, might perhaps derive *Erginus* from *Presbon* son of *Minyas* in the genealogy of the Scholiast. The history of *Erginus* is thus given: Pausan. IX. 37. Κλύμενος μὲν εἰ τῇ ἡρῷ τοῦ Ογχοτόνου Ποσειδῶνος Θηβαῖον φανεῖνον ἄδρες—'Εργίνος δὲ—τὴν βασιλεῖαν παραδιδόντες. δύναμιν δὲ αὐτοῖς αὐτές τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ συνέβαντες ἥδη ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας· καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἐκρέπτονται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων χωροῦσιν δὲ ὄμολογας Θηβαῖοι κατὰ ἓτος ἔκαστον τελεῖ δασμὸν τοῦ Κλυμένου φύεν. Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἐπιτραφέτος ἐν Θήβαις, οὗτοι τοῦ δασμοῦ τε ἡλευθερώθησαν εἰ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ Μίνιας μεγάλως τῷ πολέμῳ προσέτασαν. 'Εργίνος δὲ ἀπὸ κεκακυμένους δὲ τὸ σχάτον τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἡρακλέον ἔποιησαν εἰρήνην κ. τ. λ. Apollod. II. 4, 10. Κλύμενος τὸν Μίνιων βασιλέα λίθῳ βαλὼν Μενοκίου ἥρισχος—τιτρόποτε κ. τ. λ.—στρατευόμενος δὲ 'Εργίνος δὲ Θήβας, κτείνεις οὐκ διλύεις, ἵστεσσατο μεθ' ὅρκων διπλῶν πέμπτων

αὐτῷ Θηβαῖοι δασμὸν ἐπὶ εἶκοσιν ἔτη, κατὰ ἓτος ἔκατὸν βίας.—'Ηρακλῆς δὲ λαβὼν ὅπλα παρ' Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ πολεμαρχῶν 'Εργίνου μὲν ἔκτεινε τοὺς δὲ Μίνιας ἐτρέψατο καὶ τὸν δασμὸν διπλῶν ἱνάγκασε Θηβαῖοις φέρειν. Strabo IX. p. 414. Θηβαῖοι δασμὸν ἐτέσσουν τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ 'Εργίνῳ τῷ τυραννοῦτι αὐτῶν, ὃν ἐφ' Ἡρακλέους καταλιθύην φασι. Eustath. ad Il. β'. p. 272. 'Εργίνος Κλυμένος ταῖς· δὲ δασμὸν Θηβαῖοις ἐπέθηκεν, ὃν καὶ ἔφεραν ἄχρις εἰς Ἡρακλῆς αὐτοῖς ἡλευθέρωτος φονεύσας 'Εργίνον τὸν Ἀσκαλάφον καὶ Ιάλμενον πρόγονον. 'Εργίνου γὰρ Ἀζεύς· εἰς Ἀκταρ· εἰς Ἀστυόχη· ἣς καὶ Ἄρες Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ιάλμενος. The tradition preserved by Pausanias is more probable; that *Erginus* was not slain by *Hercules*, and that he was not the father of *Azeus* but the brother. Homer Iliad. β. 513. only marks the descent from *Azeus*, without naming *Erginus*: 'Αστυόχη δόμῳρ Ἀκτορος Ἀζεύδας. The mother of *Erginus* is named in Schol. Apollon. I. 185. 'Εργίνος· Κλυμένος ἢν τοῦ Πρέσβωνος καὶ Βούζην τῆς Δίκου. The Theban tribute is alluded to Isocrat. Plataic. p. 298. d. Ὀρχομενίοις φόρον εἰστέων οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει τὸ παλαιόν.

Erginus seems to have lived long, and to have reigned till within thirty years of the fall of Troy; for Pausanias implies that his immediate successors were *Ascalaphus* and *Ialmenus*, the great-grandsons of his brother *Azeus*. We may strike out of the list of these kings *Phlegyas*, *Minyas*, *Orchomenus*, as imaginary persons, or rather as personifications of a city or a people; and as inconsistent with the time of *Eteoclus*, who is contemporary with *Presbon*; and yet between *Eteoclus* and the son of *Presbon* these three reigns are interposed. *Eurymachus* king of the *Phlegyæ* reigned, as we have seen, at Daulis, and not at Orchomenus. The kings of *Orchomenus*, then, appear to have been these:

Eteoclus,
Clymenus,
Erginus,
Ascalaphus and *Ialmenus*.

They might have occupied the space of a century down to the fall of Troy. The *Minyæ* their subjects were an *Aeolian* people; for by one account *Minyas* is descended from *Sisyphus*, by another he is in the same generation with *Æolus*, and is seated at Orchomenus in Thessaly at the time when that part of the country was possessed by the *Aeolians*.

¹ Apollod. I. 9, 7. Σαλμωνεῖς τὸ μὲν πρώτον περὶ Θεσσαλίαν κατέφερε παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἁλις ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἔκτισεν κ. τ. λ. Diod. IV. 68. Σαλμωνεῖς ἢν νῦν Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἐλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος· αὐτος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰόλιδος ἤριψες μετὰ πλεύσιαν Αἰόλεων ἥρισης τῆς Ἁλείας παρὰ τὸν Ἀλφείου ποταμὸν, καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε Σαλμωνίαν. Epho-

phylias. *Adrastus*, another of his descendants, became king of Argos^h. At the time of the

rus apud Strab. VIII. p. 357. Αἰτιῶν ἐκτεινόντα
τὸν Σαλμωνίαν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ Πιστᾶν ἐκ
τῆς Ἡλεῖας εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ὀνομάσαι τὸ ἄφ' ἔντοῦ τὴν
χώραν καὶ συνοικίαν τὰς αὐτόθι πόλεις. *Tyro* the
daughter of *Salmonius* was the wife of *Cretheus*
and the mother of *Pelias*, *Neleus*, *Aeson*, *Phereas*,
and *Amythaon*: Hom. Odyss. λ'. 234—258. Schol.
Theocr. III. 45. Αἴτιον τοῦ Ἐλδρος Σαλμωνίας ἐξ
οὗ Τυρός ἐξ ἡς καὶ Κρηθέως Νηλεύς. Schol. Pindar.
Pyth. IV. 190. Πρωμηθέως Δευκαλίων ὁ Ἐλλήν ὃ
Αἰόλος ἐβ Κρηθέων καὶ Ἀθάμας καὶ Σαλμωνίας καὶ Κρη-
θέως μὲν ταῖς Αἴσον Αἴσονος δὲ Ἰάσων Σαλμωνίας δὲ
Τυρός ἡς καὶ Πιστᾶντος Πελίας καὶ Νηλεύς. See the
table at p. 40. 41.

ἢ *Neleus* settled in Pylos: Hom. Odyss. λ'. 256.
Told by Diodorus IV. 68. in an historical form: Κρηθέως τελευτήσαντος ἐστασασαν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας
Πελίας τε καὶ Νηλεύς. τοίτον δὲ Πελίας μὲν Ἰωλοῦ καὶ
τοῦ πλευτοῦ χωρὸν ἐβασίλευσε· παραλαβόν δὲ Νηλεὺς
Μελάμποδα καὶ Βίαντα τοὺς Ἀμυθάνους καὶ Ἀγλαΐς
νιόδος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Φθιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς
Αἰολέων ἐστράτευσεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. *Melampus* re-
sided in Pylos with his uncle *Neleus*: ἔναις Πύλῳ
ἢ: Odyss. φ'. 226. He procured the marriage of
Pero with his brother *Bias*: Odyss. φ'. 236. and
settled himself at Argos, where he married: Ibid.
241. and reigned: τελλάσται ἀνάστατος Ἀργειούσιον
Ibid. *Theoclymenus* great-grandson of *Melampus* met *Telemachus* at Pylos: Odyss. φ'. 256
(See the descent at p. 40. 41). *Amythaon* son of
Tyro was the younger brother of *Neleus*: Odyss.
λ'. 256—258. But *Theoclymenus* was the sixth
from *Tyro*, and *Telemachus* only the fourth: and
Amphilochus, their contemporary, was the
seventh from *Tyro*. The descent of *Melampus* is
given Schol. Apollon. I. 118. Ἀμυθάνους τοῦ Κρη-
θέως τοῦ Αἴτιον τοῦ Ἐλδρος τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Δορίστης γίνεται
Μελάμπον. And the story of *Melampus* and *Bias*
is given Schol. Theocr. III. 43.

In the narrative of *Nestor* Iliad. λ'. 669—
760. are many particulars which illustrate the
times. *Hercules* had slain the eleven brothers
of *Nestor* 689—692. some time before *Nestor's*
first essay in arms: τοῦ προτέρου ἐτέων. This war
of *Hercules* with *Neleus*, alluded to Iliad. φ'.
395., was because *Neleus* had refused him purification
after the murder of *Iphitus*, according to
Apollod. II. 6, 2. 7, 3. But this would be in-
consistent with Odyss. φ'. 14—30. from whence
it appears that *Iphitus* lived to a later period.
Hence Eustathius ad Iliad. λ'. p. 879. observes
that other causes are assigned: τοῦτο δὲ τοῖς ἀκρι-
βεστέραις οὐκ ἀρέσκει διότι——δὰν ἡ Πυλὸς πορθῆται διὰ
τὰ Ἰφίτου καθάρια συνέργοτα ἀν δ' Οδυσσείδες τοῦ Νεσ-
τορος γεραιότερος——ἐπερει δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς Πύ-

λον εἶτον τὴν τοῦ Περικλυμένου καθ' Ἡρακλέους ὑπερηφα-
νίαν. —ἄλλοι δὲ διύτι 'Ορχομενίος οἱ Πύλοις ὡς συγγενεῖς
κατὰ Θηβαίων τῶν Ἡρακλέους πατριώτων ποτε συνελά-
βοντα. Conf. Schol. ad II. λ'. 690. Eustathius pro-
ceeds: Ἄγιας δὲ ιστορεῖ [Αὐγέας ἐν α' Ἀργολικῶν
Schol.] διότι Νηλεὺς ἀφείσθη τῶν Γηρύονου βοῶν δις Ἡ-
ρακλῆς ἀπήναστεν—Τελέσταρχος δὲ [Τελέσταρχος ἐν Ἀργο-
λικοῖς Schol.] διότι τὰ χρόνα μῆλο καὶ τὸν Ἰπποδάτης
—ζωστῆρα καὶ τὰς Διομήδους ἵππους ἀγοντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα
ἐκόλυσεν ὁ Νηλεύς. Upon this depression of the
power of *Neleus*: λ'. 688. (who survived the
war with *Hercules*) *Augeas* king of Elis and the
Eleans plundered the Pylians, and detained the
horses of *Neleus*, sent to run at solemn games in
Elis: 697—701. By way of reprisals the Py-
lians plunder the Elean lands, and *Nestor*, then
very young, having never made a campaign:
716—719. slew *Itymoneus* the Elean: 670—687.
704—706. The battle therefore with the Arcadi-
ans in which *Nestor* slew *Ereuthalion*: Iliad.
γ'. 132. and the battle of the *Lapitha* and Cen-
taurs, at which he was present: Iliad. α'. 266.
happened afterwards. Three days after, the
Eleans with *Cteatus* and *Eurytus* invade the
Pylian lands. The Pylians and young *Nestor*
defeat them, and *Nestor* kills *Mulius* the son-in-
law of *Augeas*: λ'. 708—755. *Cteatus* and *Eurytus*
were still youths, of the same age with *Nes-
tor*. This was their first campaign: 709. 710.
750. conf. ψ'. 638. Their sons *Amphimachus*
and *Thalpius* were at Troy: β'. 620. According
to Pindar Ol. X. 30—46=XI. 24—38. *Cteatus*
and *Eurytus* were slain by *Hercules* in his war
with *Augeas*: Πέφρε Κτέατον ἀμύνοντα Πέφρε δὲ Εὐ-
ρυτον, ὃς Αὐγέαν λάτριον Ἀέκονθ' ἐκὼν μισθὸν ὑπέρβιον
Πράσσοντα, λόχμαισι δὲ δοκίναις ὑπὸ Κλεωνᾶν δέμασε
καὶ κενούς Ἡρακλέης ἐφ' ὅδῷ. The same tradition is
followed by *Pherecydes* apud Schol. II. λ'. 709.
That war accordingly occurred later than this
adventure of *Nestor*. Heyne ad II. λ'. 708. af-
firms that Homer in this passage makes them
survive *Hercules*: *Herculi superstites*. But this
is not said; and other incidents imply the con-
trary. It appears indeed from Iliad. λ'. 690.
that *Hercules* was older than *Nestor*. But yet
he had a son *Tlepolemus* at Troy. His son *Hyl-
lus* was slain a short time before the war of Troy.
His friend *Philoctetes* and *Ajax* the son of his
companion *Telamon* were present at Troy.
Ulysses when a youth, παιδὸς ἐόντος, saw *Iphitus*
son of *Eurytus*, who was slain by *Hercules*:
Odyss. φ'. 14—30. *Ulysses* in the Iliad is de-
scribed by *Antilochus* ψ'. 790. as προτέρης γενεῆς
προτέρου τοῦ ἀνθρώπων, φρογύρωτα δέ μιν φάσ' ἔμμεγαι.
But as he was still in the vigour of life in the

Trojan war five states of Thessaly were led by Æolian chiefs¹: in western and central Greece, Ithaca, Phocis, Orchomenus. The *Aetoli* according to one tradition were Æolian i. By some accounts *Bæotus* the founder of the *Bæoti* was derived through *Mimas* from *Æolus* k.

Of *Æolus* himself nothing is told except that he reigned in some part of Thessaly; and no acts are ascribed to him commensurate with the power which his sons are reported to have exercised in every part of Greece. Whence we may infer that *Æolus* was nothing more than a personification of the *Æoles*. The sons of *Æolus* named by Hesiod (three of whom are attested by Homer¹), and perhaps *Deion*, seem to be real persons, but no otherwise brothers than as they were contemporary chiefs of Æolic race.

Odyssey, we may suppose him under fifty at the action of the *Iliad*, and place the death of *Iphitus* within thirty years of the fall of Troy. The incidents, then, in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* place the death of *Hercules* at little more than twenty-five years before the fall of Troy.

Nestor, when visited by *Telemachus* in the tenth year after Troy was taken, had six sons living, who are named in the following order: *Echephron*, *Stratius*, *Perseus*, *Aretus*, *Thrasy-medes* (*Iliad*. 1. 81), and *Pisistratus*, who was apparently the youngest: *Odyss.* γ. 413—415. *Nestor* himself may be supposed, according to the reasoning of Eustathius ad *Il.* α. p. 97., past sixty when he sailed to Troy, and past seventy when the city was taken.

^b For his descent through *Talaüs* from *Amythaon* see p. 41. i. The history of *Adrastus* is told by Herodot. V. 67. his expedition against Thebes, by Pindar Nem. IX. 25—65. According to Pausanias I. 43, 1 (conf. 44, 7). he died in the Megarid on his return from the second Theban war. The first occurred before the reign of *Agamemnon*, when *Tydeus* came to Argos to collect succours: *Iliad*. γ. 375—378. οὐ γὰρ ἔγειρε 'Ηνησός οὐδὲ θάνατον. And yet during the infancy of *Diomed*, who could not remember his father; for *Tydeus* left him ἐπι τιναθίν δύντα when he perished at Thebes: *Il.* ζ. 222, 223. *Diomed*, however, calls himself νεώτερος, as compared with *Ulysses* and *Agamemnon*: *Il.* ξ. 112. and was young enough to be the youngest son of *Nestor*: i. 57. where it is remarked in Schol. Ven. η διπλῆ, θειοῖς εὐρυτέρης τῷ τριτοῖς γανέας βεβιωκέτι λέγειν, “Εμὸς; “ἄν τοις εἰνὶς” κατὰ τῷ ήλικιαν. And Heyne ad loc. observes, *Scilicet hoc cavens poeta adjecit διπλήτερος γενεῇ*. But *Antilochus*, *Nestor's* son, was one of the youngest men in the army: ε. 569. ψ. 587. 789—791. And *Nestor's* youngest son *Pisistratus* was of the same age with *Telemachus*. Both these remarks, then, were unnecessary. But the notices given in the *Iliad* of the age of *Diomed* will place the first Theban war not more than thirty years before the fall of Troy.

¹ I use the term *Thessaly*, as on other occasions, by an anticipation of the name, and in an extended sense, including Magnesia. The five states under Æolian leaders were these:

1. Phylacē, Pyrasus, Antron, Pteleos, under *Protesilaus* and *Podarces*.
2. Pheræ, Bœbe, Glaphyrē, Iolcos, under *Eumelus*.
3. Methonē, Thaumacia, Melibœa, Olizon, under *Philoctetes* and *Medon*.
4. Ormenium, Asterium, Titanus, under *Euryplus*.
5. Magnesia under *Prothous*.

The other four states of Thessaly were under Pelasgic chiefs: see above p. 21. x.

^j Pausanias quoted above p. 41. o. derives *Aethilius* from *Æolus*, and Apollodorus I. 7, 5. also derives them from *Æolus* through *Calyce*: Καλέκης καὶ Ἀεθίλεις ταῖς Ἐνδυμίαις γένεται, δεσμοὶ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Αἰολές ἀγαγόντες Ἡλιαῖς φύκιστοι. At a later period *Aetolia* was occupied or conquered by the Æolians: Strabo X. p. 451. “Ολενοι καὶ Πυλάνηροι ὄντας οἱ ποιητὴς [Π. β. 639] Αἰτωλικάς” ἀν τῷ μὲν “Ολενοι δραυνίμιοι τῷ Ἀχαιῶν λεγομένηι Αἰολεῖς κατέσκαψαν, πλησίον εἴσαντες τῆς νεοτέρας Πλευρόνος. Ιβ. p. 465. τὴν Πλευρόναν ἵνα Καιρήτων οἰκουμένην καὶ Καιρῆτιν προσαγορευομένην Αἰολεῖς ἐπελθόντες ἀφείσαστο, τοὺς δὲ κατέχοντας ἐξέβαλον. p. 464. “Ἐφορος φίσας—συμμιχθέντων αὐτοῖς [sc. τοῖς Ἔπιστοις] ὑστερεῖ Αἰολέων, τοῦ ἁμένα Βιωτοῖς ἐκ Θεσσαλίᾳ ἀναστάτων, κοινῇ μετὰ τούτους τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν. From this later occupancy, sixty years after the fall of Troy, we may derive the Æolian name in *Aetolia*. *Calydon* and *Pleuron* were called *Æolis*: Thucyd. III. 102. ἀνεκόρησαν ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν τοῦ καλουμένην Καλύδωνα καὶ Πλευρόνα. Hesych. Αἰολικὸν θέαμα, ἀντὶ τοῦ Αἰολικὸν [Ι. Αἰτωλικόν] παρὰ Θεοκρίτῳ [I. 56]. η γὰρ Καλύδων Αἰολὶς ἐκαλεῖτο. Schol. Theocr. I. c. Αἰολικὸν τὸ Αἰτωλικόν. Αἰολεῖς γὰρ οἱ Αἰτωλοί.

^k See below under *Amphyctyon*.

¹ Κρητῆς Αἰολίδας *Odyss.* λ. 236. Σισυφος Αἰολίδης *Iliad*. ζ. 154. Σαλμωνῆς *Odyss.* λ. 235. It may be remarked that *Æolus* himself is not distinctly named by Homer.

4. *Xuthus* is the son of *Hellen*^m and father of *Achæus* and *Ion*. He was driven first from Thessaly into Attica, and then from Attica into Peloponnesus, where he settled and diedⁿ. Both his father and his sons appear to have been imaginary persons, being nations and not individuals. It is therefore probable that *Xuthus* himself was also an imaginary person; and we may concur with Mr. Muller^o in rejecting him. The name of *Xuthus* is traced in Sicily, where another *Xuthus*, son of another *Achæus*, is placed by Diodorus^p.

5. *Achæus* son of *Xuthus* settled in Laconia, and the inhabitants were called Achæans from him. Strabo^q: 'Αχαιὸς φόνος ἀκούσιον πράξας ἔργυρον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Αχαιοῖς τοὺς ἐκεῖ κληθῆναι ταφοσκένατο. According to others he returned to Thessaly; and the Achæans of Thessaly received their name from *Achæus* son of *Xuthus*^r.

We may discern in this account of *Achæus* an example of the name of a people converted into the name of a person; and of the practice of ascribing to one person and one period the acts of many persons and of distant times. It has been shewn already^s that the Achæans were in *Phthiotis* many generations before the time assigned to *Achæus* son of *Xuthus*. The Achæans in Laconia, where an exile seeking refuge is supposed to give his name to a whole people, also preceded him in time^t. The other account, which deduces the Achæans from *Achæus* son of *Phthius*, better marks the progress and the time of this people, who first appear in *Phthiotis* (having gone forth, according to Dionysius, out of the *Pelasgi* of Argos^v) two generations before *Deucalion*. That they were known before the time of *Xuthus* the supposed father of their founder, appears from the account given of *Xuthus* himself, who is called an Achæan by Euripides^w.

The history of the two persons named *Achæus* connects the Achæans with two races. The account of Dionysius derives them from the *Pelasgi*. The legends respecting *Achæus* son of *Xuthus* connect them with the *Hellenes*. They are made the parents of the *Hellenes* in the legend which describes *Achæus* as the father of *Phthius* and grandfather of *Hellen*. They accompany *Neleus* and the *Æolidæ* into Peloponnesus^x. They inhabit Alos, a town founded by *Athamas*, whose inhabitants retain the name of Achæans down to the time of Herodotus^y.

^m Hesiod quoted above p. 44. k.

ⁿ Pausan. VII. 1. ἀπεθανότος Ἐλλήνος Ήσθιον οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ἐλλήνος παῖδες διώκουσιν ἐκ Θεσσαλίας, ἐπενεγκόντες αἰτιαν ὃς Ἰδίᾳ χρήματα ὑφελόμενος ἔχοι τῶν πατρόφων· ὃ δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας φυγὼν θυγατέρα Ἐρεχθίων ἡβίσθη λαβεῖν, καὶ παῖδας Ἀχαιὸν καὶ Ἰωνα ἕσχει ἐξ αὐτῆς. ἀπεθανότος δὲ Ἐρεχθίων, τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ δικαστὴς Ήσθιος ἐγένετο ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρρήνος, καὶ ἔγραψε γάρ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κέρκρα βασιλέα εἶναι· οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἐρεχθίων παῖδες ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν· ἀφικομένῳ δὲ εἰς τὸν Αιγαῖον καὶ οἰκησάντες αὐτῷ μὲν ἐγένετο ἐντάῦθα ἡ τελευτή. Strabo quoted above p. 44. m. mentions his settlement in Attica. His occupation of Peloponnesus is related by Apollodorus I. 7, 3. Ήσθιος λαβὼν τὴν Πελοποννήσον ἐκ Κρεούσης τῆς Ἐρεχθίων Ἀχαιὸν ἐγένυσε καὶ Ἰωνα, ἀφ' ἧν Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἰωνεῖς καλοῦνται. and by Herodotus VII. 94.

^o Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 267.

^p Diod. V. 8. τοῦ δὲ Αἴδουν νιᾶς γενέσθαι τὸν ἄριθμὸν ἐξ Ἀστύχων καὶ Ήσθιεν, κ. τ. λ.—ἐβασιλεύει δὲ καὶ Ήσθιος τῆς περὶ τοὺς Δευτίνους χώρας, ητοις δεῖται ἐκείνου μέχρι τῶν νῦν Ήσθια προσαγορεύεται. Steph. Byz. Ήσθια. πέλις Σικελίας. Φίλιστος τρίτη Σικελικῶν.

^q Strabo VIII. p. 383. Conon Narr. 27. ὁ μὲν Ἀχαιὸς ἀκούσιον φόνον ἔργασάμενος ἡλάπι, καὶ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθόντας Ἀχαίας κτίζει τετράπολιν.

^r Pausan. VII. 1, 2. Ἀχαιὸς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγαλαοῦ παραλαβὼν καὶ εἰς Ἀθηνῶν ἐπικούρους κατήλθεν εἰς Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν πατρόφων ἀρρήν. Schol. Apollon. I. 243. Παναχαΐδα τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ὅτι αὕτη πρώτη ἐκλήθη Ἀχαια ἀπὸ Ἀχαιοῦ τοῦ Ήσθιοῦ.

^s See above p. 16.

^t See p. 16. u.

^v Herodotus VIII. 73. calls the Achæans indigenous in Peloponnesus: τὸν Ἀχαιοῦν ἐκ μὲν Πελοπόννησον ὥκτες ἐκεχόρησε, ἐκ μέστοις τῆς ἐνωτῶν. He may be reconciled with Dionysius, if we suppose that the *Achæi* of Laconia and the *Achæi* of Thessaly were each derived immediately from Argos; that a part of this tribe migrated to Laconia and a part to Thessaly.

^w Eur. Ion. 63. Ήσθιος—

οὐκ ἐγγενῆς ὁν Αἴδουν δὲ τοῦ Διὸς;
γεγά, Ἀχαιός.—

^x See above p. 50. g.

^y Steph. Byz. "Αλος. πόλις Ἀχαιας καὶ Φθιστιδος κ. τ. λ. See Herodotus quoted above p. 48.

This connexion of the Achæans with both contributes to shew an affinity between the *Hellenes* and *Pelasgi*. The Achæans are placed in Argos and Laconia about the time of *Danaüs*, and occupied those provinces till the time of the Dorian conquest ^z.

6. *Ion* son of *Xuthus* and brother of *Achæus* is acknowledged by Herodotus, and described by Philochorus, Strabo, and Pausanias. From him Attica and the northern shore of Peloponnesus were called *Ionia*^a. Even Aristotle acknowledged *Ion*^b. He is accounted the teacher of the religious ceremonies^c, and is placed by Eusebius 150 years before the Trojan era^d; a period consistent with the genealogy which places *Ion* in the fifth generation before

^z See Pausan. VII. 1, 3. quoted at p. 16. a. Ήταν δέ τότε δὲ ίπο Δωρίων ἐκπεπτυκότες ἐκ τῆς Ἀργούς καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίου ἐπεκρυκεῖσθοτος "Ιωνικούς αὐτούς τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Τισαίας ὁ ὄρέστης γενέσθαι σύνικος σφιστοῦ πολέμου κ. τ. λ.

^a Ηραρος. Βορδόματα ἀρρήτη τις Ἀθηναῖοι ὅπτε καλομένη, ἦν φησι. Φιλόχορος ἔν διενέρρη γενομένοις ἐπειδὴ "Ιων ὁ Εοΐθεος ἴωνίθησε σπουδῇ πολέμουμένος Ἀθηναῖος ὑπὸ Εύριπου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, Ἐρεχθίους βασιλεύοντος. βοσπρεμένης γάρ τὸ βοσπῖν ἀνομάζετο. Strabo VIII. p. 383. ταῦτης τῆς χώρας [sc. Achaia] τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν "Ιωνεῖς ἱκράτους ἐξ Ἀθηναίων τὸ γένος ὄντες ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Ἀγριάδεια—βατεροὶ δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνων "Ιωνία, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ, ἀπὸ "Ιωνοῦ τοῦ Εοΐθεου—"Ιων δὲ τοῦς μετ' Εύριπου τοικίσας Θρῆκας ὅπτες γέδοκιμογενεῖς τοστὸν ἐπετέραντον αὐτῷ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἀθηναῖοι. ὃ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τέσσαρας φύλάς διεῖπε τὸ τλήθος ἔτια εἰς τέσσαρας βίλας τοὺς μὲν γάρ γεωργίας ἀποδειχεῖ τοὺς δὲ δημιουργίας τοὺς δὲ λεροποιίας τετάρτους δὲ τοὺς φύλακας. τοιαῦτα δὲ πλεῖστα διατάξας τὴν χώραν ἐπάνωμα ἁντοῦ κατέλιπεν. ὅπτε δὲ πολιαρχῆσαι τὴν χώραν συνέπει τότε ὅπτε καὶ ἀποικίας τὴν "Ιωνας ἐστιλαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὴν χώραν ἦν κατίσχοι ἐπάνωμεν ἀντοῦ ἐποίησαν, "Ιωνας ἀπ' Ἀγριαλείας κληθεῖσαν, οἱ τε ἄνδρες ἀπὸ Αγριαλέων "Ιωνεῖς προστροφεύθησαν, εἰς δάδεκα πόλεις μερισθέντες. Idem IX. p. 397. Ἀττικὴν "Ιωνίαν ἀπὸ "Ιωνοῦ τοῦ Εοΐθεου. Pausan. VII. 1, 2. "Ιων ἐπὶ τοὺς Αγριαλεῖς στρατιὰν καὶ ἐπὶ Σελινοῦτα τὸν βασιλέα αὐτοῦ ἀδροῖστον ἀγγέλους ἐπεμπειν δὲ Σελινοῦς τὴν θυγατέραν "Ελίσηρην, ἥ μάνη εἰ ταῖς ἦν, γυναικαὶ αὐτῷ διδοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν "Ιωνας ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ παιδὸς ποιούμενος, καὶ ταὶς ταῦτα τῷ "Ιων ἐγένετο εὖλος ἀπὸ γυνός, καὶ τὸν Αγριαλέων τὴν ἀρχὴν "Ιωνας ἐσχεῖς ἀποδανότες Σελινοῦτος, καὶ "Ελίσηρη τε ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς φύκιον ἐν τῷ Αγριαλῷ τίλιν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκάλεσεν "Ιωνας ἀφ' αὐτοῦ.—τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς "Ιωνεῖς βασιλεῖας πολεμησάστων Ἀθηναῖος "Ελευσινος, καὶ Ἀθηναῖος "Ιωνας ἐπαγομένων ἐπὶ ἥρεισι τοῦ πολέμου, τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸ χρεῖον ἐπιλαμβάνει, καὶ "Ιωνας ἐν τῷ δίμῳ μῆτρα τῷ Ποταμῷ ἐστίν εἰ δὲ ἀπόροις τοῦ "Ιωνοῦ τὸ "Ιωνας ἐσχαν κράτος εἰς ὃ δέ "Αχαιῶν ἐξέπεσσον καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καὶ ὁ δῆμος. Idem I. 31, 2. "Ιωνος δὲ τοῦ Εοΐθεου (καὶ γάρ οὗτος φύκησε παρὰ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῶν τρὶς Ἐλευσινοὺς ἐπολεμάρχοντος) τάφος ἐν Ποταμῷ δεστὶ τῆς χώρας. Idem II. 14, 2. Δισαῖλην φασιν (οἱ Φιλιστοί) ἀδελφὸν Κελεοῦ παραγενόμενον σφιστοῦ εἰς τὴν χώραν καταστῆσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν ἐκβιληθῆναι δὲ

αὐτὸς ἐξ Ἐλευσινοῦ ὑπὸ "Ιωνος, ὃτε "Ιωνος Ἀθηναῖοι ὁ Εοΐθεος πολέμαρχος τοῦ τρὶς Ἐλευσινοὺς ἥρειση πολέμου. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 104. "Ιωνος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ "Ιωνος τοῦ Εοΐθεου. Heraclides πολιτ. p. 205. Ἀθηναῖοι—συνικῆσαντος "Ιωνος αὐτοῖς τότε τρίτον "Ιωνος ἐκλήθησαν. The testimonies of Herodotus are given below. Steph. Byz. follows the popular tradition which Euripides adopted: "Ιωνία ἡ Ἀττικὴ πρότερον, ἀπὸ "Ιωνος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κρεούσης τῆς Εοΐθεου [sc. τῆς Εοΐθεου γυναικὸς] ἐγένετο. Conon Narr. 27. makes *Ion* king of Attica: "Ιων θανόντος τοῦ μητροπάτορος—αιρεθεὶς βασιλεὺς Ἀθηναῖον ἐξ οἱ "Ιωνος οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἥρεσαντο καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν "Ιωνικόν.

^b Ηραρος. Ἀπόλλων πατρός. τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλων κηνοῦς πατρόφων τιμᾶσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ "Ιωνος. τοιστοῦ γάρ εἰκόσιστος τὴν Ἀττικὴν Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναῖονς "Ιωνας κληθῆναι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα πατρόφων αὐτοῖς ὑμασθηγαν. Aristot. Met. IV. 28. p. 1024. a. οὕτω γάρ λέγονται "Ἐλληνες τὸ γένος οἱ Ὡ "Ιωνος, τῷ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ "Ἐλληνος οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ "Ιωνος εἶναι πρότον γενήσαστος.

^c Plutarch. adv. Colot. p. 1125. D. ἡ περὶ θεῶν δόξα—ἥ καὶ Λικοῦρος Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ Νομᾶς "Ρωμαίους, καὶ "Ιων ὁ παλαιὸς Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ Δευκαλίων "Ελληνας, ὅμων τι τάντας καθωσίσαν, εὐχαῖς καὶ ὄρκοις καὶ μαυτεύμασι καὶ φίμαις ἐμπλακεῖς τρόπος τὰ θεῖα καταστήσαντες.

^d Euseb. Chron. II. p. 290. Anno 685. *Ion* copiarum Atheniensium dux de suo nomine *Ionas* appellabat Athenienses. Whence Syncellus p. 162. A. "Ιων πολέμαρχος γεγονὼς "Ιωνας τοὺς Ἀθηναῖονς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὑμάρχετο. Euseb. Anno 835. *Ilium captum est.* Velleius I. 4, 3. makes *Ion* the leader of the Ionian colony to Asia: *Ion* duce *ione profecti Athenis nobilissimam partem regio-nis maritima occupavere, quæ hodieque appellatur Ionia, urbesque constituere Ephesum, Miletum, &c. Vitruvius IV. 1. has made the same mistake: *Achaia Peloponnesoque tota Dorus Hellenis et Orseidios nympha filius regnavit.—Postea autem quam Athenienses ex responsis Apollinis Delphici communi consilio totius Hellados tredecim colonias uno tempore in Asiam deduxerunt ducesque singulis coloniis constituerunt et sum-**

that era. The four sons of *Ion*, from whom the four tribes of Attica were named, are mentioned by Euripides^c, and by Herodotus^f: τετραφύλους ἐόντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους (δέ Κλεισθένης) ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνος παῖδων Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγυκόρεος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας^g. Strabo and Plutarch^h suppose the names of the four tribes to mark four classes into which the people were distributed: an opinion, according to Mr. Hermann, founded upon Platoⁱ. And Mr. Boeckh^k and others have adopted this opinion, that the inhabitants of Attica were divided into *castes*, according to the practice of Egypt and India; every man in each successive generation being confined to the occupation of his fathers. Mr. Hermann, however, rejects this opinion^l; and, without better evidence than we have, it is difficult to believe that there ever existed in Attica an institution so pernicious, and so subversive of all improvement; an institution of which there are no vestiges in any part of Greece^m.

mam imperii potestatem Ioni Xuthi et Creusa filio dederunt—isque eas colonias in Asiam deduxit, &c. This error concerning *Ion* and *Dorus* may have arisen from the name of a people mistaken for the name of an individual.

^e Eur. Ion. 1579—1581.

^f Herodot. V. 66.

^g The name Γελέοντες is established by Wesseling ad Herodot. l. c. and by Hermann præf. Ionis p. xxi—xxx. from the following authorities: an inscription at Cyzicus in this order according to Wesselung: Γελέοντες, Ἀργαδεῖς, Αἴγυκορεῖς, Ὀπλητεῖς, τριbus Cyzicenæ quatuor, haud dubie ex metropoli Mileto derivata atque ad hanc ab Athenenisibus. But Αἴγυκορεῖς, Ἀργαδεῖς, Γελέοντες, according to Hermann. Two Teian inscriptions having φύλη Γελέοντων. Steph. Byz. Αἴγυκορεῖς. ubi *tess.* Γελέοντες. Plutarch. Solon. c. 23. ΓΕΔΕΟΝΤΕΣ. ubi *Wess.* ΓΕΔΕΟΝΤΕΣ. Euripides Ion. 1579. has them in this order:

Τελέων (sic) μὲν ἔσται πρώτος, εἶτα δεύτερος
“Ὀπλητεῖς, Ἀργαδεῖς τ’, ἐμῆς τ’ ἀτ’ αἴγυδος
ἔμφυλον ἔξωστον” Αἴγυκορεῖς—

Pollux VIII. 109. in this order: δεύτερος τῶν Ἰωνος παῖδων ἐπὶ Ἐρεχθίων Τελέοντες (sic), Ὀπλητεῖς, Αἴγυκορεῖς, Ἀργαδεῖς. *Hoples* is probably the father of the wife of *Egeus*, who πρώτη ἦγη με τὴν Ὀπλητος θυγατέρα Athene. XIII. p. 556. f. Apollod. III. 15, 6.

^h Strabo already quoted at p. 53. a. Plutarch. Solon. c. 23.

ⁱ Plato Crit. p. 110. C. Timæo p. 24. A.

^k Mus. Crit. vol. II. p. 608—615.

^l Præfat. Eur. Ion. p. xxi—xxx. *Video esse nonnullos qui adeo compertum habent Hopletes fuisse milites, Ergadenses opifices, Ἑγιcorenses pastores, ut eorum unus Ἑγιcorensibus nuper usus sit familiarissime. Scilicet volunt Athenenses perantiquo tempore quodam diversa vita genera sic ut apud Indos et apud Ἑgyptios discreta fuisse; quod qui contendunt, eorum unus est Niebuhrus Hist. Rom. I. 306. quamquam is ita caute*

judicans uti decet virum non affectantem scire ea quæ sciri nequeant. Etenim unde tandem sciunt istam in classes separationem apud Iones obtinuisse et ab his esse in Atticam introductam? Scilicet a Platone hoc acceptum est in Critia p. 110. c. *Egregia vero fons historiæ fabula quam Plato suæ commendande doctrinæ causa commentus est!* Ejus Ἑgyptii de iisdem institutis ad Solonem verba sunt in Timæo p. 24. a. *Unde vero hausit istam Ἑgyptiacam sapientiam Plato?* Nempe ex suo cerebro. *Nam cum apud Ἑgyptios discreta videret hominum genera apud suos autem quatuor sciret antiquitus tribus extitisse, quarum quæ Hopletum nomen habuit videretur ab armatis esse appellata, longius est conjectando progressus, et, qua soliti erant levitati Græci, similem etiam ceterorum nominum rationem esse existimavit. Sed nomina ipsa quum non adjiceret, ne Strabo quidem, qui eum secutus est, ea ponere est ausus. Alios vel conjectores vel Platonis interpres Plutarchus in mente habuit, ex quibus Argadenses, opifices, &c. nonnullis visos esse retulit. Neque enim Platonem primum fuisse contenderim qui hujusmodi conjectura luderet. Nos satius ducimus fateri ignorantiam nostram.*

^m There is an inconsistency in the supposition that the division into four castes was instituted by *Ion*. For this division into castes was supposed to come from Egypt; and *Ion* was not Egyptian. In the preceding names of the four tribes recorded by Pollux VIII. 109. there are no indications of the distribution into castes: *ai φύλαι τέως μὲν ἐπὶ Κέκροπος ξσαν τέσσαρες, Κέκροπες, Αἰτόχθων, Ἀκταία, Παραλία* ἐπὶ δὲ Κραγαοῦ μετωνάσθησαν Κραναῖς, Αἴθις, Μετέγυατα, Διακρίς ἐπὶ δὲ Ἐρυθρίων Διᾶς, Αἴθραις, Ποσειδωνίας, Ηφαιστιάς. And yet, if the division into castes had been introduced, we might have expected to find it referred to the Egyptian Cecrops. And besides, if this institution had ever prevailed at all, it would have been of all others the most difficult to change, and the most deeply-rooted in the

As Achæus son of Xuthus was not the founder of the Achæans, so neither did his brother Ion first found the Ionians, who existed before the time to which Ion son of Xuthus is ascribed. Ionians may be traced in Illyricumⁿ, in the neighbourhood of Dodona, in Eubœa, which was named Hellopia from Hellops son of Ion^o. They appear before his time even in Attica, where Iaones were among the ancient inhabitants of the country^p. The

habits of the people, as we see in the Indian castes at this day. But the four Ionic tribes remained unchanged through the times of Solon and the Pisistratide down to B. C. 510. And yet through all that period no traces appeared of that institution. It had insensibly vanished, and no tradition recorded when, or by whom, or through what revolution it had been abolished. Moreover Euripides from his etymology of the word Ἀγυρεῖς Ion. 1580. appears to have known nothing of this distribution into castes, or of the derivation of the names from the occupations. Finally, the accounts even of Strabo and Plutarch which suppose a division into four occupations—εἰς τέσσαρας βίους—do not affirm that these occupations were hereditary, and imposed upon all succeeding generations. In this case would probably have been added such expressions as occur respecting the Indians in Arrian Indic. p. 533. γημένις εἰς ἔτερον γένεος οὐ θέμις—οὐδὲ ἀμείβειν εἰς ἔτερον γένεος εἰς ἔτερον. And in Strabo himself XV. p. 707. οὐδὲ ἔτινισι γημένις εἰς ἄλλον γένεος οὐτ' ἔτιττονται οὐτ' ἐργασίαι μεταλαμβάνειν ἄλλην εἰς ἄλλην. If, then, the four Ionic tribes had described four classes or occupations, these classes might have been analogous to the four classes of Solon in Plutarch. Solon. c. 18. πεντακοσιομεδίμωνι, ἵππεῖς, ζευγῆται, δῆται, the members of which were not debarred from rising into another class either in themselves or their posterity.

ⁿ Theopompus traced the name in Illyricum: Schol. Apollon. IV. 308. φησὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν εἰκοστῷ πρότερῳ Ἰόνον τέλαγος πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἴτε καλούμενον ἀπὸ Ἰάνεων, ἀνδρὸς Ἰλλυριοῦ. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. III. 120. Θεόπομπος ἀπὸ Ἰώνων ἀνδρὸς Ἰλλυριοῦ Ἀρχέμαχος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολαμβάνειν εἰς αὐτῷ Ἰάνεων. To the opinion of Theopompus Strabo refers VII. p. 317. ὁ Ἰάνεος, ὁ Ἀδρίας—φησὶ δὲ ὁ Θεόπομπος τῶν ἴωμάτων τὸ μὲν ἥκινον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡγηταρέμων τῶν τόπων εἶ "Ισσης τὸ γένος, τὰν Ἀδρίας δὲ κ. τ. λ. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 92. Ἰώνη—οἱ δὲ φασιν ἀπὸ Ἰάνεων ἀνδρὸς Ἰταλοῦ, ἢ ἀπὸ Ἰώνων ἀνδρὸς Ἰλλυριοῦ.—τοῦ δὲ Ἰάνεος νῦν Ἀδρίας ἱστόρηται, διφ' οὐ τὸ αὐτὸν τέλαγος καὶ Ἀδριατικὸν λέγεται. Schol. ad loc. Ἰώνη οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰάνης οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰάνεων, δι τὸν κόλπον εἰκάντον ἐκράτητο τῆς θαλάσσης· οἱ δὲ Ἰάνεος ἀπὸ Ἰάνεος φασιν διφ' οὐ τὸ τέλαγος εἰρήσθαι. Ἀρχέμαχος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολαμβάνειν εἰς αὐτῷ Ἰάνεων, οἱ εἰσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. ὁ γάρ αὐτὸς Ἰάνεος καὶ Ἀδρίας, τοῦ δὲ Ἰάνεος νῦν Ἀδρίας διφ' οὐ τὸ τέλαγος. The addition οἱ εἰσιν Ἀθηναῖοι is from those who referred the origin

of the name to Ion son of Xuthus. Theopompus is also quoted by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 630. ὁ Θεόπομπος καὶ ἄλλοι φασὶν, ἀπὸ Ἰωνίου Ἰλλυριοῦ τὸ γένος, βασιλεύσαντος τῶν τόπων, νιοῦ Ἀδρίου τοῦ περὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέλαγος κτίσαντος πόλιν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀδρίαν. By a common variation in these genealogies Ionius is here made the son of Adrias, who in other accounts is the father of Adrias.

^o Steph. Byz. Ἐλλοπία. χωρὸν Εὔβολας. καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἥπατος ἀπὸ "Ἐλλοπίας τοῦ Ἰωνοῦ—ἐλέγετο καὶ ἡ περὶ Δωδώνης χώρα Ἐλλοπία [I. Ἐλλοπία—"Ἐλλοπος"]—ἔστι καὶ τόπος περὶ Δολοπίαν καὶ χώρα περὶ Θεσπιάς. Strabo X. p. 445. (ἢ Εὔβοια) Ἐλλοπία ἀναμέσθη ἀπὸ Ἐλλοπος τοῦ Ἰωνοῦ. Idem VII. p. 328. Φιλόχορος δέ φησι καὶ τὸν περὶ Δωδώνης τόπον, ὅπερ τὴν Εὔβοιαν, Ἐλλοπίαν κληθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ Ἡσίοδος εἴτε λέγειν

ἔστι τις Ἐλλοπίη τολυδήμος ηδὲ εὐλείμων· ἐνθάδε Δωδώνη τις ἐπ' ἑσχατιῇ πεπόλισται.

Schol. Soph. Trachin. 1169. Ἐλλοπίαν τὴν Δωδώνην νομίζουσιν εἶναι· τὴν γὰρ χώραν οὗτως Ἡσίοδος ὀνομάζει ἐν Ἡλαῖς, λέγων οὗτος "ἔστι τις;" κ. τ. λ. where ten lines are given. A district called Ἐλλοπία is mentioned by Herodotus VIII. 23. τῇ Ἐλλοπίης μοίρῃ—in Histiaeolis. These passages connect Hellops the son of Ion with districts inhabited by the Pelasgi. The presence of the Ionians in Thessaly is marked by a river Ion: Strabo VII. p. 327. πόλις Ὀξύνεια παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνα ποταμὸν.

^p Aeschyl. Pers. 176. Ἰάνεων γῆ: Schol. ad loc. Ιάνεος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοται ἐκ τοῦ Ἰάνεος; βασιλεύσαντος αὐτῶν. Strabo IX. p. 392. speaking of Megara: τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν οὖν Ἰάνες εἶχον τὴν χώραν ταῖτην, οἵτε καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἵπερ τὸν Μεγάρων ἐκτιμένων. Homer. Il. v. 685. Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάνεος: Schol. ad l. ἄλλοι εἰσὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἰάνεας Ἰάνεος. φησὶ γάρ Ἀδριατικὸν ἔτι στήλην ἔστησαν ἐπὶ Δακεδαίμονος διορίσαντες οὗτος· "τάδε ἔστιν οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος ἀλλὰ Ἰάνεος." Ἰάνεος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἔτερου μέρους οὗτος "τάδε ἔστι Πελοπόννησος οὐκ Ἰάνεος." Repeated by Eustath. p. 954, 45. οἱ μὲν τοῖς Ἰάνεας ἄλλοις εἶναι φασι παρὰ τοὺς Ἰάνεας. καὶ εἰσὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. καὶ δῆλον φασιν δὲ ἐπιγράμματος ὃ περὶ στήλην τιὰ γέγραπται εἰς τόπουν διορισμὸν κ. τ. λ. ἔπειρος δὲ Ἰάνεας τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις νοοῦσιν. Strabo IX. p. 392. gives the lines differently: ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰάνεα καὶ Ἰάς ἐκαλεῖτο· καὶ ὁ τοιητῆς ὄντας φῆ "ἐνθάδε Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάνεος"—τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις λέγει. τοιητῆς δὲ ἦν καὶ ἡ Μεγαρίς μέρος. καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν δρίων ἀμφισβητοῦντες πολλάκις οἱ τε Πελοποννήσους καὶ οἱ Ἰάνεος—συνέβησαν, καὶ στήλην

numbers 4 and 12 marked the Ionians, as the number 3 marked the Dorians. Hence some have considered the division of the Phœacians into 12 as one proof that these were an Ionian people¹. But this division into 12 prevailed in Attica in the time of *Cecrops*². The four tribes were not first instituted in the time of *Ion*: they already existed in the reigns of *Cecrops* and *Cranaus* and *Erichthonius*³. Again, the worship of *Neptune* was an Ionian worship⁴. But this worship was of the highest antiquity in Attica. *Neptune* was the original god of the country⁵: ἡκε πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν—and even preceded *Minerva*⁶: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ. The hereditary priest of *Neptune* is *Butes* brother of *Erechtheus*. But if these characters of the Ionian race, the division into 4 and 12, and the worship of *Neptune*, were of such remote antiquity in Attica, we are to conclude that the Ionians were there long before the period to which *Ion* the son of *Xuthus* is assigned. And these indications concur with the testimony of Herodotus⁷, who affirms that the Ionians were Pelasgic and indigenous; a testimony confirmed by what has been already shewn of their brethren the Achæans. *Ion*, then, and *Achæus*, were both of Pelasgic original. The genealogy which made them brothers, and derived them from *Hellen* through *Xuthus*, establishes an affinity between the two tribes, and perhaps a connexion with the *Hellenes*; but the nations whose names they bore, and who existed before the time in which they are placed, were Pelasgic nations.

The preceding considerations lead us to this conclusion concerning the progress of the Ionians; that they were Pelasgic and Aboriginal in Attica, existing there at least as early as the time of *Cecrops*; that from thence a part of this nation proceeded into Peloponnesus, marked in the genealogy by the progress thither of *Xuthus* father of *Ion* from Attica, about five or six generations before the Trojan war; nearly coinciding with the period at which the *Arcades* appeared in Arcadia, the *Æoles* and *Dores* in Thessaly, who all are placed in the sixth generation, and a little before the time at which the *Ætolis* and *Epeis* are first heard of in the west of Peloponnesus, who are referred to the fourth generation before that era⁸.

ἔστησαν δὲ τοῦ συγμελογηθέντος τόπου περὶ αὐτὸν τὰ
ἰωνίαν——“τάδε ἔστι Πελοπόννησος οὖν Ἰωνία——τάδε
“οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος ἀλλ’ Ἰωνία.” Although some
pretended to distinguish the Ἰωνεῖς of the north-
ern coast of Peloponnesus from the Ἰάνεῖς north
of the Isthmus, yet it is plain that they were the
same people; and that Ἰάνεῖς and Ἰωνεῖς were
equivalent names. In Hesych. Ἰωνεῖς the whole
Greek nation is called Ionians: Ἀθηναῖς οἱ Ἰωνεῖς,
ἀπὸ Ἰωνεῖς, καὶ οἱ ἄποκαι αὐτῶν, ἔνοι καὶ τοὺς Θρῆκας
καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Βουταῖς (καὶ πάντας addit Heins.)
Ἐλληνας. Σύγτει ὅποιθεν. sc. v. Ἰωνεῖς, where now Ἰω-
νεῖς is read. But this refers to the period after
the Ionian colonies were established in Asia,
when the barbarians of Asia gave to the whole
Greek nation the name by which those colonies
were known. Conf. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn.
104. 106.

¹ Philolog. Mus. vol. II. p. 365. “It is a
“probable conjecture of Wachsmuth that the
“Phœacians were Ionians. The division into
“12 Od. 8 [r. 8]. 390. is characteristic of the
“Ionian states.”

² Strabo IX. p. 397. φησὶ Φιλόχορος περθουμένης
τῆς χώρας ἐκ θαλάττης μὲν ὑπὸ Καρῶν ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὑπὸ Βο-
ιωτῶν, οὓς ἐκάλοντο Ἄνας, Κέκροπα πρῶτον εἰς δυοκαίδεκα
πόλεις συνεικίσας τὸ πλῆθος, ὃν ὑπέμενε Κεκρόπια, Τετρά-
πολις, Ἐπακρία, κ. τ. λ.

³ See Pollux VIII. 109. quoted above p.
54. m.

⁴ See Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 95. 266. 417.

⁵ Apollod. III. 14, 1. conf. Isocrat. Panath.
c. 78. p. 273. c.

⁶ Apollod. Ibid.

⁷ Apollod. III. 15, 1. *Butes* and *Erechtheus*
were associated with *Neptune* in the Ἐρέχθειον: Pausan. I. 26, 6. ἐσελθοῦσι δέ εἰσι βαμοὶ, Ποσειδῶνος,
ἐφ' οἷς καὶ Ἐρέχθεῖ θύσεις ἐκ τοῦ μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρως
Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ἡφαστεῖον. Harpoct. Βούτης. οὗτος
ἔσχε τὴν ιερωσύνην καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτου Βούταδαι καὶ Ἐ-
τεοβοντάδαι, οἱ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Βούτου.

⁸ Herodot. I. 56. VIII. 44. VII. 94.

^a The presence of the Ionians in the north of
Peloponnesus may be traced in *Bura* daughter of
Ion: Steph. Byz. Βούρα· πόλις Ἀχαΐας· ἀπὸ Βούρας
θυγατρὶς Ἰωνεῖς—καὶ Ἐλίκης and in the river *Iaon*:

There seems, then, no just reason for rejecting the well-known boast of the Athenians, that they were an aboriginal people; an account which is repeated by many writers^b, and which derives authority from Thucydides^c, who affirms the fact and assigns the cause^d.

Dionys. Perieg. 416.

Ἐνθα Μέλας, θι Κραθίς, ἵνα βίει ὑγρὸς Ἰάνων.

They also penetrated to the west, where the fountain of the *Nymphae Ionides* occurs near Olympia: Pausan. VI. 22, 4. ἀπέχει δὲ ὡς ν 'Ολυμπίας σταδίους—Κύθηρος ποταμός πήρη δὲ ἐκδιδοῦσα ἐξ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ νημφῶν ἔστιν ιερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ.—Ἐν καινῇ δὲ σφίσιν ἐπίκλησις Ἰωνίδες—καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς νήμφας ἀπὸ Ἰωνές λέγοντο τοῦ Γαργηττοῦ, μετοικύσαντος ἐπταῦθα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. Strabo VIII. p. 356. περὶ τεσταράκων σταδίους, τῆς Ὁλυμπίας, παρὰ τὸν Κυθηριον ποταμόν—εἰ τὸ τῶν Ἰωνίδων νημφῶν ιερὸν. Athen. XV. p. 683. a. Νικανδρὸς ἐν δευτέρῃ γεωργικῶν—περὶ τῶν Ἰάδων νημφῶν τάπει λέγει· κ. τ. λ. In the lines which follow they are called 'Ιωνίδες νήμφαι and νημφασιν 'Ιωνίδεσσι. In the east the Ionians held Epidaurus till after the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus: Pausan. VII. 4, 3.

Herodotus VIII. 73. represents the Cynurians as indigenous and Ionian: εἰ Κυνόροις αὐτόχθονες ἔντες δοκέοντι μᾶνοι εἴναι Ἰωνές ἐκδεδωρίευσται δὲ ἵτο τε Ἀργείοις ἀρχήσει καὶ τοῦ χρόνου. Valckenaer ad l. supposes a contradiction in this passage: *Ab Herodoto scribi non potuit δοκέοντι μᾶνοι εἴναι Ἰωνές, quæ viri docti est conjectura: videbantur enim nostro αὐτόχθονες Cynuri.* Commodo scribi poterit εἰ δὲ Κυνόροις αὐτόχθονες ἔντες, δοκέοντι μᾶνοι εἴναι Ἰωνές ἐκδεδωρίευσται δέ. But this would require an infinitive ἐκδεδωρίευσθαι. The last member of the sentence ἐκδεδωρίευσται asserts the opinion of Herodotus himself; consequently the first clause δοκέοντι εἴναι Ἰωνές also expresses his opinion. Herodotus does not appear to have supposed that the Ionians of Peloponnesus were supplied from the Ionians of Attica. They were Pelasgians till they acquired the name of Ionians from the son of *Xuthus*, who imparted a new name to the aboriginal race: VII. 94. Ἰωνές δον μὲν χρόνῳ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἶκοις τὴν τοῦ καλεομένην Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ τρίη Δανῶν τε καὶ Εῷθων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοποννησού, ὡς Ἐλλορες λέγοντοι, ἐκαλέντο Πελασγοι Αγαλαῖες ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰωνος τῷ Εῷθων, Ἰωνές. They were in like manner Pelasgic in Attica: VIII. 44. Ἀθηναῖς ἐπὶ μὲν Πελαστῶν ἔχοντας τὴν τοῦ Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἔσται Πελασγού, οὐνομαζόμενοι Κρανεοί· ἐπὶ δὲ Κέρκυρος βασιλῆς ἐπεκλίθησαν Κεκροπίδαι· ἐκδεξαμένον δὲ Ἐρεχθίος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετανομάσθησαν· Ἰωνος δὲ τοῦ Εῷθων στρατάρχεον γενομένου Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἰωνές. Here they were aboriginal (I. 56), and underwent only a change of name. A new appellation, but not a new race, was introduced by *Ion*. After the great revolution produced by the Dorian conquest, the Ionians of the north and

east of the peninsula were expelled; the Cynurians alone remained: and these he calls indigenous. As he referred the Ionians to the Pelasgic stock, he seems to have considered them as equally indigenous in Attica and in Peloponnesus. They were in his view a part of the primitive race, the *Pelasgi*, in both countries.

^b Herodot. I. 56. οὐδαμῆ καὶ ἔξεχώρησε. Idem VII. 161. Ἀθηναῖς ἀρχαιοτάτον μὲν ἔνθος παρεχόμενοι μοῦνοι δὲ ἔντες οἱ μετανάσταις Ἐλλήνων. Plato Menex. p. 237. ἡ τὸν προγόνων γένεσις οὐκ ἐπηλυς ὅστα οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τεττους ἀποφράμενη μετοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἄλλοις σφῖν ἥκότων, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας. Isocrates Panegy. p. 45. c. ταῦτην εἰκούμενην οὐχ ἐτέρους ἐκβαλόντες οὐδὲ ἐρίμην καταλαβόντες οὐδὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἔνθων μηγάδες συλλεγόντες κ. τ. λ. Idem Panath. p. 258. c. ὄντας δὲ μήτε μηγάδες μήτ' ἐπήλυδας, δῆλα μόνους αὐτόχθονας τοὺς Ἐλλήνων. Euripides apud Plutarch. p. 604.

^c D. Lycurg. Leocr. p. 160, 30.

ἡ πρώτη μὲν λεις οὐκ ἐπακτός ἄλλοθεν
αὐτόχθονες δὲ ἐφημερεῖς—

Idem Ion. 29.

—λαὸν εἰς αὐτόχθονα

κλειστῶν Ἀθηνῶν—

Ibid. 591.

—εἴναι φασι τὰς αὐτόχθονας

κλειστὰς Ἀθήνας οὐκ ἐπεισακτον γένος.

Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 424. μόνοι γάρ πάντιν αὐτόχθονες ὑμεῖς ἔστε κάκειν [sc. Ἀριάδες]. Agatharchides apud Phot. Cod. 250. p. 1328. τοὺς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν οἰκοῦντας καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν γηγενεῖς τε εἴναι καὶ παρὰ φύσιν γεγονένται. where he does not ridicule the fact itself, but the poetical expression of it, taken in its literal sense. Harpocratio v. αὐτόχθονες after quoting Demosthenes l. c. remarks, Ἀπολλήδωρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν κληθῆναι φησιν αὐτοὺς αὐτόχθονας, ἐπεὶ τὴν χθόνα, τοιτέστι τὴν γῆν, ἀργὴν οὖσαν πρῶτει εργάσαντο. οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἴναι ἐπήλυδας.

^d Thucyd. I. 2. τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλευτοῦ διὰ τὸ λεπτόγενον ἀστασιαστὸν οὖσαν ἀνθρώπου φύκου οἱ αὐτοὶ δεῖ— ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἀλλῆς Ἐλλάδος οἱ πολέμηρ η στάσεις ἐκπίστευτες τῷρ' Ἀθηναῖοις οἱ δινατάτατοι ὡς βίβαιοι δὲ ἀνέχονται, καὶ πολῖταις γεγόμενοι εὖθις ἀπὸ παλαιῶν μείζων ἔτι ἐποιησαν πλήθει ἀνθράκων τὴν τόλιν.

This account has been of late rejected, and it has been affirmed that the Ionians were a distinct race from the old Pelasgic inhabitants of Attica; that they conquered these old inhabitants, and reduced them to slavery. The arguments by which Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 266—274. vol. II. p. 64. maintains these positions are the following. The ancient inhabitants worshipped Minerva, an ancient and native deity:

The accounts concerning *Ion* and his four sons are not well adjusted to the Attic history. While his influence remodelled the constitution, the Attic kings reign without interruption.

the Ionians introduced the worship of *Apollo*, a god of later introduction. His worship was adapted to the military caste alone, the ancient *Hopletes*. The four castes of the Athenian people mark a dominant race, the Ionians, under the *Hopletes*; and a subject race, the ancient inhabitants, under the *Ergadeis* and *Aegicoreis*. But it may be answered, 1. The worship of *Apollo* was not introduced in a hostile manner; for it did not supersede the worship of *Minerva*, who still remained the tutelary goddess of the city. *Apollo patrōs* at Athens, whom we have already seen mentioned by Aristotle in p. 53. b. is also mentioned by Plato Euthydem. p. 302. c. αλτη ἡ ἐπιτυμνία (Ζεὺς πατρός) Ἰάναιοις εἶδεν, οὐθὲ οὐδεὶς δέ τῷ πόδε τύλεν ἀπεκιστέμενος εἰσὶν οὐθὲ ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ Ἀπόλλων πατρός διὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἰωνας γένεσιν Ζεὺς δὲ ἡμῖν πατρός μὲν οὐ καλεῖται ἔρκειος δὲ καὶ φράτριος, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ φράτρια. Schol. ad loc. p. 369. Bekk. φασὶ τινες Ἀθηναίους αὐτόχθονας φύγαις καὶ τούτῳ γνώσας ἔχειν Γῆν καὶ Ἡλιον, ὃς ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλων. οἱ δὲ, οἵτινες τῇ Ἐρεχθίνες μηγεὶς Ἀπόλλων Ἰωνας ἐγένετος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοις Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ Ἰωνας κληθῆναι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πατρόφοι αὐτοῖς Ἀπόλλωνα ἔχειν. Diod. XVI. 57. Ἀθηναῖοι—εὐχόμενοι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πατρόφοι αὐτῶν εἴναι καὶ πρόγονος. Plutarch. Alcib. c. 2. ἡμῖν τοις Ἀθηναίοις, ὃς οἱ πατέρες λέγοντιν, ἀρχηγεύτις Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πατρός Ἀπόλλωνος εστιν. Idem Demetr. c. 40. Ἀπόλλων—οὐδὲ καὶ πατρός ἐστι καὶ λέγεται τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγός. Plato Rep. IV. p. 427. οὐδὲ χρησόμενος ἐξηγητή ἀλλ' ἡ τῷ πατρῷ οὐτος γαρ δήπου διεῖ περὶ τὰ ποιῶντα τάσιν ἀνθράκων πάτρος ἐξηγητής εν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται. Aristid. Panath. p. 97. Λητό—τίκτει δὴ—τὸν πατρόφον Ἀπόλλων τῷ τόλει. Schol. ad loc. πατρόφον—ὅτι ἡράσθη Κρεούσης, καὶ τέτοκεν Ἰωνα κ. τ. λ. Aristides p. 112. (ἡ πόλις) προσλαβόντα τὸν κοινὸν τὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐξηγητήν, ξανθῆ δὲ πατρόφον, τὸν Ἀπόλλων τὸν Πίσθιον. where the Scholiast repeats the same interpretation of πατρόφος. In the scrutiny of the archons: Pollux VIII. 85. ἐκαλεῖτο τις θεοφιλεστόν ἀνάκρισις, εἰς Ἀθηναίους εἰσὶν ἑκατόρευθεν ἐκ τριγονίας, καὶ τὸν δῆμον πένθεν; καὶ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς πατρόφος καὶ Ζεὺς ἔρκειος. Conf. Demosth. Eubulid. p. 1319. A citizen in Demosthenes observes Eubulid. p. 1315. παιδίον ὄντα με εὐθέως ἤγον εἰς τοὺς φράτερας, εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος πατρόφου ἤγον, εἰς τὰλλα ιερά. The oath of a dicast: Pollux VIII. 122. ἀνυνοεῖς Ἀρδήττη φιλαστηρίῳ Ἀπόλλων πατρόφον καὶ Δημητραν καὶ Δια βασιλέα. These passages do not justify the inference that the worship of *Apollo* was introduced by hostile means, and by a forcible occupation of Attica; or that *Apollo* was only πατρόφος to families of foreign origin and to the descendants of a dominant class. Moreover Mr.

Muller acknowledges that *Apollo* was the god of the Dorians, and that the Ionians adopted this worship from them. But we have no proof from hence that they were not in Attica before they adopted this worship; and this circumstance, that *Apollo* was a Dorian and not an Ionic god, would be a reason why the worship of *Apollo* and *Minerva* remained distinct. The worship, however, of *Apollo* by the people of Attica seems to have been of earlier date than the time assigned to the son of *Xuthus*: for Plutarch apud Euseb. Præp. II. p. 99. observes; ἡ δὲ τοῦ ξάνθου πολητος ἀρχαῖος ἔποικη εἶναι τι καὶ παλαιόν, εἰ γε ξύλινη μὲν ἡ τὸ πρότον εἰς Δῆλον ἵππος Ἐρυσίχθονος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρῶν ἄγαλμα, ξύλινον δὲ τὸ τῆς Πολιεύδης ἵππον τοῦ θεωρόθεαν Περιθέων, ὃ μέχρι τῶν Ἀθηναῖον διαφυλάττονται. A procession to Delos is here ascribed to the time of *Cecrops*; for *Erysichthon* was the son of *Cecrops*. The *Apollo* of the Athenians was said to be the son of *Vulcan* and *Minerva*: Cic. N. D. III. 22. 23. Vulcanus primus Cælo natus, ex quo et Minerva Apollinem eum cuius in tutela Athenas antiqui historici esse voluerunt.—Apollinum antiquissimum is quem paullo ante ex Vulcano natum esse dixi, custodem Athenarum. Lydus de Mensibus p. 105. Ήφαιστος τέσσαρες πρότος Οίρανοι καὶ Ήμέρας, πατήρ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἀρχηγέτου. Mr. Muller vol. I. p. 266., referring to these passages, observes that this is nothing more than an endeavour to create a family connexion between the principal gods of the same town. These traditions, however, shew that the worship of *Apollo* was not introduced by hostile means. They imply that this god was peaceably received and voluntarily admitted by the worshippers of *Minerva* and of *Vulcan*. 2. The four Ionian tribes prove nothing in favour of Mr. Muller's position; for it is not established by any proof that these described four castes, as we have seen already at p. 54. m. But if they had, this circumstance would not shew that the Ionians and the old inhabitants stood to each other in the relation of the Dorians to the Helots, or the *Thessali* to the *Penestae*. If this division existed at all, it was either borrowed from Egypt or an original institution of the Ionians themselves. Mr. Boeckh, to whom Muller refers, inclines to the latter opinion Mus. Crit. vol. II. p. 615. Sive a Cecrope Aegyptio, ut sunt qui putent, Athene traxerunt, sive Ionicæ gentis antequam Atticam terram occuparet propria fuit; quod multo magis probabile est, tum quod ab Ionis filiis appellati populi feruntur, &c. p. 609. Ionicæ gentis rempublicam initio peræque invenias atque

The four tribes are named from the sons of *Ion* in the reign of *Erechtheus* by one account^e, and yet *Ion* himself is the grandson of *Erechtheus*, and first appears in Attica in the reign of *Cecrops II.*^f The years and reigns of the Attic kings are delivered with a show of authority proportioned rather to the subsequent fame of Athens than to the degree of evidence: and the history of Attica before the Trojan era is more obscure and more unsatisfactory than that of many other parts of Greece. Eusebius^g, following Castor, thus assigns the years of these kings down to the Trojan era:

Anno	
461. 1.	<i>Cecrops</i> 50
511. 2.	<i>Cranaüs indigena</i> 9
520. 3.	<i>Amphyctyon Deucal. f.</i> 10 (9)
530. 4.	<i>Erechtheus s. Erichthonius</i> 50
580. 5.	<i>Pandion I. Ericthonii f.</i> 40
620. 6.	<i>Erechtheus Pandionis f.</i> 50
670. 7.	<i>Cecrops II. frater Erechthei</i> 40
710. 8.	<i>Pandion II. Erechthei f.</i> 25
735. 9.	<i>Aegeus Pandionis f.</i> 48
783. 10.	<i>Theseus Aegei f.</i> 30
913. 11.	<i>Menestheus Petei f.</i> 23
835.	<i>Ilium captum.</i> <u>375</u>

A primo autem anno Cecropis usque ad Trojæ excidium atque ad 23^{um}. Menesthei conficiuntur anni 376.

All these kings are recognized by the Parian Marble, from which nearly the same dates

Orientis civitates constitutam. We have seen that no tradition ascribes the institution to *Cecrops*; and the genealogical expression of the four tribes, as Mr. Boeckh intimates, makes the institution of Ionian origin. *Geleon, Argadeus, Ægicoreus, Hoples*, are all equally sons of *Ion*. The Ionians, then, brought this division into castes with them into Attica. But in this case not only the Ὀντητες were Ionians, but the Ἐρκαδεις and Αιγυσορεις were Ionians too; and these supposed castes do not represent a military caste of conquerors and subject classes of the conquered. And this is confirmed by another consideration; that in the political division of a Grecian state the dominant people alone is regarded: the conquered are not included in any such distribution. Mr. Lewis Philol. Mus. vol. II. p. 60. has shewn this in the case of the Spartan commonwealth. This fact, then, that the agricultural and labouring population were admitted into the tribes together with the warriors, would establish that they were not a conquered race reduced to the condition of vassals, but freemen associated upon equal and independent terms.

This inquiry concerning the tenure of the Ionians in Attica is independent of the question already considered p. 55. concerning their origin. Although Mr. Muller's position were true, that they acquired Attica by force, they might still be of the same race with the former inhabitants; as the Thessali and many of the Penestæ were of the same race. The Ætolii conquered the Epei, a people of the same race with themselves. The Achæans expelled the Ionians, and yet these two tribes were ascribed to the same original. Nor is it any objection to the Pelasgic origin of the Ionians, as some have thought, that no *Pelasgus* occurs in their genealogy. No *Pelasgus* occurs among the Leleges, whose founder is *Lelex*. And yet these were Pelasgic. The Iones, then, might be Pelasgic, although their founder is not *Pelasgus*, but *Ion*.

^e ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνοῦ ταῖς ἐν Ἐρεχθίῳ Pollux VIII. 109.

^f In the sixteenth year of *Cecrops II.* according to Eusebius p. 290.

^g Euseb. Chron. lib. I. p. 134. ex Castore: lib. II. p. 251. 280—298.

are obtained; *Cecrops* being placed in the 374th year before the fall of Troy, which is placed in the twenty-second year of *Menestheus*^h.

These eleven kings are acknowledged by Pausanias and Apollodorusⁱ. According to

No.	Anni Ante Troja asc.
h 1. <i>Cecrops</i> (50 years) ...	1318.
3. <i>Cranaüs</i> (10 years) ...	1268.
4. <i>Cranaüs</i>	1265.
5. <i>Amphictyon</i> (10 years) ...	1258.
8. <i>Amphictyon</i>	1252.
9. <i>Erichthonius</i>	1247.
11. <i>Pandion</i>	—
12. <i>Erictheus</i>	1145.
14. <i>Erichtheus</i>	1135.
16. <i>Pandion</i> & <i>Kékratos</i> ; ...	1062.
18. <i>Pandion</i> & <i>Kékratos</i> ; ...	—
19. <i>Aegeus</i>	—
20. <i>Aegeus</i>	1031.
21. <i>Theseus</i>	995.
(Accession of <i>Menestheus</i>)	966.
24. 13th of <i>Menestheus</i> ...	954.
25. Troy taken, 22nd <i>Menestheus</i> ...	945.
	1.

Cecrops II. is ascertained from No. 18. The years of *Cecrops I.*, *Cranaüs*, and *Amphictyon*, are also ascertained from the numbers on the Marble. That *Theseus* reigned at least twenty-nine years is determined from No. 21. 24.

A different account of these reigns is given in Excerpta Barbara apud Scalig. Euseb. p. 76. repeated by Corsin. F. A. tom. III. p. LX. who observes, *Atheniensium regum, &c. chronologiam ex excerptis Latino-barbaris subjecisse nunc libet, quæ a chronologo quadam post A. D. 491 edita fuit.* This author reckons a *Cecrope usque Codrum annos quadringentos XCII.* But his detail gives 501 years, as follows:

<i>Cecrops</i>	50
<i>Amphictyon</i>	40
<i>Erichthonius</i>	10
<i>Pandion</i>	50
<i>Erechtheus</i>	40
<i>Cecrops</i>	53
<i>Pandion</i>	43
<i>Aegeus</i>	48
<i>Theseus</i>	31
<i>Menestheus</i>	19 — (384)
<i>Demopho</i>	35
<i>Orynies</i>	14
<i>Aphidas</i>	1
<i>Thymætes</i>	9
<i>Melanthus</i>	37
<i>Codrus</i>	21 — (117)
	501

Africanus reckons 1020 years from *Ogyges* to the Olympiad of *Coræbus*: see above p. 7. and

189 years from *Ogyges* to *Cecrops*: Euseb. Praer. X. p. 490. A. μετὰ δὲ "Ογγυης διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμῶν πολλὴν φθόραν ἀβασίλευτος ἔμενεν ἡ νῦν Ἀττικὴ μέχρι Κέκροπος ἔτη ρεθ'. τὸν γάρ μετὰ "Ογγυης Ἀκταῖον ἡ τὰ πλαστόμενα τῶν ὄνομάτων οὐδὲ γενέσθαι φησὶ Φιλόχορος. This would place *Cecrops* at 1020 — 189 = 831 years before the first Olympiad, as Dr. Routh has assigned the numbers Rel. Patr. tom. II. p. 361. and 831 — 407 = 424 years before the fall of Troy. But Africanus in a passage quoted by Dr. Routh himself Ibid. reckoned less than 400 years for that interval: ἀπὸ Κέκροπος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰλίου ἀλλασσαν συνάγονται μικροῦ διοπτα ἔτη ν. He computed, then, those 189 years from the end of the reign of *Ogyges*, and not from the beginning. If he placed *Cecrops* with Eusebius at 375 years before the Trojan era, this would suppose him to allow forty-nine years for the reign of *Ogyges*.

^j Pausan. I. 2, 5. ἀποθανόντος Ἀκταίου Κέκροψ ἀκ-
δέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν θυγατρὶ συνικῶν Ἀκταίου — τὴν ἀρχὴν
τὴν Κέκροπος Κραναδὸς ἐκεδέκατο, Ἀθηναῖον δινάμει προσ-
χων. — Κραναδὴ δὲ Ἀμφικτύων ἑταναστὰς — παῖες τῆς ἀρ-
χῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέροχος ἐπὶ Εριχθονίοις καὶ τῶν συνεπα-
ναυτάντων ἐκπίπτει. πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθονίῳ λέγοντις ἀν-
θράτων μὲν ἀλέας εἶναι, γονέας δὲ "Ηφαιστον καὶ Γῆν.
Idem I. 5, 3. πρότερος γάρ ἥρκε Κέκροψ δὲ τὴν Ἀκ-
ταίου θυγατέρα ἐστήκη, καὶ ὑπέροχος ἄλλος, δὲ μετάκτον
ἔς Εύβοιαν, Ἐρεχθίωνος οὐδὲ τοῦ Πανδίωνος τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου.
καὶ δὴ καὶ Πανδίωνος ἀβασίλευτος ὁ τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου καὶ ὁ
Κέκροπος τοῦ δευτέρου. τοῦτον Μητιούδαι τὴν ἀρχῆς ἐξ-
ελαύνουσι, καὶ οἱ φυγάντες ἐς Μέγαρα — συνεκτίπτουσι
οἱ παιδεῖς. καὶ Πανδίωνα μὲν αὐτὸν λέγεται νομάσαντα
ἀποθανεῖν — οἱ δὲ παιδεῖς κατίσιοι τε ἐκ τῶν Μεγαρῶν, ἐκ-
βαλόντες Μητιούδαις, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Ἀθηναίων Αἰγαίου
πρεσβύτατος ὃν ἔσχεν. For *Theseus* and *Menestheus* conf. I. 17. Apollodorus III. 14. 15. Κέκροψ αὐ-
τόχθων — τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀβασίλευτος πρώτος — Κέκροπος δὲ
ἀποθανόντος, Κραναδὸς αὐτόχθων ἀν., ἐφ' οὗ τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος
λέγεται κατακλυσμὸν γενέσθαι. — Κραναδὸς δὲ ἐκβαλὼν
Ἀμφικτύων ἀβασίλευτος. τοῦτον ἔνοι μὲν Δευκαλίωνος
ἔνοι δὲ αὐτόχθων λέγουσον. βασιλεύσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη
δώδεκα Ἐριχθόνιος ἐκβάλλει. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Ἡφαιστοι καὶ
τῆς Κραναδοῦ θυγατρὸς Ἀτθίδος εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἡφαι-
στοι καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς — Πατιθέαν Νηῆσα νύμφην ἔγημεν, ἐξ οὗ
παῖς Πανδίων ἐγεννήθη. Ἐριχθοίνα δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ
ταφέντος ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς [hence Clemens
Protr. p. 29. B. τί δαὶ Ἐριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς
Πολιάδος κεκηδευται;] — Πανδίων ἀβασίλευτος. — Παν-
δίων δὲ ἀποθανόντος οἱ παιδεῖς τὰ πατρῷα ἐμερίσαντο·
καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐρεχθίες λαμβάνει, τὴν δὲ ιερωσύνην
τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ Ποτειδίου τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου [Ἐρεχθίες
Heyn.] Βεύης γάμος; δὲ Ἐρεχθίες Πραξιθίαν — ἔσχε

Apollodorus, *Cecrops* was an indigenous chief^k. Some accounts derive him from Egypt^l. But the Egyptian settlement of *Cecrops*, if he was Egyptian, made but little impression upon the country; for he had no successors of his own race, and the next kings, *Cranaüs*, *Amphyctyon*, and *Erichthonius*, were all natives of the country. And Isocrates considers the Attic kings to be properly founded by *Erichthonius*^m.

The years assigned to the first kings are inconsistent with the facts. *Erechtheus* the father-in-law of *Xuthus* would be contemporary with *Hellen* and *Amphyctyon*; and yet between *Amphyctyon* and *Erechtheus* are interposed two reigns and ninety years. But these two reigns we may with Newton expunge from the list, as inconsistent with the other traditionsⁿ.

παῖδες Κέκροτα, Πάνδωρος, Μητίσας, θυγατέρας δὲ Πρόκριν, Κρέουσαν, Χθειλαν, Ὡρείθιαν, ἣν ἤρασε Βορέας. Χθειλαν μὲν ὅν ἔγημε Βούτης, Κρέουσαν δὲ Εσύθος.—Ποσειδῶνος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐρεχθέα καὶ τὴν οἰκλαν αὐτοῦ καταδύσατος, Κέκροψ ἐπρεβύτατος τῶν Ἐρεχθίων παιδῶν ἐβασιστεῖν—ὅς ἐτέκισε Πανδίονα. ὃτος μετὰ Κέκροπα βασιλεύειν ὑπὸ τῶν Μητίσας νιῶν κατὰ στάσιν ἐξεβλήθη. Πανδίος δὲ ἐν Μεγάροις ὅντις παιδὸς ἐγένετο Αλγεῖς, Πάλλας, Νίτος, Λίκος,—μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πανδίον τελευτὴν οἱ παιδεῖς αὐτοῦ στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξέβαλον τὰς Μητίσιδας καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τετραχῇ διεῖλον· εἰχε δὲ τὸ τῶν κράτος Αἴγεις. For *Theseus* conf. *Apollod.* III. 16. For *Menestheus*, III. 10, 8. For *Pot.* Ἐρεχθίων *Heyne ad loc.* properly restores Ἐρεχθίων. *Hesychius*, to whom he refers: Ἐρεχθίων. Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθῆναις. *Lycophr.* 158. ἔστειλ' Ἐρεχθίων—Athenagoras (quoted by *Potter ad Lyc.* I. c.) p. 4. ἐν Ἀθηναῖς Ἐρεχθεῖ Ποσειδῶνι θύει. *Vit. X. Or.* p. 843. B. τὴν ιερασύνην Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθίων.

^k See the preceding note.

^l Proclus ad *Timpæum apud Siebel. Phanodemī fragm.* p. 3. τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναῖς Καλλισθένης μὲν καὶ Φανδόμης πατέρας τῶν Σαΐτῶν Ιστοροῦσι γενέσθαι. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἀνάταλιν ἀποίκους αὐτῶν εἶναι φησιν. Ἀττικὸς δὲ ὁ Πλατυτός διὰ βασκανίαν φησὶ μεταποιῆσαι τὴν Ιστορίαν τῶν Θεοπομπῶν—δὲ Πλάτων [Τίμων p. 21. ε] τοσσοτάν μάνιον εἶπε περὶ αὐτῶν, ὃς φιλαθῆμαι τε εἰ Σαΐται καὶ πινα τρόπον (Ἀθηναῖον) οἰκεῖ. *Diod. I.* 28. εἰ Αλγύσται—τοὺς Ἀθηναῖς φασὶν ἀποίκους εἶναι Σαΐτῶν τὸν τέκτην Αλγύστων. *Africanic ad Euseb. Pseph. X.* 10. p. 491. A. Ἀθηναῖος—ἀποίκους Αλγύστων ὑπενυμένους, ὃς φασὶν ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐν τῷ Τρικαρινῷ Θεόπομπος. *Tzetz. ad Lyc.* 111. ἡ Ἀττικὴ βασιλεῖα ἦν τοῦ Κέκροπος· ἀλλοὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ Σάσους πόλεως Αλγύστων τὰς Ἀθήνας συγκρήσουσι.—διμορφον δὲ λέγοντος καὶ διφυῆ τὸν Κέκροπα—ἡ διὰ τὸ δύο φυλὰς ἐπιστασθαι, Αλγύστων καὶ Ἑλληνίδα, κ. τ. λ. *Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 391. τὸν Κέκροπα φασὶν οἱ μῆνοι τελυαντίους ἀπὸ ὄφεως εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἀλβεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ἀλβὼν εἰς Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον Αιγυπτιασμὸν ἀφεῖς χρηστοὺς ἀνελάβητο τρόπους πολιτικούς. *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.* 773. Κέκροψ Αιγύστος ἦν τὸ γένος φύκης τὰς Ἀθήνας. We have

seen already p. 56. that he was supposed to have divided Attica into twelve towns, and to have governed Boeotia as well as Attica. His tomb was shewn in the Acropolis: Clem. Al. Protr. p. 29. B. Ἀθήνης δὲ ἐν ἀκροτόλει (τάφος ἐστι) Κέκροπος, ὃς φησιν Ἀγιλόχος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν ιστοριῶν.

^m Isocr. *Panath.* p. 258. d. Ἐριχθόνιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ φùς ἐξ Ἡφαίστου καὶ γῆς παρὰ Κέκροπος ἀπαίδεος ὅντος ἀρρένων παιδῶν τὸν ἔλκον καὶ τὴν βασικείαν παρέλαβεν· ἐπειδῆν δ' ἀρκάμενος πάντες οἱ γεννημένοι μετ' ἐκεῖνον, ὅντες εἰκὸν ἀλλοι, τὰς κτήσεις τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς δυναστείας τοῦς αὐτῶν παισὶ παρέδοσαν μέχρι Θησέως.

ⁿ Newton Chronology p. 141. observes, “*Hellen* was about one, and *Deucalion* two generations older than *Erechtheus*. They could not be much older, because *Xuthus* the youngest son of *Hellen* married *Creusa* the daughter of *Erechtheus*.” And he expunges *Erichthonius* and *Pandion I.* from the list of kings, partly for this reason, and partly because the circumstances which belong to *Erichthonius* are ascribed by Homer, Themistius, and Plato, to *Erechtheus*. *Erichthonius* and *Erechtheus* are distinguished by many authorities. To those already quoted at p. 60. may be added the following: Pindar and the author of the Δαναῶν: *Harpocr.* v. Λιτόχθονες. ὃ δὲ Πλύδωρος καὶ ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα πεποιηκός φασιν Ἐριχθόνιον ἐν Γῇ καὶ Ἡφαίστων φανῆναι. Hellanicus and Androton ascribed the Panathenaea to *Erichthonius*: *Harp. Παναθηναῖα*. ἥγαγε τὴν ἑορτὴν ὁ Εριχθόνιος ὁ Ηφαίστων, καθὼν φασὶν Ἑλλάνικς τε καὶ Ἀνδροτίων, ἐκάπερος ἐν α' Αθήναις. Hyperides mentions *Pandion son of Erichthonius*: *Harp. Παναθηναῖς* μὲν τῶν δέκα φυλῶν—κληγείσας ἀπὸ Πανδίονος τοῦ Ἐριχθόνιου, ὃς Τετράδες λέγει. *Philochorus*: *Harp. κανηφόραι*. περὶ τῶν κανηφόρων Φιλόχορος ἐν δευτέρᾳ Ατθίδος φησὶν ὃς Ἐριχθόνιον βασιλεύεντος πρῶτον κατέστησαν αἱ ἀξιόματι παρθένοι φέρειν τὰ κατὰ τῇ θεῷ, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέκειτο τὰ πρᾶτα τὴν θυσίαν τοῖς τε Παναθηναῖοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πομπαῖς. *Schol. Aristoph. Vesp.* 542. Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ, ὃς γε καὶ τὸν καταδύντα τὸ ἔθος (τοῦ θαλλοφορεῖ) Ἐριχθόνιον συνιστησι. *Erechtheus* is named by *Philochorus apud Syncell.* p. 161. A.

Under the names of *Erichthonius* or *Erechtheus* appears to be described a native chief of Ionian race, who in the fourth or fifth generation before the Trojan war introduced or restored the worship of *Minerva* in Attica, and, perhaps with the aid of the Ionians of Peloponnesus, carried on war against Eleusis^o. From him *Theseus* and *Menestheus* were said to be descended P.

Harp. v. Βοηδρόμια. *Erichthonius* is named *Erechtheus* in Homer Il. β'. 547.

δῆμον Ἐρεχθίου μεγαλήτορος, δύ τετ' Ἀθήνη
θρέψει Διός θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζέλωρος ἄρουρα,
καὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθηνῇ εἶσεν ἐφ ἐν τῶν ηῷ.

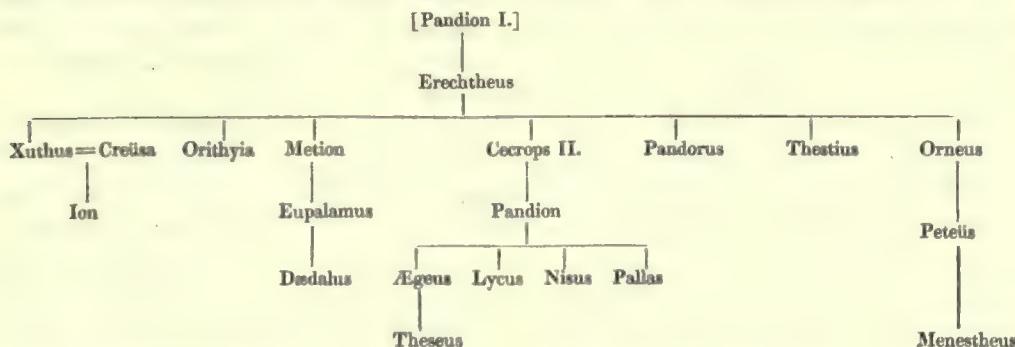
Schol. ad loc. Ἐρεχθίου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀθηναῖον, τοῦ καὶ Ἐριχθίου καλούμενον, γενηθέντος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡφαστίου. Eustath. p. 283. εὐγενής δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἐρεχθεὺς καὶ συγέδε, ὃς οὐ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τρόφιμος· καὶ αὐτὸχθον, εὖ μην ἔπειται, καθά τινες ὑπέλαβον τὸν Κέρκοπα—τινὲς δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἐριχθίου φασὶ—πλάττουσι δὲ ἔπειται καὶ μῆνας αἰσχρὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀρουραῖον καὶ τῆς χθονός. κ. τ. λ. Hom. Odyss. γ'. 81. δύνε δὲ Ἐρεχθίου τυκιὸν δόμαν. Schol. ad loc. τὸ ξαντῆς τέμενος, ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ἐπράφη ὁ Ἐρεχθεὺς. Etym. Magn. Ἐρεχθεὺς. δὲ Ἐριχθόνιος καλούμενος, κ. τ. λ. Ἐρεχθεὺς κύρος—δὲ αὐτὸς δὲ λέγεται καὶ Ἐριχθίους. Herodot. VIII. 55. ἔστι δὲ τῇ ἀκροτάλῃ ταῦτη Ἐρεχθίους τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένοις εἶναι ηῷς δι τῷ ἀλατῇ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἐνι, κ. τ. λ. Vit. X. Or. p. 843. E. Ἐρεχθίους τοῦ γῆς καὶ Ἡφαστίου. Themist. or. 27. p. 337. A. ἤτων ἄρμα ὅτε Ἐρεχθίους πρέπει ζευχθῆναι λέγεται. Where Harduin without reason corrects ὅτε Ἐριχθίους or ὅτε Ἐριχθίουν. Two questions arise upon these passages; whether there were two of the name of *Erechtheus*, or whether only one. The former opinion is followed by Castor and Eusebius, see p. 59. and by Heyne ad Apollod. p. 837. *Videntur duo Erechthei constitui posse, alter antiquior, cognomine Erichthonius, alter is qui infra Apollod. III. 15, 1.* The passages here given may be interpreted to favour Heyne's opinion. Homer appears to have known nothing of *Erichthonius* as a distinct person from *Erechtheus*; and, after the Athenians had invented *Erichthonius* as a distinct person, it is probable that they might adopt Homer to this account by inventing two *Erechthei*. The following passages, however, clearly refer to only one: Xenoph. Mem. III. 5, 10. λέγω γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἐρεχθίους γη τραφῆναι καὶ γένεσαι καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον γενόμενον πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἔχομένης ἥπερν τάσσεις where Vales. apud Weisk. tom. VI. p. 341. remarks, *Confundere videtur Erechtheum quo regnante bellum gessere contra Thracas cum altero antiquiore Erechtheo seu potius Erichthonio. Demosth. Epitaph. p. 1397. οὐδεσαν ἀπατεῖς Ἐρεχθεῖς τὸν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῶν Ἐρεχθέα ἔνεκα τοῦ σῶσαι τὴν χώραν τὰς αὐτοῦ ταῖδες—εἰς προπτεῖον θάνατον δόντα ἀναλόγους. αἰσχρὸν δὲ γρῦπτο τὸν μὲν ἀπ' ἀθανάτου πεφύκτα πάντα ποιεῖ κ. τ. λ. where τὸν ἀπ' ἀθανάτου πε-*

φυκτά in their literal sense would describe *Erichthonius*. Plato Alcib. I. p. 121. a. δὲ Δαίδαλος; (ἀναφέρεται) εἰς Ἡφαιστον τὸν Διός. Schol. ad loc. p. 388. Bekk. Σεῦς=Ἡρα. Ἡφαιστος=Γῆ. Ἐρεχθεὺς=Προκρίς. Μητὸν=γυνὴ τις Εὐπάλαμος=Ἀλκίπατη. Δαίδαλος. Here *Erechtheus* and *Erichthonius* are the same person: the two other steps in the pedigree *Erichthonius* and *Pandion* being omitted. The same genealogy occurs in Steph. Byz. v. Μέγαρα—ἄπειδε Μεγαρέων—τοῦ Αιγέων τοῦ Πανδίοντος τοῦ Ἐρεχθίου τεῦ Ἡφαιστον. We may suspect then that even among the ancients themselves there were some who believed *Erichthonius* son of *Vulcan* to be the same person as *Erechtheus* the father of *Creusa* and of *Cecrops II*.

^o *Ion* assisted *Erechtheus* in this war according to Philochorus apud Harp. v. Βοηδρόμια. Others placed *Ion* in the next reign. The war of *Erechtheus* and *Eumolpus* is mentioned by Isocrates Panath. c. 78. p. 273. Θρᾷκες μὲν γὰρ μετ' Εὔμολπον τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος εἰσέβαλον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν, δὲ ἡμφισθήτος εἰς Ἐρεχθεῖ τῆς πόλεως, φάσκον Ποσειδῶν πρότερον Ἀθηνᾶς καταλαβεῖν αὐτήν. Thucyd. II. 15. τινὲς καὶ ἐπούλησάν τοτε αὐτῷν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνοις μετ' Εὔμολπον πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα. Lycurg. Leocr. p. 160, 9. φασὶ γὰρ Εὔμολπον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Χάνης μετὰ Θρᾳκῶν ἀλθεῖν τῆς χώρας ταῦτης ἡμφισθήτοντα, τυχεῖν δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνος τὸν χρόνον βασιλεύοντα Ἐρεχθέα, γυναικα ἔχοντα Πραξιθέαν τὴν Κυρισσὸν θνηταρέα. κ. τ. λ. *Erechtheus* slew in this war *Immaradus* son of *Eumolpus*: Pausan. I. 5, 2. ἴντεστενον Ἐλευσίνοις μάχη καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνον ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰμμάραδον τὸν Εὔμολπον, or *Eumolpus* himself: Apollod. III. 15, 4. Ἐρεχθεὺς μὲν ἀνέτεινεν Εὔμολπον. By another account he fell himself: Pausan. I. 38, 4. γενομένης μάχης ἀπέθανε μὲν Ἐρεχθεὺς Ἀθηναῖον βασιλέων ἀπέθανε δὲ Ἰμμάραδος ὁ Εὔμολπος (*Ιμμάραδος* δὲ Εὔμολπον καὶ Δαιδαλος Clem. Al. Protr. p. 29. B). *Eumolpus* is mentioned by Aristides Panath. p. 118. He is the son of *Neptune* in the preceding testimonies; to which we may add Isocrat. Panegyr. p. 54. c. Θρᾷκες μετ' Εὔμολπον τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. He was said to be the grandson of *Orithyia* whom *Boreas* carried off: Pausan. I. 38, 3. Apollod. III. 15, 2—4. An example how negligently genealogies were sometimes composed; for according to this pedigree he would be the great grandson of his competitor *Erechtheus*.

P The genealogy stands thus:

Pandion the father of *Aegeus* is said to have divided his kingdom among his four sons^q, and is supposed to have possessed Megara as well as Attica. Thucydides however remarks that the authority of these early kings was very limited^r; and it appears from Pausanias that



Orithyia is mentioned Herodot. VII. 189. *Thespius* or *Thespian* Pausan. IX. 26, 4. Diod. IV. 29. *Daedalus* is the grandson of *Metion* Apollo. III. 15, 8. Δαιδαλός ὁ Εὐπαλάμου ταῖς τοῦ Μητίωνος. The same descent is in Schol. Platon. p. 388. already quoted. But the son, in Diod. IV. 76. Δαιδαλός εἰς τῶν Ἐρεχθίων· οὐ γάρ οὐδὲ Μητίωνος τοῦ Εὐπαλάμου τοῦ Ἐρεχθέων. Schol. Soph. OEd. Col. 472. Δαιδαλὸν περὶ οὐ Φερεκύδης φησὶν οὐτω· "Μητίωνος δὲ τῷ Ἐρεχθίων καὶ Ἰφινή γίνεται Δαιδαλός, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ δῆμος καλεῖται Δαιδαλίδαι Ἀθήνησι." Plato Ion. p. 533. περὶ Δαιδαλού τοῦ Μητίωνος. Heyne ad Apollo. p. 868. has neglected to mark this variation. Wesseling ad Diod. IV. 76. has been more diligent. Pausanias VII. 4, 5. speaks generally: Δαιδάλος—τῶν καλαυγένων Μητίωνῶν. And Plato Alcib. I. p. 121. a. δὲ Δαιδαλός ἀναφέρεται εἰς Ηφαιστον τὸν Διός. Clidemus apud Plutarch. Thea. c. 19. derives him from a daughter of *Erechtheus*: Δαιδαλὸν μητρὸς ὄντα Μερέπης τῆς Ἐρεχθίων.

The *Erechthidae* were said to have colonized Euboea, but accounts vary concerning the leader. *Cecrops II.* μετέφευσε δὲ Εὔβοιαν Pausan. I. 5, 3. Scymnus 572. ἐκ τῆς δὲ Ἀττικῆς Τὸν Ἐρεχθίους διαβάτη Πάνδωρον [Conf. Apollo. III. 15, 1] κτίσας Πόλιν μεγίστη τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Χαλκίδα Αἰκλὸν τὸ Ἐρετρίαν τὸ Ἀθρωπόν γένει· Τὴν δὲ εἰναῖλαν Κύρινθον ὀστεῖτο Κόβην [conf. Strab. X. p. 445]. Schol. Hom. Il. β. 536. Ἐρεχθίους Κέκροψ, οὐ Μητίων, ἀφ' οὗ εἰ Μητίωνες οἱ Χαλκίδες, οὐδὲ Ἀθαί, δὲ Ἀθαντας αὐτοῖς ἐκάλεστον· οὐδὲ Χαλκίδεων, οὐδὲ Ἐλεφήνων. Eustath. p. 281, 26. Ἐρεχθίους νιεῖ Πανδίονος γίνεται Κέκροψ, Ἀρεὺς [I. Οργένες], Πάνδωρος, Μητίων, δὲ Ἀρέως μὲν Πετεὺς, οὐδὲ Μενεσθεύς—Πάνδωρος δὲ Εὔβοιαν εἰκέτει· οὐδὲ Ἀλκων καὶ Διας· δὲ δὲ Διον τοῦ Πανδώρου], δὲ δὲ Ἀλκων Ἀθαντας ἰσχει· δὲ δὲ Αθαντας ἐκάλεστον· οὐδὲ Χαλκίδεων, οὐδὲ Ἐλεφήνων. But

Aristotle derived the *Abantes* from a different origin: Eustath. Ibid. οἱ δὲ λέγοντο καὶ ὅτι Θρᾷκες κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλην δρμβέντες εἰς Ἀθαί τῆς Φωκικῆς ἐπόκησαν τὴν ήσσον καὶ ἐπονόμασαν Ἀθαντας τούς· ἐκεῖ. That a part of the population of Euboea was Ionian we have seen already at p. 55. o.

4 Strabo IX. p. 392. οἱ τῆς Ἀττίδαις συγγράψαντες πολλὰ διαφωνοῦντες τούτο γε διαλογοῦσιν, εἰ γε λόγου ἄξιοι, ὅτι τῶν Πανδιονίδων τεσσάρων ὄντων, Αἰγέως τε καὶ Δύκου καὶ Πάλλαγτος καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου Νίσου, καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διαιρεθείσης, δὲ Νίσου τὴν Μεγαρίδα λέχοι, καὶ κτίσας τὴν Νίσαιαν. Φιλόχορος μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ ισθμοῦ μέχρι Πιθίου διήκειν αὐτοῦ φῆσι. τὴν ἀρχὴν, Ἀγραν δὲ μέχρι Ἐλευσίνος καὶ τοῦ Θριασίου πεδίου. Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 58. διηρέπτο εἰς τέσσαρας μερίδας τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Ἀττική· Πανδίων γάρ διαδεξάμενος τὴν Κέκροπος βασιλείαν προσκτησάμενος καὶ τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἔνειμε τὴν χώραν τοῦς παισὶν εἰς δὲ μοίρας· Αἴγει μὲν τὴν παρὰ τὸ ἄστυ μέχρι Πιθίου Πάλλαντι δὲ τὴν Παραλίαν Δίκων δὲ τὴν Διακρίαν Νίσηρ δὲ τὴν Μεγαρίδα. Idem ad Vesp. 1218. τὴν χώραν τὴν Διακρίαν Πανδίωνα φασὶ τοῖς νιοῖς διανεμάντα τὴν ἀρχὴν Δίκων δύνανται, Αἴγει δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ, Πάλλαντι, τὴν Παραλίαν, Νίσηρ δὲ τὴν Μεγαρίδα. *Lycus* ultimately settled with *Sarpedon* brother of *Minos*, on the coast of Asia Minor, and from him the territory was called *Lycia*: Herodot. I. 173. Ἐξ Ἀθρωπίας Δίκων δὲ Πανδίονος ἐξελαθεῖς ἦπε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Αἴγεων. On this colony of *Lycus* see Pausan. I. 19. IV. 2. Strabo XII. p. 573. XIV. 667. Steph. Byz. Δικλα. Plutarch Thes. c. 13. relates of the *Pallantidae*, οἱ δὲ Παλλαγτίδαι—χαλεπῶς φέροντες εἰ βασιλεύειν μὲν Αἴγεις θετός γενύμενος Πανδίων καὶ μηδὲν Ἐρεχθείδαις προσήκων. But this is related only as the representation of the *Pallantidae* the enemies of *Aegeus*, and will not justify any conclusion that *Aegeus* was of a different race from the *Erechthidae*.

^q Thuc. II. 15.

many traditions in the boroughs differed from those in the city^s, and many early kings or founders were recorded who seem to have belonged to the aboriginal race^t.

Aegeus and *Theseus* are not named in the Iliad, except in a line of suspected authority^v. *Theseus* and *Ariadne* occur in the Odyssey^w. *Aethra* occurs in the Iliad, supposed by very early authorities to be the mother of *Theseus*^x. But as neither *Theseus* nor his sons are noticed in the Iliad, and as the age of *Theseus* creates a difficulty, those critics appear to be right, who suppose the mother of *Theseus* not mentioned in the Iliad^y.

7. *Amphictyon* son of *Deucalion* is said to have instituted the Amphictyonic meeting at Thermopylae. His temple there is mentioned by Herodotus^z. Some accounts traced the name of the Amphictyonic meeting to another origin. According to others *Acrisius* established an Amphictyonic meeting at Delphi in imitation of that at Thermopylae^a. We may

^s Pausan. I. 14, 6. δῆμός ἐστιν Ἀθηναῖς Ἀθηναῖς, οἱ Πορφυρίαντα ἔτι πρότερον Ἀκταλεύ βασιλεύσαντα τῆς Οὐρανίας φασὶ τὸ παρὰ σφίσιν ἵερον θύσιασθαι. λέγουσι δὲ ἀνά τοὺς δήμους καὶ ἄλλα οὐδὲ δημίους καὶ οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες. I. 38, 2. Ἀθηναῖς τὸν Κρόκωνα Κελεοῦ θυγατρὶ συνικῆσαι Σασάρᾳ λέγουσι· λέγουσι δὲ οἱ πάντες, ἀλλ' οὐτοὶ τοῦ δημον τοῦ Σκαμψιωνίδην εἰσίν.

^t Pausan. I. 31, 3. γέγραπται δὲ δῆ μα τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις φάναι πολλοὺς ὡς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασίλευστο τῆς Κέκροπος. ἔστι δὲ ὁ Κολαιός ἀνδρὸς ὄνομα πρότερον ἡ Κέκροψ ἐβασίλευσεν, ὡς οἱ Μυθινοί λέγουσιν, ἀρξαντος. I. 38, 7. Ἐλευσίνα δὲ ἥρα, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πόλιν ἐντάξαντον, οἱ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ παῖδες εἶναι λέγουσι, τοῖς δέ ἔστι πεπυρέα Ποργυγοῖς εἴναι πατέρα.

^v Iliad. a'. 265. Θησέα τ' Ἀγελάδην ἐπιεικελον ἀβα-
νάτοισι. This line occurs in Hesiod Scut. 182. from whence it was probably transferred to the copies of the Iliad. It is not commented upon by the Scholia on the Iliad, nor by Eustathius, and seems properly rejected by Wolf.

^w Odys. x. 321. *Theseus* is named again Ibid. 630.

^x Iliad. γ'. 144. Αἴθρη Πιτθῆς θυγάτηρ. Arctinus, the earliest authority after Homer and Hesiod, understood *Aethra* to have been at Troy: apud Proclum Chrestom. p. 484. Gaisf. Δημο-
φῶν τε καὶ Ἀκάμας Αἴθραν εἴροντες ἀγονοὶ μεθ' ἑαυτῶν.
That Arctinus mentioned the sons of *Theseus*, see the tables B. C. 775. Lesches also recognised *Aethra* at Troy: Pausan. X. 25, 3. Λέ-
χειν δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴθραν ἐπούσεται, ἵνακα ἡλόσκετο Ἰλιον,
ἐπεξελθούσαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὴν ἀφίκεσθαι τὸ Ελ-
λύντον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παιῶν γνωρισθῆναι τὸν Θησέαν, καὶ ὡς
ταρ 'Αγαμέμνονος αἰτήσαις Δημοφῶν αὐτὴν, κ. τ. λ.

^y On account of this difficulty the ancient critics on Iliad γ'. 144. rejected the mention of *Aethra*, or adopted another interpretation: οἱ μὲν τὴν Θησέας λέγει μητέρα, ἀδετητίστων ἀπίλαντον γάρ ἐστιν Ελένης ἀμφίπολος εἴναι τὴν οὔτως ὑπεραρχαίαν—οἱ δὲ ἐμαντυμίας ἐστίν—λατέν κ. τ. λ. Plutarch. Thes. c. 34. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος διαβάλλοντο. The age of *Theseus* may be inferred from an incident in the Iliad. *Theseus* was present at the battle of the

Centaurs and *Lapithae*: Hesiod. Scut. 178—185. And this action happened at the time of the birth of *Polypetes*, who fought at Troy: Iliad. β. 743. But this would place the birth of *Theseus* at least sixty years before the action of the Iliad. Hellanicus places *Aethra* at Troy: Schol. Eur. Hecub. 119. Ἐλλάνικος δὲ λέγει διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς [sc. τοὺς Θησέως παῖδας] ἀπελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε, ὅστε, εἰ μὲν ἔδοιε "Ελλῆρες τὴν Τροίαν, λάφυρον αὐτὴν καὶ γέρας λαβεῖν" εἰ δὲ μὴ, καν λυτρώσασθαι δέροις. Although his own account of the time is inconsistent with this; for he makes *Theseus* fifty years old when *Helen* was carried off: Schol. Iliad. γ'. 144. ὡς γὰρ ιστορεῖ 'Ελλάνικος, Πειρίθους καὶ Θησέως—ἀρτάσαν-
τες τὴν 'Ελένην κομιδῇ νέαν παρατίθενται εἰς "Αφίδναν τῆς
Ἄττικῆς Αἴθρα—οἱ δὲ Διόσκουροι—Αἴθραν αἰχμαλωτί-
ζοντο. Plutarch. Thes. c. 31. ἦν τετράκοτα ἐπη γεγονός, ὡς φησιν 'Ελλάνικος, ἔτραξε τὰ περὶ τὴν 'Ελένην. Other traditions, however, might have brought *Theseus* nearer to the Trojan times. According to Plutarch Thes. c. 6. he was said to be a youth—*μειράκιος*—on his arrival at Athens, when *Medea* was already there; which would place his arrival some time after the Argonautic expedition, and might bring his birth within fifty years of the fall of Troy.

^z Herodot. VII. 200. Δῆμητρός τε ἱέν 'Αμφικ-
τυνδός θύραται, καὶ ἐδραί εἰσὶ 'Αμφικτύοις καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦ
'Αμφικτύονος ἱέν.

^a See the testimonies in F. H. III. p. 619. o. Not only Anaximenes there quoted, but Andronitton apud Pausan. X. 8, 1. derived the name from 'Αμφικτύονες: καταστήσασθαι δὲ συνέδριον ἐνταῦθα 'Ελλήνων οἱ μὲν 'Αμφικτύονα τὸν Δευκαλίωνος νομίζουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς συνέδριοις ἐπικλησιν 'Αμφικτύονας γενέσθαι. 'Αδροτίων δὲ ἐν τῷ Ατθίδι ἔφη συγγραφῇ ὡς τὸ ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἀφίκετο ἐς Δελφοὺς παρὰ τῶν προσικούτων συνέδριοτες, καὶ διομασθῆναι μὲν 'Αμφικτύονας τοὺς συνέδριοτας, ἐκμιηῆσαι δὲ ἀνά χρόνον τὸ τοῦ σφίσιν θύμα. *Amphictyon* is mentioned in Mar. Par. No. 5. ἀ..... κτίνων Δευκαλίωνος ἐβασίλευεν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις καὶ συῆρε .εὺς περὶ τὸν ὄρον οἰκοῦτας καὶ ὡ... μασε. 'Αμφικτύονας καὶ Π.....ν εδ... . καὶ τοῦ ἔτι θίνουσιν

observe a junction of Pelasgic and Hellenic races in their assembly. The Pelasgian *Acrisius* and the Hellenic *Amphictyon* share in the establishment. Among the nations who compose the league are the Ionians. And we trace in the number of the states the Ionic number twelve. But as the institution is ascribed to *Amphictyon* in the seventh and *Acrisius* in the sixth generation before the Trojan war, this account of the time supposes the existence of Ionians before the birth of *Ion* son of *Xuthus*^b.

'Αμφικτίωνες. τη ΧΗΗ ΔΙΠΛΙΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝΤΟΣ 'Αθηνῶν 'Αμφικτίωνος. Dionys. Ant. IV. p. 702. πάντα μέλιστα τῶν τούτων ἔργον τὴν 'Αμφικτίωνος τοῦ 'Ελληνος ἐπίνειαν ἡγάσθη, ὃς ἀσθενὲς δρόν καὶ βάλνας ὑπὸ τῶν περιουσιώντων Βαρβάρων ἐξαναλαβήσας τὸ 'Ελληνικὸν γένος εἰς τὴν ἀπ' ἑκεῖνον κληδεῖσαν 'Αμφικτυνικὴν σύνοδον καὶ πανήγυρον αὐτὸν συνίγαγε κ. τ. λ.

^b That the states were twelve in number is confirmed by Strabo IX. p. 420. *Æschines* Fals. Leg. p. 43. ἔνη δέκα τὰ μετέχοντα τῷ ιερῷ. And Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 116. 'Αμφικτίωνες καλοῦνται οἱ τῶν Πισθίων ἀγωνθέτας ἢ δέκα διθύνονται τῆς Εὐθύνης. Their names are given in Harpocr. v. 'Αμφικτίωνες, repeated by Suidas; in Liban. tom. III. p. 414. 2. Pausan. X. 8. *Æschin.* Fals. Leg. p. 43. and partly in Diod. XVI. 29. The lists of Pausanias and *Æschines* are not complete, and vary in some of the names from each other and from the other two.

Harpocr.	Liban.	Pausan.	<i>Æschines.</i>
Ίωνες	Ίωνες	Ίωνες	Θετταλοί
Δωρεῖς	Δωρεῖς	Δόλοπες	Βοιωτοί
Περραιβοί	Βοιωτοί	Θεσσαλοί	Δωρεῖς
Βοιωτοί	Περραιβοί	Λινᾶνες	Ίωνες
Μάγνητες	Μάγνητες	Μάγνητες	Περραιβοί
Ἀχαιοί	Ἀχαιοί	Μαλεῖς	Μάγνητες
Φθιώται	Φθιώται	Φθιώται	Λοκροί
Μηλιεῖς	Μηλιεῖς	Δωρεῖς	Οἰταιοί
Δόλοπες	Δόλοπες	Φωκεῖς	Φθιώται
Αινᾶνες	Αινᾶνες	Δοκροί Ἐπικούρι.	Μαλεῖς
Δελφοί	Δελφοί	Φωκεῖς	Φωκεῖς

Diodorus gives the following account: τῷ μὲν ἵερῳ βοηθεῖν ἔγνωσαν Βοιωτοί καὶ Λοκροί καὶ Θετταλοί καὶ Περραιβοί, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Δωρεῖς καὶ Δόλοπες, ἔτι δὲ Ἀθαμᾶνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί καὶ Φθιώταις καὶ Μάγνητες, ἔτι δὲ Αινᾶνες, καὶ τινες ἔτεροι. These six are in all the four lists: *Iones*, *Dores*, *Magnetes*, *Malienses*, *Phthiotae*, *Phocenses*. And (except the Malians) in the narrative of Diodorus. Of these the *Dores* and *Magnetes* were Hellenic; the others were Pelasgic. To these six we may add (7) the *Dolopes*; mentioned by Harp. Liban. Pausan. Diod. They are marked as an Amphicytonic state by Plutarch Cimon. c. 8. Δόλοπες φένει τὴν ἥπαν (τὴν Σκύρον), ἔργάται κακοί γῆς· ληζόμενοι δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ ταλαιῶν—Θετταλοί· τινας ἐμπόρους—συλλέγοντες εἰρήναν ἔτει δὲ διαδράστες ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν οἱ

ἀνθρώποι δίκηροι κατεδικάσαντο τῆς τίλεως 'Αμφικτυνικῆς, οἱ βαυλομένοι τὰ χρήματα τῶν τελλάν τυνεκτίνειν, κ. τ. λ. The Dolopians in the time of the Trojan war inhabited Phthiotis: Strabo IX. p. 431. ὃ μὲν ὅν τοις τῆς οἰδαμοῦ μέμρηται Δολοποικῆς στρατείας—ἄλλος δὲ εἰρίκαστο, καθάπερ Πίνδαρος μητοθεῖς τῷ Φοίνικος, “ὅς Δολόπων ἄγαγε θρασὺν ὄμιλον σφενδονάσσας ἱπποδάμαιον “Δαναῶν βέλεσι τρόσφορος.” τοῦτο δὴ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ κατὰ τὸ σιωπάμενον—συντακουστέον. γελοῖν γάρ τὸ τὸν βασιλέα μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας,

ναϊοῖς δὲ ἐσχατήν Φθίης Δολοπεσσον ἀνάστων,

[Il. i. 480]

τοὺς δὲ ἴντηκόντων μὴ παρεῖναι. conf. p. 432. 434. Heyne ad Apollod. III. 13, 8. p. 806. properly refers them to the Pelasgic stock. In the time of Demosthenes they were of low estimation: conf. Demosth. Cor. p. 246. In the time of Augustus they were extinct: Pausan. X. 8, 2. οὐκ ἔτι ἦν Δολόπων γένος· and their vote in the Amphicytonic session was given to Nicopolis. (8) The *Enianes* in Harpocr. Liban. Pausan. Valckenaer ad Herodot. VII. 132. proposes to add to the list of *Æschines*: *inter nomina* "Ιωνας et Περραιβον libenter ponerem Αινιάνας. But the Οἰταιοί of *Æschines* are probably (as Clavier Hist. Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 26. observes) the Αινᾶνες of the other lists. (9) The *Baxoti* are attested by *Æschines* as members of this assembly. (10) The *Perrhaebi* are in three of the lists and in Diodorus. (11) The *Locri* are named by *Æschines* and Pausanias. These eleven appear to have been among the twelve original members of the league. For the remaining state the preceding lists offer three names: the *Thessali* in *Æschines* and Pausanias, the *Delphi* and *Achæi* in Harpocratio and Libanius. Mitford vol. VI. p. 235, 236. by an error which is not corrected in the last edition, and which has misled Dr. Cramer Ancient Greece vol. I. p. 345. affirms that the list from Pausanias has twelve names, the list from Harpocratio has only ten, and one of them, the Achæans, is found in neither of the others. He should have said, Pausanias has only ten names, and Harpocratio twelve. Wesselung ad Diod. XVI. 29. p. 531. also remarks Ἀχαιοί Φθιώται sine copula (*apud Diod. l. c.*) verum est—ut *apud Libanium Harpocr. dictis locis*. But as Harpocratio intends to give twelve names—ταῦτα δὲ ἦν δέκα—it is evident that he made the Achæans and *Phthiotæ*

Amphictyon according to some accounts reigned in Attica^c and Boeotia. Other traditions

distinct; whence Valckenaer ad Herodot. VII. 132. properly observes, *Harpocrati memorantur tanquam diversi*. And doubtless Libanius, whose list agrees with that of Harpocratio, intended also to represent them separate. Although, however, they were distinguished by these writers, yet it is probable that they were improperly so distinguished; for no *Achæi* except *Pthiotæ* were members of the league. The *Achæi* of Peloponnesus did not participate in the assembly. The Delphians are not in the list of Æschines: but if they had originally formed a separate state, it is not likely that they would have been afterwards excluded. These two, then, the *Delphi* and the *Achæi*, being omitted, there remain the *Thessali*, attested by Æschines and Pausanias, who are confirmed by Diodorus. In Æschines we may supply Δόλοπες, to complete the list; in Pausanias, Περραιβιοὶ and Λοκροὶ. Among these last four states three were of Pelasgic race. The *Perrhaebi* and *Thessali* were Pelasgic. For the *Thessali* see above p. 19. The *Bœoti* were Hellenic and Æolian; but the *Locri* were the same people as the *Leleges*: see p. 4. 67. d. and these were a kindred race to the *Pelasgi*. And we may observe a remarkable predominance of this race in the nations who composed the league. Of the twelve states only three were of Hellenic descent. Even those who class the Ionians as Hellenic will only number four; and eight Pelasgic nations will remain. And this Pelasgian influence is farther marked by the temple of *Ceres*, a Pelasgian goddess, at Thermopylæ. Upon which Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 289. very justly remarks that the Amphictyons, uniting the worship of the Doric temple of *Apollo* (at Delphi) with that of *Ceres* at Thermopylæ, combined together an Hellenic and ancient Pelasgic worship.

The tradition which ascribed this institution to *Amphictyon* and *Acrisius* places it in the seventh or the sixth generation before the Trojan war. This period might be reconciled with many of the states which have been named. The *Achæi Pthiotæ*, and *Locri*, were of earlier date. The Ionians, as we have seen, were already in Attica and the adjoining regions. The *Bœoti* were in Thessaly, from whence they might have acquired a place in the league, which, after their migration into Boeotia, they would retain. The *Dores*, however, were yet in *Pthiotis* in the time of *Acrisius*; the *Magnetes*, if we consider their time as represented by *Magnes* (see above p. 41), had not yet appeared. But the *Thessali* mark this institution for a later period. They still inhabited *Thesprotia* for many generations

after the times of *Amphictyon* and *Acrisius*, and, as we have seen already p. 20, occupy Thessaly sixty years after the fall of Troy; and accordingly the Amphictyonic league, to which they belonged, is brought down to that period. If there were Amphictyonic meetings at Delphi or at Thermopylæ in the times assigned to them, these would be meetings of inferior extent or importance, and distinct establishments from the celebrated union of twelve nations which arose after the appearance of the *Thessali* in Thessaly. But in this union of twelve nations the Dorians of Peloponnesus had no distinct vote. The votes of all the members of each race were equal: Æschin. Fals. Leg. p. 43. 25. ἕκαστος ἔθνος ισόψηφος γινόμενος τῷ μέγιστῳ τῷ ἀλέττον, τὸν ἥκιντα ἐκ Δωρεῶν καὶ Κυτναίων ἵστον διαδέκαπολεῖς—τὸν Ἑρετρία καὶ Πριηρύς τοὺς Ἀθραῖος. whence it is manifest that this league was established before the Dorians had conquered Peloponnesus; and we may fix the date between the sixtieth and the eightieth year from the fall of Troy. That it already existed before the Ionic migration may be collected both from the fact that the Ionians of Asia had a vote (which they doubtless acquired in the mother country), and also from Tacitus Ann. IV. 14. *Samii decreto Amphictyonum nitebantur, quis præcipuum fuit rerum omnium iudicium qua tempestate Greci conditis per Asiam uribus ora maris potiebantur*. In aftertimes this political influence of the league declined. Its authority became insignificant when the majority of the states composing it had no weight in the affairs of Greece. "Athens and Sparta," as Mitford remarks vol. VI. p. 244, "would not be disposed to commit their interests to the votes of Perrhaebians, Magnetæ, Ætæans, Pthiotæ, or Malians." On some occasions, however, their acts may be traced. They conducted the war against the Crisæans in B.C. 595. They interposed, as we have seen, to punish the Dolopians, an Amphictyonic state, in B.C. 469. They imposed a fine upon the traitor *Epiates* in B.C. 480: Herodot. VII. 213. But *Epiates* was a Malian, belonging to an Amphictyonic state. At a later period, in B.C. 356, its authority revived; and it became an instrument in the hands of Philip for extending his influence in Greece. The powers ascribed by Dionysius already quoted p. 65. a. to this assembly, although denied by Larcher Hérod. tom. V. p. 419. after Ste. Croix, may be admitted, if understood of that early period to which Tacitus refers.

^c Apollod. I. 7, 2. Ἀμφικτύων ἐ μετὰ Κραναὸν βασιλεύσας τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Pausan. I. 2, 5. Κραναὶ Ἀμφικτύων ἐπαναστὰς, θυγατέρα ὅμοιος ἔχουσαν αὐτοῦ, ταῖς

placed him in *Locris*; and others again in Thessaly. From *Amphyctyon* were supposed to be derived *Ajax* the Locrian leader and *Baeotus* the founder of the Boeotians^d. But other genealogies placed *Baeotus* two generations before *Aeolus*; others derived him from *Aeolus* son of *Hellen*, who is thrown back nine generations before the Trojan war^e.

τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ αὐτὸς ὑστερον ἐπὶ Ἐριχθίων καὶ τὸν συγκανοπάτην ἐκπίστει. According to some this was another *Amphyctyon*: Apollod. III. 14, 6. τούτον ἔνι μὲν Δευκαλίων, ἔνι δὲ αὐτόχθων λέγουσι. The author of the Parian Marble seems to distinguish the two, although he makes them contemporary.

^d See above p. 40. The descent of *Ajax* is thus given: Eustath. p. 277, 17. Κύνος ἀπὸ Κύνου Λακρῷ ἀνδρός. Ὄποιντες γάρ φασι Κύνος, εἰς 'Οδοδόκες, εἰς [Κύνος τοῦ Λακρῷ Schol. II. β. 531] 'Οἴλεις, οἱ δὲ ταλαιοὶ φασι καὶ ταῦτα' Ἀμφικτύων καὶ Χθωνοπάτρες ἀπέγνων Φύσκος, εἰς Λακρός, ἢν ἀπὸ μὲν Φύσκου Φύσκος πρότρ. ἀπὸ δὲ Λακρῷ Λακρός οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀνοράσθησαν. Λεκρῷ δὲ 'Οτοῦς· πρὸς ἓν διενεχθεῖς ὁ πατήρ Λακρός ἐξ μὲν ὄρχεων ἀκεῖνος ἀπὸς δὲ οἰκεῖ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρας τοῦ Παραροτοῦ, ἔχων ἄφ' ἐαυτὸν τοὺς ἑκαὶ, εἰς ἑσπέριον τε καὶ δύσις ἐκαλοῦστο, περὶ Αἰτωλίας—ἄφ' ὃν ὑστερον καὶ ἀποκιά εἰς 'Ιταλίαν ἐστάλη. Plutarch. Qu. Gr. c. 15. p. 294. Ε. Φύσκου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύωνος νίδε ἡ Λακρός· ἐκ δὲ τούτων καὶ Καβίνης Λακρός [forte 'Οτοῦς]. πρὸς ὃν ὁ πατήρ διεγένθεις καὶ συγχρής τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναλαβὼν περὶ ἀποκιάς ἐμπλεύετο—ἐκτιστος πάλαις Φύσκεις καὶ 'Τάνθειας, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας οἱ κληθέντες 'Ογδόαι Λακρῷ κατέκησαν. Scymnus v. 587—590.

ἀπέντας δὲ Εββαίας κατοικοῦσσιν Λακρῷ·
διὸν πρότος ἤρξει, ὡς λέγουσι, 'Αμφικτύων
δὲ Δευκαλίων, ἔχομεν δὲ ἄφ' αἵματος
Αἰτωλός εἶτα Φύσκος, ὡς γενῆ Λακρόν,

δε τοὺς Λάλεγας ὄνταςσεν ἄφ' ἐαυτῷ Λακρόν.

The Locrians, then, were no other than the *Leges*, and existed before the time of *Amphyctyon*. The same genealogy is given Steph. Byz. Φύσκος πέλις Λάλερδος, ἀπὸ Φύσκου τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ (τοῦ) Ἀμφικτύωνος τοῦ Δευκαλίων. In the Table at p. 40. I have adopted the opinion of Clavier Hist. des Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 93. 94. and have omitted *Aeolus* with Plutarch l. c. and have made *Cynus* the son of *Locrus* (and brother of *Opus*) with the Scholiast on Homer.

The Boeotian leaders are thus derived: Pausan. IX. 1, 1. Βαιωτοὶ τὸ μὲν τὰν ἔνος ἀπὸ Βαιωτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἐσχήκει, ὡς Ἰτάνου παῖδες καὶ νύμφης δὴ Μελανίτης, 'Ιτάνος δὲ 'Αμφικτύων εἶναι λέγουσι. Idem IX. 34, 1. πρὶν δὲ ἐξ Κορώνειαν ἐξ 'Αλακομενεων δεμιέσθαι τῆς 'Ιτανίας Ἀθρᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ λεπτόν καλεῖται δὲ ἀπὸ 'Ιτάνου τοῦ 'Αμφικτύωνος, καὶ δε τὸν κοινὸν συντάσσεις ἐνταῖσθαι εἰς Βαιωτοὺς σύλλογον.

^e According to Corinna *Baeotus* was the father of *Ogyges*. See above p. 37. y. *Baeotus* the ancestor in the sixth degree of *Jason* is given above p. 48. In the following genealogy *Baeotus* is de-

rived from *Aeolus*: Diod. IV. 67. Βαιωτὸς ὁ 'Αρης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κατανήσας εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Αἰολίᾳ τὸν δὲ Θετταλίαν καλεμένην τοῖς μεθ' ἐαυτῷ Βαιωτοῖς ἀνέμασε.—τοῖς Αἰόλοις τοῦ 'Ελλήνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος νίσι εἰ μὲν ἄλλοι κατέφυγον εἰς τοῦς προειρημένους τόπους Μίμας δὲ μίνας ἐβασιλεύει τῆς Αἰολίδος. Μίμαντος δὲ 'Ιππότης γενόμενος ἐκ Μελανίτης ἐτέκνωσεν Λίστον· τούτου δὲ 'Αρην θυγάτηρ γενομένη Βαιωτὸν ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγένησεν.—ἡ 'Αρην τρεφομένη ἐν Μεταποτίῳ ἐγένησεν Λίστον καὶ Βαιωτόν.—Λίστος μὲν οὖν τὰς ἐν τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει καλουμένας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Αἰολίδας νήσους κατέσχε, καὶ πόλιν ἐκτισε τὴν ὄνταζομένην ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Λιστάραν· Βαιωτὸς δὲ πλεύσας τρές Αἰόλοις τὸν τῆς 'Αρης πατέρα καὶ τεκνωθεὶς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε τῆς Αἰολίδος τὴν βασιλείαν· καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς 'Αρηην τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ Βαιωτούς ὄντας. Βαιωτοῦ δὲ 'Ιτάνους γενόμενος ἐτέκνωσεν ιδίους τέσσαρας, 'Ιππάλκιμον, 'Ηλεκτρίναν, ἔτι δὲ 'Αρχίλικον καὶ 'Αλεγήνωρος τούτου δὲ 'Ιππάλκιμος μὲν ἐγένησε Πηρέλεων, 'Ηλεκτρίνος δὲ Λάγιτον, 'Αλεγήνωρ δὲ 'Κλάνιον, 'Αρχίλικος δὲ Προδούρος καὶ 'Αρκεσίλαος τοὺς δὲ τρεῖς Τρολαύς στρατεύεσσας ἥρμηνας τῶν ἀπάντων Βαιωτῶν. Schol. Hom. II. β. 494. 'Αρης τῆς Αἰόλου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Βαιωτοῦ ἀφ' εἰς Βαιωτίαν εἰς 'Ετεώνος [Ίτανος Diodoro]. εἰς 'Αρητίκος, 'Αλεκτρίνος, 'Ιππάλκιμος, 'Αλεγήνωρ· 'Αρηίλικον δὲ 'Αρκεσίλαος κ. τ. λ. Steph. Byz. Βαιωτίζεται φασὶ Βαιωτὸν 'Ιτάνου τοῦ 'Αμφικτύωνος—τὸν Δευκαλίωνος καὶ Πύρφας ταῖδεν. Νικυράτης δὲ φησιν ὅτι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ 'Αρης ἡ ταῖς. We have here nine generations: *Aeolus*, *Mimas*, *Hippotes*, *Aeolus*, *Arne*, *Baeotus*, *Itonus*, *Electryon*, *Leitus*. This genealogy concurs with the account of Thucydides VII. 57. that the *Baeoti* were of *Aeolian* race: Αἰολεῖς Βαιωτοῖς. The original seat of the *Baeoti* was in Thessaly, but according to the Homeric Catalogue they were already settled in Boeotia before the Trojan war. The same intercourse might subsist between the *Baeoti* of Thessaly and the *Baeoti* of Boeotia as we have already seen p. 48. between the *Minyæ* of Thessaly and the *Minyæ* of Orchomenus, till, according to Thucydides I. 12., in the sixtieth year after the Trojan war the Thessalian *Baeoti* were driven from their original seats, and retired to their brethren in Boeotia. The account of Thucydides, however, is not without difficulty: Βαιωτοὶ γάρ οἱ τὸν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ιλίου ἀλωσιν εἰς 'Αρης ἀναστάντες, ὃν δὲ Θεσσαλῶν τὸν τὸν μὲν Βαιωταῖς πρότερον δὲ Καλαμῆα γῆν καλεμένην ἔκισαν. Ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνοδοσύδες πρότερον εἰς τὴν γῆν ταῦτη, ἀφ' ὃν καὶ δε 'Ιλιος ἐστράτευσαν. This implies that the body of the nation remained in Thessaly, and that a part only or division settled in Boeotia. But in the Homeric

The *Locri* and *Bœoti*, the supposed children of *Amphictyon*, were not of the same race. The *Locri* were *Leleges*: the *Bœoti* were *Æolian*. The genealogies which represented them

Catalogue the whole country is possessed by the *Bœoti*: twenty-nine towns are enumerated, a longer list of names than in any other part of the catalogue, and among the Thessalian forces no *Bœoti* are named. It is evident, then, that before the Trojan era the great body of the *Bœoti* were already in the land called afterwards Boeotia from them, and that a remnant was expelled or conquered by the *Thessali* sixty years after that era.

Clavier tom. II. p. 46. 13. supposes the *Bœoti* to have been originally seated in Boeotia; to have migrated from Thebes to Arnē in Thessaly; and then, in the reign of *Tisamenus*, after the Trojan war, back again into Boeotia at the time marked by Thucydides. Raoul-Rochette des Colonies Gr. tom. II. p. 233—235. 439—441. also supposes the *Bœoti* to have been originally in Boeotia, and understands their connexion with Thessaly in the following manner: The Cadmeans under *Laodamas*, after the second Theban war (and therefore about ten years before the war of Troy), settle in *Histiætis*, Homolus and Arnē. The settlers at Homolus almost immediately return, on the invitation of *Thersander*, to Thebes. About twelve years after, they were again driven by Thracians and *Pelasgi* from Thebes, and joined their brethren at Arnē; from whence they returned to Boeotia at the time fixed by Thucydides. But these are erroneous views. The Cadmeans were not the *Bœoti*, nor was the first connexion with Thessaly at so low a date as the second Theban war. *Amphictyon* himself was placed there by some accounts, since his son *Itonus* was born in Thessaly: Schol. Apollon. I. 551. And we have seen *Bœotus* in Thessaly four generations (by one account seven) before. Moreover the Thessalian Arnē is by good authorities made the parent of the Boeotian: Schol. Thucyd. I. 12. "Αρη τόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἀφ' οὗ ἀνέρασται κατὰ μετοικίαν καὶ ἡ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Ἀρη. ἡ δὲ Βοιωτία Ἀρη νῦν Χαιρόνεια καλεῖται." Both these towns receive their names from *Arne* daughter of *Æolus*: Pausan. IX. 40, 3. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ τόλις [sc. Χαιρόνεια] "Ἀρη τὸ ἀρχαῖον" θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι λέγουσιν Αἰδίου τὴν Ἀρην, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης κληθῆσαν καὶ ἐτέμπαν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ τόλιν. Etymol. Magn. p. 145. "Ἀρη τόλις Βοιωτίας" ἔστι δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλίας ἀπὸ Ἀρης τῆς Αἰδίου. Diod. IV. 67. (already quoted) of the Thessalian Arnē: Βοιωτός πλεύσας πρὸς Αἴολον τὸν τῆς Ἀρης πατέρα—τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀρης ἀνέμασε κ. τ. λ. The worship of *Minerva Itonis* was brought into Boeotia from Thessaly: Schol. Apollon. I. 551. Θεσσαλικῆς Ἰτωνίας, περὶ οὓς Ἐκ-

ταῖς μὲν ἐν τῇ πράτῃ τὸν ιστοριῶν λέγει. Ἀρμενίδας δὲ ἐν τοῖς Θηβαϊκοῖς Ἀμφικτύονος οὐδὲ Ἰτωνία ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ γενηθῆναι, ἀφ' οὗ Ἰτων τόλις καὶ Ἰτωνία Ἀθηνᾶ. Steph. Byz. Ἰτων τόλις Θεσσαλίας—λέγεται καὶ ἡ Ἰτων ἀπὸ Ἰτέανος ἥρωος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰτωνία ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. Repeated by Eustath. p. 324. Strabo IX. p. 411. κατέλαβοτο αὐτὴν [sc. τὴν Κοράνειαν] ἐπανότες δὲ τῆς Θεσσαλίης Ἀρης οἱ Βοιωτοὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά—κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κοράνειας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν ἰδρύσαντο ὅμοιων τῷ Θεσσαλικῷ, καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κονάριον προσηγόρευσαν διοφόνως τῷ ἑκεί. *Haliartus* and *Coronus* were derived from *Æolus*: see above p. 46. e. which better agrees with the Homeric Catalogue than Steph. Byz. Ἀλιάρτος—λέγεται κτισθῆναι ἦπον Ἀλιάρτου τοῦ Θερσάνδρου. *Idem* Κοράνεια—τόλις Βοιωτίας Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Κοράνου τοῦ Θερσάνδρου—placing their names after the Trojan war. The Tanagræans traced their name to *Tanagra* daughter of *Æolus*: Pausan. IX. 20, 2. Ταναγραῖον δὲ οἰκιστὴν σφίσι Ποιμανδρον γενέσθαι λέγουσι, Χαιροῦσιν παῖδα τοῦ Ἱασοῦ τοῦ Ἐλευθέρου—Ποιμανδρον δὲ γυναικὲ φασὶ ἀγαγέσθαι Τάναγραν θυγατέρα Αἴδίου. Mount *Ptoüs* is so named from *Ptoüs* son of *Athamas*: Pausan. IX. 23, 3. εἶναι δὲ Ἀθάμαστος καὶ Θεμιστοῦς παῖδα τὸν Πτωνόν, ἀφ' οὗ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπικλησὶς καὶ τῷ ὄρει τὸ ὄντα ἐγένετο, "Ἄσιος" ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἴρηκε. There was a Thessalian Thespia: Steph. Byz. Θέσπεια. τόλις Βοιωτίας—δευτέρα Θεσσαλίας. A Thessalian Libethra: Pausan. IX. 30, 5. ἥκουσα—ἐν Δαρεὶ λόγοις ὃς ἐν τῷ Ολύμπῳ τόλις οἰκοῦστος Λίβηθρος, γένεται Μακεδονίας τέρπαται τὸ ὄρος, and a Boeotian mountain of the name: Pausan. IX. 34, 3. Κορωνίας σταδίους ὡς τεσσαράκοντα ὄρος ἀπέχει τὸ Λίβηθρον. an Onchestus in Boeotia, and a river of the name in Thessaly: Steph. Byz. Οὐγκηστὸς ἄλσος—ιδρύθεν δὲ ἐπὸ Οὐγκηστοῦ τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ, ὃς φησιν Ησίδεος [Ποσειδῶνας παῖδα Οὐγκηστόν] Pausan. IX. 26, 3)—ἔστι καὶ ποταμὸς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ. Conf. Eustath. ad Pl. β'. p. 270. *Aspledon* is derived through *Orechomenus* from *Sisyphus* son of *Æolus*: see p. 48. The whole Boeotian people spoke the *Æolic* dialect: Pausan. IX. 22, 3. and were reckoned *Æolian*: Pausan. X. 8, 3. Βοιωτῶν (Θεσσαλίας γέρ καὶ ὄποι τὰ ἀρχαιότερα ἔκπταν καὶ Αἰολεῖς τηρικῶτα ἐκαλοῦντο)—Steph. Byz. Ἰωνία—δὲ Αἰολεῖς Βοιωτοί. *Idem* Αἰστηληδόν. φασὶ τοὺς Αἰολεῖς πρότερον Βοιωτοὺς καλεῖσθαι. Confirmed by Thucyd. VII. 57. already quoted. These passages shew that the connexion of the *Bœoti* with the *Æolians* of Thessaly began at a much earlier period than the second Theban war, and that it was much more extensive than Clavier and Raoul-Rochette suppose; that it was not confined to the expelled

as descendants of *Amphictyon* probably meant no more than to mark them as neighbouring nations. The assembly said to have been instituted at Thermopylæ by *Amphictyon* son of *Hellen* was chiefly composed of Pelasgic states, and celebrated a Pelasgian worship ^f. The place where *Amphictyon* himself reigned or dwelt is uncertain. The form of his name Ἀμφικτύων bears the marks of fabrication. His existence appears to have been questioned both by Anaximenes and Androtios. For all these reasons we may reject *Amphictyon* as a fictitious person.

8. *Dorus* is made by Euripides^h the son of *Xuthus*. But in the account of Hesiod and others he is the son of *Hellen*ⁱ, by whom he is sent out of Thessaly in the fifth generation before the Trojan war to seek an establishment for himself. Herodotus describes five movements of the Dorians. Their first station in the eighth generation before the Trojan war was in *Phthiotis*. Their next, in the sixth generation before that era, was under Ossa and Olympus in *Histiæotis*. Thence being expelled by the Cadmeans, they removed to a third position in Pindus. Their fourth settlement was in *Dryopis*. From *Dryopis* they came with the *Heraclidae* into Peloponnesus. The third and fourth settlements here described are not distinguished by other writers, who mark the progress from *Histiæotis* to the *tetrapolis* of Ωτα^k.

Cadmeans alone, who followed *Laodamas*, but embraced the whole Boeotian people; and they confirm the account of Diodorus, which derives the *Boeoti* from *Aeolus*. Some writers, indeed, derive the Thessalian Arne from the Boeotian: Steph. Byz. "Αρης πόλις Βοιωτίας—Λυκόφρων [644]" "Αρης παλαιᾶς γένια Τεμπλίκων πόρωι. δευτέρα, πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἀποκει τῆς Βοιωτίας, περὶ ἣς ὁ χρονοῦς" "Αρης χρεώνος μένει Βοιωτῶν ἄνδρα." ἡ Κιέρων καλεῖται. Repeated by Eustathius p. 270, 34. But the very terms of the oracle imply that Arne in Thessaly already existed, when the Boeotians went thither; and it seems to be called their colony because the Boeotians, perhaps the followers of *Laodamas*, returning thither, reinforced or restored the ancient town which had fallen into decay.

^f See above p. 66.

g See p. 64. a.

^h Eur. Ion. 1590.

Εὐθέφ δὲ καὶ σοὶ γῆγεται καὶ νὸς γένος
Δῷρος μὲν, ἔνθεν Δωρὶς ὑμηδήστεται—

ⁱ See above p. 44. k.

^k Herodot. I. 56. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλῆος οὔκει γῆν τὴν Φιῶτιν· ἐπὶ δὲ Δάρου τοῦ Ἐλλήνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν "Οσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Οὐλυμπὸν χάρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαῖτιν" ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαῖτιδος ὡς ἔχανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἵκειν ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδόνων καλεόμενον· ἔνθεντες δὲ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδην μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὗτος ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη. Their second station in *Histiæotis* was called *Doris*: Strabo X. p. 476. ἐπειδὴ Θετταλίας ἐλέει [sc. the Dorians of Crete] φησιν "Αὐδρων τῆς Δωρίδος μὲν πρότερον νῦν δὲ τῆς Ἐστιαῖτιδος ἐγομένης, ἐξ ἣς ὀμηρησαν, ἃς φησιν, οἱ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκήσαντες Δωρεῖς· καὶ ἔκτισαν τὴν τε Ἐρινεὺν καὶ Βοῖον καὶ Κυτίνιον, ἀφ' οὗ

καὶ Τριχάκες ὑπὸ τοῦ παιητοῦ [Odyss. τ'. 177] λέγονται. οὐ πάντα δὲ τὸν τοῦ "Αὐδρωνος λόγον ἀποδέχονται, τὴν μὲν τετράπολιν Δωρίδα τρίπολιν ἀποφανόντος τὴν δὲ μητρόπολιν τῶν Δωριέων ἄποικων Θετταλῶν. Steph. Byz. Δώρων.—μέμνηται τῆς Δωρίδος τῆς Θετταλικῆς Χάραξ ἐν ζ.—κεῖται δὲ πρὸς δυσμῶν τῆς Πίνδου. Δῷρος δὲ αὐτὴν δὲ Ἐλλήνος εἴληχε τὰ πρώτα, καὶ Δωρὶς δε' ἐκείνου ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ Ἰστιαῖτις μετονομάσθη. Strabo IX. p. 427. Δωρεῖς μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν τετράπολιν οἰκήσαντες, ἣν φασιν εἶναι μητρόπολιν τῶν ἀπάντων Δωριέων· τόλεις δὲ ἔσχον Ἐρινεόν, Βοῖον, Πίνδον, Κυτίνιον, ὑπέρκειται δὲ Πίνδος τοῦ Ἐρινεοῦ, παραβρέι δὲ αὐτὴν ὅμανυμος ποταμὸς, ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὴν Κηφισίαν οὐ πολὺ τῆς Λιλαίας ἄπωθεν. τὸν δὲ Ἀκύρωντα λέγονται τὴν Πίνδον. Steph. Byz. Ἀκύρας, πόλις, μία τῆς Δωρικῆς τετραπόλεων, ὡς Θεόποτος. Scymnus 592.

ἔξης δὲ τούτων Δωρεῖς μικρὰς πόλεις

'Ερινεὺν Βοῖον τε καὶ Κυτίνιον

ἀρχαιοτάτας ἔχοντις, Πίνδον τ' ἔχομένην·

δέ Δῷρος Ἐλλήνος λεγόμενος φίσιε.

The three towns mentioned by Andron are in Aristides tom. I. p. 439. (Δακεδαιμονίος) τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκ μικρῶν κοινῶν καὶ φαύλων πολιορκήσαντες, Βοῖον καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ Ἐρινεόν. And in Thucyd. I. 107. Δωριᾶς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μητρόπολιν, Βοῖον καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ Ἐρινεόν. Conf. Diod. XI. 79. And in Conon. See p. 44.m. Six towns are named by some authorities: Schol. Pindar. Pyth. I. 121. οἱ Δωρεῖς οἰκοῦστες πρότερον τὴν Πίνδον μίαν οἰσσαν τῆς τετραπόλεως τῆς ἐν Περιστίλᾳ ἀρικνῶνται εἰς τὴν μεταξὺ Οἴης καὶ Παρνασσοῦ Δωρίδα ἔξαπολιν οἰσσαν. ἐστι δὲ Ἐρινεὺν, Κυτίνιον, Βοῖον, Λίλαιον, Κάρφασα, Δρυόπην. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 741. οἱ πόλεις ἔχεις ἡ Δωρὶς, ὃν μία ἡ Ἐρινεός. ad 980. ἡ Δωρὶς οἱ πόλεις ἔχεις, Κυτίνιον, Βοῖον, Λίλαιον, Κάρφασα, Δρυόπην, καὶ τὴν Ἐρινεόν. Herodotus VIII.

The expulsion by the Cadmeans would occur after the second Theban war. But as Dorians were probably already settled in Parnassus before that epoch, we may reconcile the seeming difference by supposing that the whole Dorian people did not emigrate at once; and that a part still remained in *Histiæotis* after their companions had penetrated to Parnassus and Æta¹. According to Herodotus the Dorians occupied *Histiæotis* for about five generations from the time of *Dorus* son of *Hellen* till near the time of the Trojan war.

A colony of Dorians under *Tectamus* son of *Dorus* proceeded from Thessaly to Crete^m.

31. again mentions their station in *Dryopis*: τὸν παλαιὸν Δρυοὺς· ἡ δὲ χώρη αὕτη εστὶ μητρόπολις Δωρίου τῶν ἐν Πελοπονῆσῃ. Apollodorus I. 7, 3. simply marks the settlement on Parnassus: Δῶρος τὴν πέραν χώραν Πελοπονῆσου λαβὼν τοὺς κατοίκους ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Δωρεῖς ἐκάλεσεν.

M^r. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 230. considers the first settlement of the Dorians properly so called to have been under Ossa and Olympus, the second station named by Herodotus. He places their second station about Delphi p. 234. In their second settlement he observes p. 430. that their neighbours were *Dryopes*, Melians of Trachis, and Ætolians: the *Dryopes* hostile, the other two friendly. The marriage of *Deianira* with *Hercules* he considers a mythological expression for the league between the Ætolian and Dorian nations.

¹ According to Pausanias the Cadmeans under *Laodamas* retired partly to Illyria and partly to Homolë in Thessaly: IX. 5, 7. Λαοδάμας σὸν τοῖς θέλεσσιν ἔτεσθαι Θηβαῖον ἀπεχθῆρετες ἐς Ἰλλυριούς. 8, 3. τούτων οὐ μόνον τῷ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς πορεὰν ἀπάντησε, τραπόμενος δὲ ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς καταλαμβάνοντας Ομύδην, δῶν τὸν Θεσσαλικὸν εἴγενος μάλιστα. According to Apollodorus III. 7, 3. into *Histiæotis*: Θηβαῖοι ἦτοροι πολὺ διελθόντες πόλιν Ἑσπιαίαν κτίσαντες κατέκυρραν. Diodorus IV. 67. mentions the expulsion of the Dorians: οἱ Καδμεῖοι—ἐπὶ Δωρεῖς ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς Ἕγχωρίους ἐκείνους μὲν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῶν τατρίδων—οἱ δὲ τῶν τατρίδων ἐξελαθόντες ὑπερόν τοις χρόνοις κατῆλθον εἰς τὴν Δωρίδα, καὶ κατέκυρραν ἐν Ἐρινῷ καὶ Κυτινῷ καὶ Βοΐῳ. That Herodotus had in view the Cadmeans under *Laodamas* appears from another passage V. 57. in which he makes mention Καδμεῖον ἔκασταντος ἐπ' Ἀργείων. From the term κατῆλθον in Diodorus it would seem that he supposed the Dorians on Parnassus to have been invaded by the Cadmeans. But from IV. 37. it appears that he believed them to be still in *Histiæotis* in the time of *Hercules*: μετὰ τὴν Δρυότεν ἀνάστασιν πολέμου συνεπέστες τοῖς Δωρεῖσι τοῖς Ἑσπιαῖοις καλομένην εἰκοῦσιν, ἢν θρασύλευν Αλυμνός, καὶ τοῖς Δαπτίσαις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὁλυμπόν θρυμένοις,—οἱ Δωρεῖς κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλέα καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτῶν ἐκάλεσαν ἐπὶ τρίτῳ μέρει τῆς Δωρίδος χώρας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας. According to Strabo IX. p. 427. apparently from Ephorus,

the Dorians in the time of *Hercules* were already seated on Parnassus: πόλεις ἕσχος Ἐρινέῳ, Βοΐῳ, Πίνδῳ, Κυτινῷ—τούτων δὲ βασιλεὺς Αιτάλιος ἐπεσὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς κατήχθη πάλιν, ὃς ιστοροῦσι, ὡρὶ Ἡρακλέους ἀπεργματεύεται ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν τελευτήσατο περὶ τὴν Οίτην, "Τλλὸν γάρ εἰσεποίησατο τὸν πρεβύτατον τῶν ἐκεῖνον παιῶν. Steph. Byz. Δυμᾶν.—Ἐφόρος αἱ. Αιγαῖοις γάρ ἣν περὶ τὴν Οίτην Δωρεῖσι βασιλεύει· ἕσχε δὲ δύο παιᾶς, Τάμφιδας καὶ Δημάνος, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους "Τλλὸν ἐποίησατο τρίτον, χάριν ἀποδίδεις ἀνθ' ἧν Ἡρακλῆς ἐπεκτενότα κατήγαγεν. Apollodorus is inconsistent; for he makes *Dorus* himself the founder of the settlement on Parnassus (over against Peloponnesus), and yet in II. 7, 7. Ἀργίμιος is seated, as in Diodorus, on the confines of the *Lapithæ*: "Ἡρακλῆς—Αἰγαῖοις βασιλεὺς Δωρείων συνεμάχησε. Δαπτίσαι γάρ περὶ γῆς ὥραν ἐπολέμουν αὐτῇ, Κορώνου στρατηγοῦντος· δὲ πολεμούμενος ἐπεκάλεστο τὸν Ἡρακλέα βοηθὸν τοῦ μέρει τῆς γῆς. But he places the *Lapithæ* on mount Pelion: II. 5, 4. M^r. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 47. well remarks that it is probable that the Dorians by slow degrees removed themselves from *Histiæotis* to Æta, and that this race generally did not pass all at once, but moved slowly into districts which had been seized by some part of them at an earlier period. But, as he supposes p. 241. that Doric mountaineers were on the heights of Parnassus 200 years before the Doric migration into Peloponnesus, according to his conjecture of the time a part of the nation had reached Parnassus long before the times of *Hercules*, and about 120 years before the fall of Troy.

^m This early colony of *Tectamus* is described by Andron apud Strab. already quoted; given more fully by Steph. Byz. v. Δάριος: οἱ Κρῆτες Δωρεῖς ἐκαλάντο· "Δωρεῖς τε τριχαῖτες διῖ τε Πελαστ—" γοὶ [Od. 1. 177]—περὶ δὲ ιστορεῖ Αιδραν, Κρητεῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ βασιλεύοντος Τέκταμον [I. Τέκταμον εἰμ Wess.] τὸν Δάριον τοῦ Ἑλληνος ὄρμαστα τὸν τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ τότε μὲν Δωρίδος νῦν δὲ Ἰστιαίωτίδος καλομέτης ἀφιέσθαι εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ Δωρείων τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πελασγῶν. Diod. IV. 60. Τέκταμος δὲ Δάριον τοῦ Ἑλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος εἰς Κρήτην πλεύσας μετὰ Αἰολέων καὶ Πελασγῶν ἐβασίλευε τῆς νήσου· γῆμας δὲ τὴν Κρητίαν θυγατέρα ἐγένετο Ἄστερι. Idem V. 80. γένος φασὶ τῶν Δωρείων παραβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ἥγουμένου Τέκταμον τοῦ Δάριον· τούτου δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος μὲν πλεῖσ-

Minos was the grandson of *Tectamus*. The legislation of *Minos*, his naval power and extended dominion, and his position in the fourth generation from *Dorus* and the third generation before the Trojan war, are attested by Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristotle, who confirm the accounts of Ephorus, Apollodorus, Strabo, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Pausaniasⁿ.

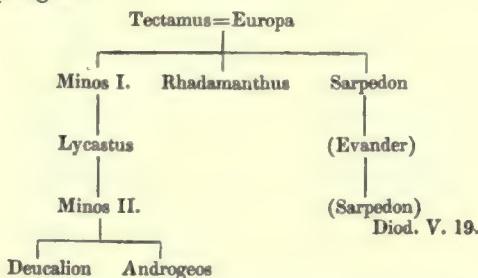
ἀδραισθῆται λέγουσιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπίου τόπον, τὸ δέ τι μέρος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λακωνίην Ἀχαιῶν. The Achaeans, Dorians, and Pelasgi of Crete are attested by Homer Odyss. v. 175—177.

“ Homer Il. §. 322, mentions *Minos* son of Jupiter and of the daughter of *Phœnix*; and Il. v. 450. *Minos* son of Jupiter and grandfather of *Idomeneus*. Odyss. v. 178.

—Κωνστάς μεγάλη τόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως
ἐννέαρις βασιλεὺς Διὸς μεγάλου ὀφειλτής,
πατρὸς ἡμεῖος πατέρης μεγαβύνους Δευκαλίονος.
Δευκαλίον δέ μ' ἔτικτε καὶ Ἰδομενῆς ἄνακτα.

In Odyss. x. 567. he describes *Minos* θεμιστεύοντα σεκίσσιν. Herodotus VII. 171. observes, τρίτη γενεῇ μετὰ Μίνω τελευτήσαστα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωϊκά. He refers to the naval power of *Minos* III. 122. VII. 171. He describes I. 173. a Cretan colony established in Lycia by the brother of *Minos*: διεισχέντων ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληῆς τῶν Εὐρώπης παιδῶν Σαρπεδονός τε καὶ Μίνως, ἃς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσει Μίνως, ἔξιλας αὐτῶν τε Σαρπεδονα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτῶν. They settle in Lycia, where *Lycus* son of *Pandion* joins them: see p. 63. q. Lastly Herodotus mentions VII. 171. the death of *Minos* and his conquest of the islands (noticed also by Isocrates Panath. p. 241). Aristotle Rep. II. 10. briefly describes his legislation, his power, and his death: ἀποκεῖ οἱ Διάκτιοι τὸν Λακάνων ἥστα, κατέλαβον δὲ οἱ πρὸς τὴν Λακωνίαν ἐδόντες τὴν τάξιν τῶν νόμων ἀπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς τότε κατακεύσιν. διὸ καὶ νῦν οἱ περίουκοι τὰν αὐτὸν τρίτον χρονῖται αὐτοῖς, ὡς κατασκευάσαντος Μίνω πρώτον τὴν τάξιν τῶν νόμων.—καὶ τὴν τῆς Θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ὁ Μίνως, καὶ τὰς νῆσους τὰς μὲν ἐχειρέσσατε τὰς δὲ φύσειν τέλος δὲ ἐπιθέμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὸν βίον ἐπελεύθερος ἑκεὶ περὶ Κάρηκων. Conformably with these are the accounts of the other writers: Ephorus apud Strab. X. p. 476. ἃς δὲ ἄργεις “Εφόρος, ζητῶντες ὁ Μίνως ἀρχαίου τιδες ‘Ραδαμάνθιος δικαιοτάτου ἀδρός ὅμανθου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ—τῶν δὲ μημένους καὶ ὁ Μίνως δὲ ἐνέα ἔτος, ὡς ἔσκει, θαυμάσιαν δὲ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄντρον, καὶ διατρίβειν ἐνθάδε, ἀπήγει συτεταγμένα ἔχους παραγγέλματα τινα—ἄφ’ ἡς αἰτίας καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν οὗτον εἰρηκέναι [Od. v. 178] “ἐνθάδε Μίνως” κ. τ. λ. Strabo himself Ibid. ιστόρηται ὁ Μίνως νομοθέτης γενέσθαι σπιδαῖος θαλαττοκράτος τε πρώτος. Apollodorus III. 1, 2. Εὐρώπη γῆμας Ἀστερίου ὁ Κρήτης διαδοτῆς τοὺς δὲ ταῖς ταῖς ἔτρεφεν (Μίνως, Σαρπεδονα, ‘Ραδαμάνθιν).—Μίνως δὲ Κρήτην κατεκόντες ἔγραψε νόμους, καὶ γῆμας Πασιφάρη—παιδαῖς μὲν ἐτίκυσε Κατρέα, Δευκαλίονα, Γλαῦκην, Ἀνδρόγειον, κ. τ. λ.—θαλασσοκράτησας δὲ πρώτος πασῶν τῶν νῆσων

σχεδὸν ἐπῆρξεν. Pausanias III. 2, 4. οἱ Κρῆτες τοὺς νόμους τεθῆναι σφισιν ὑπὸ Μίνω λέγουσι, βουλεύσασθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων ὡν ἀπει θεοῦ τὸν Μίνω. ἤγιετο δὲ καὶ “Ομῆρος κ. τ. λ. He mentions VII. 2, 3. a Cretan colony at Miletus: ἀφίκετο ἐκ Κρήτης ὁ Μίλητος καὶ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς Μίνως τὸν Εὐρώπης φεύγοντες [conf. Apollod. III. 1, 2]. οἱ δὲ Κάρες οἱ πρότεροι νεμόμενοι τὴν χέραν σύνοικοι τοῖς Κρητοῖς ἐγένοντο. the invasion of Attica by *Minos* I. 27, 9. the war with Nisus of Megara I. 19, 5. 44, 5. the death of *Minos* in Sicily VII. 4, 5. All these testimonies speak of only one *Minos*; the legislator, son of *Europa*, and the king who acquired naval power, the grandfather of *Idomeneus*, are one and the same person. Diodorus, then, IV. 60. follows an erroneous account, when he gives a second *Minos* grandson of the first, as in the following pedigree:



—Μίνως τὸν δεύτερον—ἄπος πρώτος ‘Ελλήνων—ἴθαλασσοκράτησεν. Plutarch Thes. c. 20. mentions a Naxian tradition: Ναξίων τινὲς Ιδίως ιστοροῦσι δύο Μίνως: γενέσθαι καὶ δύο Ἀριάδνας. But he himself acknowledges only one: c. 16. ὁ Μίνως δεὶ διετέλει: κακοὺς ἀκούειν καὶ λαθορούμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς θεάτροις—καίτοι φασὶ τὸ μὲν Μίνως βασιλέα καὶ νομοθέτη, δικαστὴν δὲ τὸν ‘Ραδάμανθιν εἶναι καὶ φίλακο τῶν ὄφισμένον ἐπ’ ἑκείνους δικαῖον. Heyne ad Apollod. p. 535. without reason corrects Apollodorus by Diodorus: Ea quae nunc subjiciuntur. (III. 1, 2) ad Minoem II. prioris nepotem spectant; id quod in oculos incurrit. Apud Diod. IV. 60. Minos Lycaustum suscipit qui succedit et Minoem II. generat. Hæc ad temporum rationes proprius accidunt. But according to Diodorus himself *Minos* the legislator son of *Europa* was the fourth from *Dorus*; which fixes him to the third generation before the Trojan war, where he is placed by Homer and Herodotus. Heyne had already p. 534. rightly shewn that Apollodorus confounds two *Sarpedons*: *Sarpedonem* ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεαῖς ζῆγε.

The Dorians of Crete had a greater power during the reign of *Minos* than the Dorians had in their original country in Proper Greece^o.

III.

DANAÜS—PELOPS—CADMUS—ARCADIAN KINGS.

BY the families which remain to be considered no new race of people was introduced. *Danaüs* and his descendants were engrafted on the *Pelasgi*; *Cadmus* and the *Labdacidae* on the *Aborigines* of Boeotia. *Pelops* and the *Pelopidæ* were incorporated with the Æolians and

fabula hæc orta videtur ex confusis avo et nepote Sarpedone, qui bello Trojano interfuit. Discernit utrumque recte Diodorus V. 79. But this argument of Heyne himself invalidates his opinion concerning a second *Minos*: for if *Sarpedon* son of *Europa* was in the third generation before the Trojan war, his brother *Minos* son of *Europa* was probably also in the third rather than the fifth. Moreover the account of Diodorus in IV. 60. is refuted by his account in V. 78. 79. where he follows other authors. For in this narrative he relates that *Minos* son of *Europa* was the grandfather of *Idomeneus*: Μίνως καὶ Ραδάμασθν καὶ Σαρπεδόνα ταῖτος γὰρ μιθολογοῦσιν ἐκ Δίου γεγενηθῆσας καὶ τῆς Ἀγήπης Εὐρώπης—Μίνως μὲν ὅν πρεσβύτατον ὥτα βασιλεύειται τῆς νήσου—Θεῖας δὲ καὶ νόμους τοῦς Κρητὸς εὖ ὀλίγας—κτίσασθαι δὲ δόναρα καυτικὴν μεγάλην—Μίνως δὲ φασιν τοὺς γενέσθαι Διοκαλίσια τε καὶ Μόλεις καὶ Δευκαλίωνος μὲν Ἰδομενία Μόλεις δὲ Μηρύμην. The second *Minos* was probably adopted by some chronologers in order to adapt the time of *Minos* to the fable of his descent from *Europa* sister of *Cadmus*. After their example, Larcher Chron. Hérod. tom. VII. p. 338. supposes a first and second *Minos*, and places near 200 years between the birth of the one and death of the other: *Europe ayant été enlevée A.C. 1552, la naissance de Minos I. doit être à-peu-près A.C. 1548. La mort de Minos II. ayant été fixée A.C. 1353, on aura un intervalle de 195 ans. Minos II. mourut en la 3e génération avant la prise de Troie. Sa mort doit être à-peu-près A.C. 1353, et Egée régnait dans l'Attique.* In his notes he passes Herodot. I. 173. in silence; nor does he notice the passages of Homer, Strabo, Pausanias, Apollodorus, who make the legislator *Minos* the contemporary of *Ægeus*. Eusebius Chron. II. has recorded not two *Minoses*, but two dates for *Minos*. At p. 286. 287. *Minos* son of *Europa* is placed in the reigns of *Erechtheus* or *Pandion*, annis 568. 589. 605. At p. 292. 297. he is placed in the reign

of *Ægeus*: *Anno 720, Europa &c. Anno 735, Dædali res. Anno 813, Minos interimitur.* Castor apud Euseb. p. 135. acknowledges only one *Minos*, whom he places in the reign of *Theseus*.

^o We have seen in the preceding note Cretan settlements in Lycia and at Miletus. The settlement at Miletus is ascribed to *Miletus* by the testimonies there quoted; to *Sarpedon* by Ephorus. See above p. 34. g. Both accounts place it in the reign of *Minos*. Aristotle apud Plutarch. Thes. c. 16. notices the communication of *Minos* with Attica, and an ancient intercourse with Delphi: *Αριστοτέλης ἔν τῇ Βεττιαίων πολιτείᾳ δῆλος ἐστιν εἰς νομίζων ἀναφεύσθαι τόδε παιδας ὃπος τῷ τοῦ Μίνωα, ἀλλὰ θητεύοντας ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ καταγράσκειν καὶ τοτε Κρῆτας εὐχήν παλαίαν ἀποδιδόντας ἀνθρώπων διπαρχήν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστέλλειν.* Hesiod apud Platon. Min. p. 320. attests generally the power of *Minos*: *Τοσίδος—μηνοθεῖς αὐτῷ τῷ δύματος φησιν, ὃς βασιλεύτας γένετο θητῶν βασιλῆων,*

καὶ πλεοταν ἤναστε περικτίων δινθράπων

Σηνὸς ἔχων σκῆπτρον τῷ καὶ πολέων βασιλεύειν.

Mr. Mitford vol. I. p. 20. concludes *Minos* to have been a chief of adventurers from Phœnicia. But that *Minos* was of Dorian race is confirmed by two facts: 1. the establishment of the worship of *Apollo* in Crete itself and in all the Cretan settlements; a circumstance shewn by Raoul-Rochette tom. II. p. 149—152. and more fully by Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 234—262. 2. *Lycurgus* drew his Dorian institutions from Crete for the use of his countrymen; and that these were the institutions of *Minos* is shewn by Aristotle Rep. II. 10. in a passage already quoted. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 37. observing that the worship of *Apollo* was practised in Crete with the same ceremonies as by the Dorians of Thessaly, and that the principles of the Doric constitution were early established in Crete, justly draws the inference that *Minos* of Cnossus was a Dorian.

Achæans; *Hercules* and his posterity were adopted by the Dorians. The Arcadian kings belonged to the original Pelasgic stock.

1. *Danaüs* is placed by the genealogies in the ninth or tenth generation, and by the chronologers 300 years before the Trojan war^a. He was accompanied or followed into Greece by *Lynceus*, who succeeded him^b. *Lynceus* was the father of *Abas*, who had two sons, *Prætus* and *Acrisius*^c. From *Acrisius*, *Eurystheus* was the fourth descendant and *Hercules* the fifth; and yet some traditions made *Prætus* contemporary with *Bellerophon* and *Melampus*, who lived in the third or fourth generation before the Trojan war^d. The difficulty was in-

^a He is in the tenth generation through *Alcmena* and *Amphitryo*; in the ninth through *Eurystheus* and *Capaneus*. See the Table below. The dates are thus given: Mar. Par. No. 9. ἀφ' οὐ καῦ.....π.....οι εἰς Αἰγύπτου .ι. τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπειτε καὶ ὀνομάσθη τετράκοντορος καὶ οἱ Δαναοὶ θυγατέρες.....αὐτὴν καὶ Β.....α.....οι καὶ Ἐλίκη καὶ Ἀρχείκη ἀπεκληρωθῆσαις ἐπὸ τὸν λειπόντον.....αὐτήν.....καὶ ἔθνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἐμ παρα... ἐν Λίνδῳ τῆς Ρόδιας, ἐπὶ τὸν ΧΗΗΔΔΔΔ Π ΙΙ, Βασιλεύειν.....—302 years before the taking of Troy recorded in No. 25. Eusebius Chron. II. p. 285. places *Danaüs* at the year 544, 291 years before his era for the taking of Troy; anno 835. Eight generations complete would give 267 years; nine would give 300. We may assume a mean between these numbers, or 283 years, nearly corresponding with Eusebius.

The temple at Lindus is mentioned Herodot. II. 182. τὸ ἴρον τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς λέγεται τὰς τοῦ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας θρῖσθαι. Strabo XIV. p. 655. ιερὸν δεστίν Ἀθηνᾶς Λινδίας αὐτῷ ἐπιφανὲς, τὸν Δαναῶν θύραν. Diod. V. 58. Plutarch apud Euseb. Praep. III. p. 99. φησὶ Καλλίμαχος; “καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνης Ἐν Λίνδῳ Δαναοῖς λεῖν ἔθηκεν ἑδος.” λέγων Euseb. Wyttēn. Plutarch. tom. V. p. 763. κιν̄ Bentl. ad Callim. fragm. 105. Apollod. II. 1. 4. Δαναὸς—προσδύγων Ρόδῳ τὸ τῆς Λινδίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα θρῖσθαι. ἀντεῖθεν δὲ ἡ κηρ εἰς Ἀργος καὶ τὸν βασιλεῖαν αὐτῷ παραβάνθω: Γελάνωρ ὁ τόπος βασιλεύειν. Pausan. II. 16. 1. Δαναὸς ἀτ' Αἴγυπτου πλεύσας ἐπὶ Γελάνωρα τὸν Σθενέα τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοὺς Ἀγύρνος βασιλείας ἔσαντο. He did not establish himself by force, but by the choice of the people: Idem II. 19. 3. Δαναὸς θρῖσθαι Δίκιος Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοιαῦτη παραγενόμενος δὲ τὸ Ἀργος ἡμερεσβήτει πρὸς Γελάνωρα τὸν Σθενέα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κ. τ. λ. See Plutarch Pyrrho c. 32. quoted by Siebel. ad loc. Strabo VIII. p. 371. τὴν ἀρχέπολι τὸν Ἀργείων οἰκοῖς λέγεται Δαναὸς δὲ τοσοῦτο τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ διωνατεύσαται ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὑπερβαλέσσαι δοκεῖ ὥστε, κατ' Εὐριπίδην,

Πελασγιώτας ὀνομαστεύοντις τὸ πρίν

Δαναὸς καλέσθαι νόμον ἔθηκε δο' Ἑλλάδα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ κατὰ μίσην τὸν τὸν Ἀργείων ἀγοράν. *Danaüs* was said to have been from Chemmis: Herodot. II. 91. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάους ἴρον τετράγυνος κ. τ. λ.—εἰρομένου δὲ μεν δ τι σφι μοίσιστος, ἐνθε δ Περσίδης ἐπιφανεσθαι—ἔφα-

σαν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐμιτῶν πόλιος γεγονέναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Διγκέα ἐντάς Χειμάτας ἐπελῶσται ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

^b Apollod. II. 2. 1. Διγκεὺς δὲ μετὰ Δαναὸν Ἀργοὺς διωνατεύειν εἰς Τερμηνήστρας τεκνοῦ παῖδα Ἀβαντα. Pausan. II. 16, 2. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ οἱ πάντες διοίσις ἵσται, θυγατέρων τῶν Δαναῶν τὸ δὲ τὸς ἀνεψίους τόλμημα, καὶ ὡς ἀποθανόντος Δαναοῦ τὸν ἀρχὴν Διγκεὺς ἔσχεν. Hesiod. Scut. 327 (de Hercule et Iolao): Χαίρετε Διγκῆς γενεῖ. Tzetz. ad loc. Διγγεὺς ἦν βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἀργους ἀπὸ Διγγέως γὰρ Ἀβας, οὗ Ἀκρίσιος, οὗ Δαναὸς, ἃς Περσέης, οὗ Ἀλκαῖος. Steph. Byz. Θάσους. Βήλου Αἴγυπτος, οὗ Διγκεὺς, οὗ Ἀβας, οὗ Δανάη, ἃς Περσέης, οὗ Ἀλκαῖος, οὗ Ἀμφιτρίων. where *Acrisius* is omitted.

^c Pausan. II. 16, 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀβαντος τοῦ Διγκέων παῖδες τὴν βασιλείαν διείμαντο, καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέμεινεν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀργος Προΐτος δὲ τὸ Ηραῖον καὶ Μίδειαν καὶ Τίρυνθα σύχε καὶ δύσα πρὸς θαλάσσην τῆς Ἀργείας σημεῖον τε τῆς ἐν Τίρυνθι εἰκόνεις Προΐτου καὶ ἐς τοῦ λειπεται. Apollod. II. 2. 1. τούτου δὲ καὶ Οὐκαλείας τῆς Μαντινέων δίδυμοι παῖδες ἐγένοντο, Ἀκρίσιος καὶ Προΐτος ὡτοι—περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐσόλεμον. *Abas* according to Pausanias X. 35. 1. founded *Abae*: οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ἀβαις ἐς γῆν τὴν Φυκίδα λέγουσιν ἀφικέσθαι εἰς Ἀργούς, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Ἀβαντος τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δὲ Διγκέας τε καὶ Τερμηνήστρας τῆς Δαναοῦ παῖδα εἶναι. According to Strabo IX. p. 431. he passed into Thessaly: Ἀργες οἱ μὲν πόλιν δέχονται Θετταλικὴν, περὶ Λάρισσαν θρυμένην—οἱ δὲ οὐ πόλιν ἀλλὰ τὸ τὴν Θετταλῶν πεδίον οὐτος διοματικῆς λεγόμενον, θεμένου τούτου Αβαντος ἐξ Ἀργους δεῦρι ἀποκιῆσαντος. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. VIII. 73. confounds *Abas* son of *Lynceus* with *Abas* son of *Melampus*: “Αβας δὲ Διγκέας Ταλαῦς πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ ὁ Ἀδραστος, φύγετο τὸ Ἀργος, εἴτα μετέπειτα εἰς Εἴβονα. ὅτι δὲ Διγκέας Ἀβας ἐξ ἑκείνου δῆλον. Σφραγὸς δὲ Δαναοῦ παρθένων Διγκεύς φυγὼν Ἀβαντα φύει διάδοχον τυρανίδος. Bias was the father of *Talaüs*, and *Abas* was the brother of *Bias*: see p. 41. for one of whom the Scholiast has mistaken *Abas* son of *Lynceus*.

^d Apollod. II. 2. 1. Ἀκρίσιος Προΐτος Ἀργος ἐκελάνει· ὁ δὲ ἡ κηρ εἰς Δικλαῖαν πρὸς Ιαζάτην· ὃς δὲ τινὲς φασι, πρὸς Ἀμφιάνατα καὶ γαμεῖ τὸν τούτου θυγατέρα, ὃς μὲν Οὐρηρος, Ἄντειαν, ὃς δὲ οἱ τραγικοὶ, Σθενέβοις κατάγει δὲ αὐτὸν δημοστῆς μετὰ στρατοῦ Δικλαῖαν καὶ καταλαμβάνει Τίρυνθα, ταύτην αὐτῷ Κυκλώπιον τειχισά-

creased by the dates of the chronologers, who made two successive reigns of *Prætus* and *Acrisius*.

ταν. μερισάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἀργείαν ἀπασαν κατέφευν· καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν Ἀργείους βασιλεύεις Πρότος δὲ Τίρυνθος. Pausanias II. 25, 5. notices the war between them: Πρότερος περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς Ἀκρίσιον μάχη—and the Cyclopian walls of Tiryns. Strabo VIII. p. 373. τῇ μὲν ὅτι Τίρυνθος ὁρμητηρῷ χρήσασθαι δοκεῖ Πρότος, καὶ τειχίσθαι διὰ Κυκλόπων· εὖς ἐπτὰ μὲν εἶναι καλεῖσθαι δὲ γαστερόχειρας τρεφομένους ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ· ἡκεῖ δὲ μετατίτιτους ἐκ Λυκίας. The narrative in Iliad. 5. 152—210. is understood by Apollodorus to refer to *Prætus* son of *Abas*: conf. Schol. ad 155. Idem ad 158. ὃ Πρότος ἐν τοῦ ταῦ Ἀργείου δόμοι, διὰ τὴν ἀρχῆν· τὸς γὰρ Ἀργείους ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ βασιλείᾳ Πρότον ἴστατεν. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 17. explains the narration of *Prætus* king of Argos. But Pherecydes distinguished him: Schol. Odyss. l. 325. Μαῖρα ἡ Πρότου τῶν Θερσάνδρου θυγάτηρ καὶ Ἀντείας τῆς Ἀμφιάνακτος—ἡ δὲ ιστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδη. Sturz. p. 222. remarks, *Hos duo Prætos distinguendos esse. Pausanias X. 30, 3. clarum facit discrimen: Μαῖρα—τερὶ αὐτῆς τεταμένα δοτὸν ἐν οἰστοῖς ἀπελθεῖν μὲν παρθένος ἔτι· ἐξ ἀνθρώπων θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι Πρότου τῶν Θερσάνδρου, τὸν δὲ εἶναι Σισύφου.* That *Thersander* was son of *Sisyphus*, see above p. 46. Pausanias himself, however, II. 4, 2. supposed with Apollodorus that the *Prætus* of Homer was the king of Argos: although this is not quite consistent with chronology, since *Prætus* son of *Abas* is three generations older than *Bellerophon*. The same inconsistency occurs in the accounts of *Prætus* and *Melampus*. They are made contemporary by Pherecydes apud Schol. Odyss. c. 225. Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμβλάνος, παῖς· τὸν Πρότου θυγατέρου τῶν βασιλεύεις τὸν Ἀργείουν εἰς Ἡραν—πέσσησθο πάσσας θεραπεύειν εἰ λάθοις κατάξιος τῆς θεραπείας μισθόν.—ἀπαγγειλαμένου δὲ τοῦ Πρότου τῷ Μελάμποδι καὶ μέρος τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μιαν τῶν θυγατέρων, λάστα τὸν νόσον Μελάμπους. ἡ ιστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδη. The women healed by *Melampus* are the daughters of *Prætus* in Hesiod apud Apollod. II. 2, 2 (whom Pherecydes probably followed). conf. Eustath. p. 1337. 1746. Suid. μαχλοσύνη, fragm. Hesiod. p. 175. Gaisford. in Apollodorus II. 2, 2. ταῖτας μὲν ἔξεδος Πρότος Μελάμποδι καὶ Βλαττί· ταῖδα δὲ θυτεραν ἐγένετο Μεγαπένθος. in Elian. V. H. III. 42. in Alexis the comic poet apud Athen. VIII. p. 340. a.—Μελάμπους, ὃ μόνος τὰς Πρατίδας ἔπεισε μανειμένας—in Servius ad Virgil. Ecl. VI. 48. in Pausanias II. 7, 7. 9, 7. 25, 8. VIII. 18, 3. Eusebius places *Prætus* at the year 658, and 177 years before the Trojan era, and *Melampus* at 649, or 186 years before that era. But as *Melampus* was in the same generation as *Bellerophon* (see p. 41), he would be, like *Bellerophon*, three generations below *Prætus*; and ac-

cordingly other accounts place him in the time of *Anaxagoras* grandson of *Prætus*: Diod. IV. 68. Μελάμπους μάρτις ὡς τὰς ἐν Ἀργείῳ γυναικας μανεισας διὰ τὴν Διονίσου μῆνιν ἐθεράπευτεν· ἀντὶ δὲ ταῦτης τῆς εὐεργεσίας χάριν ἔκαθε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀργείων Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Μεγαπένθους; τὰ δύο μέρη τῆς βασιλείας κατακήσας δὲ Ἀργεῖοι κοινῇ ἐποίησαν τὴν βασιλείαν Βίαντι τῷ ἀδελφῷ γῆμας δὲ Ἰφιάνειρα τὴν Μεγαπένθους ἐγένετος Ἀντιφάτην καὶ Μαντό κ. τ. λ. Pausanias II. 18, 4 (forgetting this in his account at VIII. 18, 3). μόνον δὲ Ἐλλήνων οὐδεὶς Ἀργείους εἰς τρεῖς βασιλείας νεμηθέντας. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Ἀργείου τοῦ Μεγαπένθους [conf. Schol. Eur. Phoen. 181. Κατανεύς Ἰππονόν τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Ἀργείου τοῦ Μεγαπένθους τοῦ Πρότου τοῦ Ἀβατος τοῦ Λυγκέων] μανία ταῖς γυναικίν διέπεσεν, ἐκφιγόσται δὲ ἐν τοῖς οἰκίων ἐκλανόντο ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν ἐς ὁ Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμβλάνος ἔπεισε σφᾶς τῆς νόσου, ἐφ' ὃ τε αὐτὸς καὶ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Βίας Ἀναξαγόρᾳ τὸ ἵσον ἔξουσιον. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Βίαντι βασιλεύειν πέρτε ἄνδρες διὰ γενεᾶς τέσσαρας ἐς Κυδνίσπον τὸν Αγιαλίνης, ὕπτες Νηλεῖδαι τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ Μελάμποδος γενεῖται τε ἐξ καὶ ἄνδρες ἵσοι μέχρις Ἀμφιλόχου τοῦ Ἀμφιαράδου [see p. 41]. τὸ δὲ ἐγγόριον γένος εἰς Ἀναξαγορίδαις βασιλεύειντο πλέων· Ἰφις μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλέκτορος τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου Σθενέλιψ τῷ· Κατανέως ἀδελφῷ παῖδις ἀπέλιπε τὴν ἀρχήν. Herodotus IX. 34. makes no mention of *Prætus*: ὁ Μελάμπους τὸν ἐν Ἀργείῳ γυναικῶν μανεισέν κ. τ. λ.—δρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φάσι ἥν μὲν καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιληῆς ὑποπήσει τὰ βούλονται. Eustath. ad Il. B. p. 288. ἐπὶ Ἀναξαγόρου νιοῦ Πρότου βασιλεύειν Ἀργείους μάρτις Μελάμπους καθέρας τῆς μανίας τὸς Ἀργείου, ἢ, ὡς τινες μᾶλλον φασι, τὰς Πρατίδας, ἐκοινώσαντες αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀμα Βλαττή τῷ οἰκεῖῳ ἀδελφῷ. This latter account Perizonius ad Elian. V. H. III. 42. thinks preferable to the former, *et propter etatem Melampidis et propter auctoritatem scriptorum, qui alteris fide digniores.* The first observation is just: the latter we may doubt, because the account which he rejects is the account of Hesiod and Pherecydes; of the account which he accepts we do not know the author. Eustathius l. c. proceeds to give the triple dynasty: Βίαντος μὲν Ταλαδός, Μελάμποδος δὲ Ισκλῆς, Ἀναξαγόρου δὲ Ἰφις· ὃν καταδιναστεῖσας δὲ Βιατισίδης Ταλαδός μόνος ἥρξεν. Οὐτερον δὲ Ἀμφιλόχος δὲ τοῦ ἥρθεντος Ισκλέος ἄρχει, Ταλαδός ἀνέλων. Ἀδραστος δὲ ὁ Ταλαδός δείσας καὶ εἰς Σικυώνα ἐλθὼν τὴν ἐκεῖ ἀρχὴν δέχεται Πολύβου τοῦ μητροπάτορος [see p. 29. q.], καὶ ὅμα Ἰφιδί έπιστρατεύεισας Ἀμφιλόχορος καὶ νικήσας πάλιν εἰς τρία κατέστητε τὴν ἀρχήν. Pausanias and Schol. Eur. make a generation more, Eustathius a generation less, than other accounts, between *Prætus* and *Anaxagoras*.

* See above p. 8. Accordingly in Schol.

Acrisius was said to have retired to Thessaly, where memorials of him were recorded^g. His share in the Amphictyonic league has been noticed already^g. The descent of *Eurystheus* from *Acrisius* is recorded by Homer^h, who names *Acrisius*, *Danaë*, *Perseus*, *Sthenelus*, *Eurystheus*, and accordingly ascends in this line to the sixth generation before the Trojan war. *Perseus* returning to Argolis reigned at Mycenæ, Midea, and Tiryns, while *Megapenthes* son of *Prætus* reigned at Argosⁱ. His four sons were said to have reigned after him in common^k. At the same time three dynasties, as we have seen, were reigning at Argos. These petty chieftains, who are called kings, could have had very little power; and the account which is given of the successors of *Perseus* is not quite consistent with those three contemporary races of kings at Argos^l.

Æschyl. Prom. 774. *Prætus* is made the father of *Acrisius*: "Τηριώτερα—ἢς Ἀβάς, ὁ Προῖτος, ὁ Ἀκρίσιος, ὁ Δανάη, ἡς Περσεύς κ. τ. λ. Schutz ad v. 780. receives *Prætus* into the interpolated list as the father of *Acrisius*, and as one of the steps in the descent, referring to Apollodorus as his authority. But this is contrary to the text of Æschylus, who reckons only thirteen generations to *Hercules* inclusive, and to the account of Apollodorus, who makes *Prætus* and *Acrisius* brothers. Tzetzes ad Lycophron. 839, repeats the correct genealogy: Περσεύς κατάγει τὸ γένος ἐξ Ἀβάτως Ἀβάτος γάρ Προῖτος καὶ Ἀκρίσιος, Ἀκρίσιον Δανάη κ. τ. λ.

The narrative of the birth of *Perseus*, the retreat of *Acrisius* to Larissa, and his death by the hand of *Perseus*, is given from Pherecydes by Schol. Apollon. IV. 1091. Φερεκύδης ἐν διδεκάτῳ ιστορεῖ ὃν Ἀκρίσιον γαμεῖ Εὐρύδικην τὴν Δακεδαίμονος· τὸν δὲ γίνεται Δανάη κ. τ. λ.—ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔχεις καὶ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου προτίθεται Φερεκύδης τοῦ Ἀκρίσιον—Περσεὺς ἔβη τλέων εἰς Ἀργος,—καὶ ἐλθὼν Ἀκρίσιον οὐχ εὐρίσκει ἐν Ἀργει (ὑπεχάρει γάρ αὐτὸν δεῖσας εἰς τοὺς Πελασγῶν εἰς Δάρισταν), μὴ καταλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸν—ἔβη εἰς Δάρισταν κ. τ. λ. Pausan. II. 16. χρόνῳ δὲ ὅστερον Ἀκρίσιος Περσέας αὐτὸν τε περιέπαι τυθανάτους καὶ ἔργον ἀποδείκνυθαι ἐξ Δάρισταν ἀπεχώρησε τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Πηγεῖ, κ. τ. λ. Apollod. II. 4, 4. ἀπολιπὼν Ἀργος εἰς τὴν Πελασγῶν ἔχροντος γῆν. Τευταιμόν δὲ τοῦ Δαρισταίων βασιλέως ἐπὶ κατικομένῳ τῷ πατρὶ διατιθέντος γομφικὸν ἀγόνα κ. τ. λ. His tomb was shewn at Larissa: Clem. Al. Protr. p. 29. A. ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Δαριστῃ ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει τάφος ἐστιν Ἀκρίσιον. But according to Pherecydes l. c. αὐτὸν κατατίθεται Περσεὺς καὶ οἱ Δαρισταῖοι πρόσθετης τῆς πόλεως. Apollod. II. 4, 4. τὸν μὲν Ἀκρίσιον ἔξει τῆς πόλεως ἔθαψεν. The foundation of Larissa was by some ascribed to him: Schol. Apollon. I. 40. Δαρισταῖον τὴν Θεσσαλικὴν ἦν ἐκτίσεν Ἀκρίσιος· ἥτις ἀνομάσθη ἀπὸ Δαστούρης τῆς Πελασγῶν, ὃς φήσις Ἐλλάκιος. And he has a son *Pharsalus*: Steph. Byz. Φάρσαλος πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἀπὸ Φαρσάλου τοῦ Ἀκρίσιον.

g See above p. 64. The temple at Thermopylae Δημητρι τῇ Πυλαιᾳ was ascribed to him: Cal-

lim. Epigr. 41. —οὐκ Πελασγῶν Ἀκρίσιος τὸν ηγὸν ἔθεισατο.

h Iliad. §. 319. —Δανάης καλλισφίρου Ἀκρισιῶντος· Η τέκη Περσέα. Il. τ. 123. Εὐρυθείς Σθενέλιος πάτης Περσηΐδας.

i Pausan. II. 16, 3. Περσεὺς ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐς Ἀργος—Μεγατένθη τὸν Προίτου τεῖλει οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιδούναι, παραλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν ἑκατὸν Μικῆνας κτίζει. Apollod. II. 4, 4. πρὸς τὸν Προίτου παῖδα Μεγατένθην ἡλλάξατο, τούτῳ τε τὸ Ἀργος ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ Μεγατένθης μὲν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀργείων Περσεὺς δὲ Τίρυνθος, προστείχισας Μίδειαν καὶ Μικῆνας. Strabo VIII. p. 377. Μικῆναι—ἔπιστος δὲ αὐτὰς Περσεύς. The name according to some was given from *Mycenæ* daughter of *Inachus*: Pausan. II. 16, 3. ἀπὸ ταύτης ὁν γεγονέναι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει φασίν.

k Schol. Apollon. I. 747. Ἡρόδωρος ιστορεῖ ὅτι Περσέας καὶ Ἀνδρομέδας τέσσαρες παῖδες ἔγενοντο, Ἀλκαῖος, Σθένελος, Μήστωρ, Ἡλεκτρών, καὶ κοινὴ ἔσχον τὴν βασιλείαν μετὰ τὸν Περσέων θάνατον. Apollodorus II. 4, 5. gives him six sons: πρὶν μὲν ἀδεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Πέρσης—ἴνι Μικῆνας δὲ Ἀλκαῖος καὶ Σθένελος καὶ Ἐλειος, Μήστωρ τε καὶ Ἡλεκτρών, καὶ θυγάτηρ Γοργοφόνη. *Electryon* reigned at Midea: Pausan. II. 25, 8. βασιλεύσας δὲ φασιν Ἡλεκτρίωνα ἐν τῇ Μίδει τὸν πατέρα Ἀλκαῖην, and yet he is king of *Mycenæ* in Apollod. II. 4, 6. He was slain by the *Telchœa* and revenged by *Amphitryo*, according to Hesiod apud Schol. Apollon. I. 747. But according to Hesiod Scut. 11. 80. *Amphitryo* himself slew *Electryon*, and retired to Thebes; an account followed by Apollod. II. 4, 6. Pausan. IX. 11, 1. *Alceus* was the father of *Amphitryo*: Apollod. II. 4, 4. His mother was *Hippomenē* daughter of *Menœceus* in Apollod. l. c. but in other accounts a woman of Pheneos in Arcadia, or *Lysidice* daughter of *Pelops*: Pausan. VIII. 14, 2. οἱ Φενεᾶται φασὶ γενέσθαι Ἀμφιτρύων ἐκ Λαονίμης—γυναικὸς Φενεάτιδος καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Πέλοπος Λυτιδίης.

l Of *Sthenelus* it is said Apollod. II. 4, 6. παντὸς Ἀργους ἐξέβαλεν Ἀμφιτρύωνα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν Μικῆνην καὶ τῆς Τίρυνθος αὐτὸς κατέσχε· τὸν δὲ Μίδειαν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Πέλοπος παῖδας Ἀτρέα καὶ Θοέστην

Hercules is reckoned the fourth from *Perseus*, being the grandson of *Electryon* through *Alcmena* and of *Alcæus* through *Amphitryo*^m. Chronologers adopted two theories respecting his time: some followed a longer and others a shorter computation. According to one series of dates in Clemens, which were those of Apollodorus, the death of *Hercules* was placed about fifty-three years before the taking of Troy. According to another series (probably the dates of *Thrasyllus*), a little more than twenty-four years before that epoch. The following Table gives a comparative view of each. The years expressed are the years before the fall of Troy.

LONGER COMPUTATION ⁿ .		SHORTER COMPUTATION ^o .	
186	ἡ Περσέως βασιλεία	202	Rape of <i>Ganymedes</i> .
154	ἡ Διονύσου ἀποθέωσις	187	ἡ Περσέως στρατεία.
91	The Argonauts. ἡ Ἡρακλέους ἐν Ἀργει βασιλεία.	153	'Ιλιου κτίσις.
53	ἡ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἀποθέωσις.	89	The Argonauts.
—	ἡ Κάστορος καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἀποθέωσις	57	<i>Theseus</i> and the <i>Minotaur</i> .
—	ἡ Κάστορος καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἀποθέωσις	47	First Theban war.
		44	Olympic games of <i>Hercules</i> ἐπὶ Πέλοπι.
		35	Rape of <i>Helen</i> by <i>Theseus</i> . War of the
		24	ἡ Ἡρακλέους ἀποθέωσις. [Amazons.]
		(20)	Rape of <i>Helen</i> by <i>Paris</i> .
		—	(ἡ Τρίας ἄλωσις).

παρίθετο τούτως. *Palæephant.* p. 157. ὃκου δὲ πάντες εἰ ἔνθρωποι κατὰ κάμαι· ἣσαι δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἢ δέκατη τῶν χωρίων τούτων. Σθένελος δὲ ὁ τῶν Περσέως εἶχε τὸ μέγιστον καὶ πελουανθρωπότατον τὴν Μυκήνην. Of *Eurystheus* *Apollod.* II. 4, 5. Σθένελος καὶ Νικίτης τῆς Πέλοπες—Εὐρυσθεὺς ἀγένετο, δὲ καὶ Μυκῆναι ἰβασλεύσατε. They are said to have also governed Argos: *Strabo VIII.* p. 377. ἕκτισε (τὰς Μυκῆνας) Περσές· διεδέκατο δὲ Σθένελος ἐπ' Εὐρυσθεὺς· εἰ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ τεῦ Ἀργειοὶ ἦρξαν. And yet at this time the *Pretide*, the *Biantide*, and the *Melampodide*, jointly reigned there: *Strabo himself VIII.* p. 372. mentions Argos and Mycenæ as separate kingdoms: τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῦ Δαναοῦ διαδεξαμένων τὴν ἐν Ἀργει διακοτελαν, ἐπιμιχθέντων δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἀμιθασιοῦν δραμμιώνες δὲ τῆς Πιστάτιδος καὶ τῆς Τριφυλίας, οὐδὲ διαθαμάσιε τις εἰ συγγενεῖς ὅτες ὀπτας δεῖλον τὴν χράν εἰς δύο βασιλείας τὰ πρώτα κ. τ. λ.

^m *Alcmena* is the daughter of *Electryon* in *Pausan.* II. 25, 8. *Apollod.* II. 4, 5. after *Hesiod Scut.* 3. Another *Alcmena* daughter of *Amphiaraüs* is mentioned by *Asius apud Pausan.* V. 17, 4. *Alcmena* at the birth of *Hercules* inhabited Thebes: *Iliad.* ξ. 323. τ. 99. Her tomb was shewn near Megara: *Pausan.* I. 41, 1. Her son *Iphiclus* father of *Iolaüs* is mentioned *Hesiod. Scut.* 54. *Conf. Tzetz. ad Scut.* 79.

ⁿ *Clem. Al. Strom.* I. p. 322. Διένοσες — τῆς

Περσέως βασιλείας τῷ τριακοστῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ἐκβεῖται, ὃς φησιν Ἀπολλίδωρος ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς. ἀπὸ δὲ Διονύσου ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέας καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἰάσονα δροστεῖς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργει πλευσάντας συνάγεται ἐπη ἐβήκοτα τρία· Ἀσκληπίας τε καὶ Διόσκουρους συνέπλεον αὐτοῖς δὲ μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Ρέδος· Ἀπολλάνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργανατικοῖς. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἐν Ἀργει βασιλείας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλέους αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῖς ἀποθέωσις ἐπη συνάγεται τριάκοντα δέκατα κατὰ τὸν χρονογράφον Ἀπολλίδωρον. ἐπεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κάστορος καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἀποθέωσιν ἐπη πεντήκοντα τρία. ἐνταῦθα ποιεὶ καὶ ἡ Ἰλιοῦ κατάλληλη. The reign of *Hercules* at Argos we may with *Clavier tom.* I. p. 186. suppose to mean that he was reckoned king of Tiryns after the death of *Amphitryo* (who migrated from Tiryns: *Diod. IV.* 10. φυγαδεύθεις ἐπὶ Τίρυνθες μετέφευσε εἰς Θήβας); while *Eurystheus* reigned at Mycenæ. *Hercules* himself is called Τίρυνθιος in the oracle apud *Pausan.* X. 13, 4. *Pausanias III.* 13, 1. reckons the apotheosis of the *Dioscuri* to have been in the fortieth year after their deaths: τεσσαρακοστῷ ὑστερῷ ἔτει τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἰδαν καὶ Δυγκέα θεοῖς τούς. Τυδάρεω παιδίας καὶ ὁ πρότερον νομοθέτης φασι. *Heyne fragm. Apollod.* p. 1085. supposes *Pausanias* to follow *Apollodorus*: *Videtur ex codem Apollodori loco esse petitum quod Pausanias habet III. 13. anno 53 post pugnam cum Apharetidis Dioscuros esse inter deos relatios.* But *Pausanias* and *Apollodoro-*

We have already seen that the shorter reckoning is more consistent with the notices in Homer; and this is confirmed by other passages in the Iliad and Odyssey.

rus have nothing in common. Pausanias does not name fifty-three years, and Apollodorus makes no mention of the battle with the *Apharitidae*. The forty years of Pausanias, if adapted to the date of Apollodorus (placing the apotheosis at the Trojan era), would place the deaths of *Castor* and *Pollux* forty years before that era. If adapted to the account in the Iliad γ'. 236. which fixes their deaths after the rape of *Helen*, the apotheosis occurred at least twenty years later than the fall of Troy.

ο Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 335. 336. ἀπὸ τοῦ (Δευκαλίωνος) κατακλυσμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν "Ιδης ἐμπρησμόν"—ἐπη ἐβδομήκοντα τρία, ὃς φησι Θράσυλος· καὶ ἀπὸ "Ιδης ἐμπρησμοῦ" εἰς Γαυμαδὸν ἀρταγὴν ἐπη ἐβίκαιντα πέντε. ἐπεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίαν στρατείαν—ἐπη πεντεκαδέκα· ἀπὸ δὲ Περσίας στρατείας ἐπὶ 'Ιλίου κτίσιν ἐπη τριάκοντα τέσσαρα. ἐπεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὸν εἰσπλους τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπη ἐβίκαιντα τέσσαρα. ἐκ τότου εἰς Θησέα καὶ Μινώταυρον ἐπη τριάκοντα δύο. εἴτα εἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ εἰς τὴν Θήβας ἐπη δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν 'Ολυμπίασιν ἀγῶνα ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἐθηκεν εἰς Πέλοποι ἐπη τρία· εἰς τὴν 'Αμαζόνων εἰς Ἀθήνας στρατείαν καὶ τὴν 'Ελίνης ὑπὸ Θησέως ἀρταγὴν ἐπη ἑπτά. ἐπεῦθεν εἰς τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀποθέσιν ἐπη ἑνδέκα· εἴτα εἰς τὴν 'Ελίνης ὑπὸ Ἀλεξανδροῦ ἀρταγὴν ἐπη τέσσαρα. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Τροίας αἰώνων εἰς τὴν Λιβύην κάθοδον κ. τ. λ. In the last step in the series the interval to the fall of Troy is wanting; and, as Potter justly appears to think, by the error of the transcriber. Petavius R. Temp. I. 1, 10., quoting the dates from Clemens, neglects to notice this omission; but himself supplies ten years, since he makes the first Theban war thirty-seven years before the destruction of Troy. In the present Table the interval is assumed to be twenty years, from Iliad. v. 765. It would seem, however, that Syncellus p. 174. A. has followed the defective copies of Clemens; for he gives the following period: τὸν εἰς 'Ολυμπία πρότοι ὥφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρότοι ἔτους Σαμψών ἀριθμὸν εἰρῆσες ἐπη υἱὸν πρότης ἀλυρπιάδες. But 430—406=24. Syncellus therefore places the games celebrated by Hercules twenty-four years before the Trojan era; which represents the defective intervals in the text of Clemens. In Eusebius Chron. II. we may discern the traces both of the longer and shorter computations: Anno 770 [sixty-five years before the fall of Troy] Hercules facinora perficiebat Antæum occidit Ilium spoliavit. But again anno 820 [fifteen years before that epoch] Hercules in Libya Antæum interimis. His death is placed anno 826 [nine years before the era]: Hercules—exterminatus est annos natus 52. Nonnulli tamen auunt eum nondum trigesimum etatis

annum attigisse. In Syncellus p. 164. A. this last clause is rendered βιώσας τὰ πάντα ἐπη νβ'. τινὲς δὲ τρὶς τούτων μερὸν ιστοροῦσι γενέσθαι Ἡρακλῆν, ἄλλοι τε πλειστα ἐπη ξῆσαι αὐτόν. But in Hieronymus, Quidam ante 30 annos periisse eum scribunt. which seems to express the true meaning: namely, that some placed the death of Hercules thirty years earlier than this date. We have no means of determining whether this meaning was perverted through the mistake of Eusebius himself, or of his translator or transcriber. The tradition that Hercules lived fifty-two years is also preserved by Clemens Cohort. p. 19. C. δύο τρὶς τοῖς πεντήκοντα ἐπη βεβιωκὲς κατέστρεψε τὸν βλαντόν. Velleius I. 2. places the death of Hercules forty years before the Trojan era: Fere anno octogesimo post Trojam captam, centesimo et vicesimo quam Hercules ad Deos excesserat, Pelopis progenies—ab Herculis progenie expellitur. nearly an intermediate point between the longer and the shorter computations in Clemens.

We may observe that Clavier Hist. des Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 220. who founds his own dates upon these two computations, gives an erroneous interpretation of both.

In the great variety of materials which remain concerning Hercules, it will be sufficient here to collect the notices which are contained in the Homeric poems, the oldest records of the heroic times, adding a few testimonies from Hesiod or others, which are either confirmed or not contradicted by the accounts of Homer. The birth of Hercules and his subjection to Eurystheus are related Iliad τ'. 98—133. In Hesiod Scut. 33. nothing is said of the three nights which occur in later fables. The war with Nemean was while Nestor was too young to bear arms: see p. 50. g. a war alluded to by Pindar Ol. IX. 43—54=29—35. The wars with Augæus were later, and after Nestor had become a warrior: see p. 50. g. The marriage with Megara daughter of Creon is recorded Odyss. λ. 268. 269. The subjection to Eurystheus and the adventure in quest of the dog of Hades Iliad. θ'. 362—369. Odyss. λ. 620—625. Homer bears testimony to the Trojan expedition of Hercules, his voyage with six ships, his conquest of Lao-medon, Iliad. ε'. 637—642. He was shipwrecked in his voyage back again, and landed in the isle of Cos: Il. ξ. 250—256. from whence he afterwards reached Argos in safety: Il. ε'. 25—30. The deliverance of Hesione from the sea monster is touched upon Il. v'. 144—148. Some other

particulars have been given at p. 50.g. The Tirynthian forces of *Hercules* are spoken of by Pindar Ol. X. 40 = XI. 32. and again Isthm. VI. 40. where it is related that they accompanied him in his Trojan expedition: v. 39—44.

The epochs for determining the chronology of *Hercules* are, 1. his war in Pylos when *Nestor* was too young to bear arms. 2. His murder of *Iphitus*, when *Ulysses* was old enough to be intrusted with affairs: Odyss. φ. 14—30. see p. 50.g. After which, *Hercules* made war in Thessaly upon the *Dryopes* in defence of *Ceyx*, and upon the *Lapithæ* in defence of *Ægimius*; and

lastly made war upon *Eurytus*. *Eurystheus* died four years before the death of *Hyllus*, and *Hyllus* twenty years before the fall of Troy, as will be shewn below. We may therefore place the death of *Hercules* in the twenty-sixth year before the Trojan era. And this is consistent with the short computation given at p. 76. which places his ἀποθέωσις twenty-four years before that era. If we assume that he lived fifty-two years, according to the traditions already noticed, we may arrange the leading circumstances nearly in this manner. In the first column are the years before the fall of Troy.

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| 78 | 1. Birth of <i>Hercules</i> at Thebes: Il. ξ. 323. τ'. 99. |
| 58 | 2. War with <i>Erginus</i> , in which <i>Amphitryo</i> was slain: Pausan. IX. 37. Apollod. II. 4, 11. <i>Erginus</i> probably reigned for many years after this. See above p. 49. |
| | 3. Wars with the petty kings of Argolis: Palæphat. c. 39. and in Arcadia at Stymphalus and Erymanthus. |
| 56 | 4. The war in Pylos, when <i>Nestor</i> was too young to bear arms: see p. 50.g. We may assume this war to have occurred when <i>Nestor</i> was about fourteen years of age and <i>Hercules</i> twenty-two. Then might follow between this war and the death of <i>Iphitus</i> , in about twenty-six years, these transactions: |
| | 5. The war of <i>Hercules</i> in Laconia, in which he defends <i>Tyndareus</i> against <i>Hippocoon</i> . |
| | 6. The Trojan expedition (about the time of the Argonautic voyage). |
| | 7. The wars in Northern Greece: α'. with the <i>Thesproti</i> (when <i>Theseus</i> was delivered). To this war Homer may allude Il. β. 659. 660. Ἀστυόχεια—Τὴν ἄγετ' ἐξ Ἐφύρης, ποταμῷ ἀπὸ Σελλήνετος, Πέρσας ἀστεα πολλὰ διοτρεφέων αἰγῆν. Schol. ἡ Ἐφύρα αὐτῇ ἐτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς Κορίνθου, τῆς Θεσπρωτίας. ὁσα κ. τ. λ. Conf. Apollod. II. 7, 6. Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 316. Strabo, however, VIII. p. 338. mentions an Ephyrē and a river Selleis near Sicyon in Peloponnesus. β'. The war with the <i>Dryopes</i> , who are transplanted to mount <i>Oeta</i> . |
| | 8. The war in Elis with <i>Augeas</i> . <i>Hercules</i> assassinates the <i>Molionidae</i> (ἢ Μολιωνῖδῶν φόνος Plutarch. Def. Or. p. 400. F). |
| 29 | 9. The murder of <i>Iphitus</i> in the youth of <i>Ulysses</i> : see p. 50.g. After that murder <i>Hercules</i> withdraws from Tiryns to <i>Œneus</i> king of <i>Ætolia</i> . In the remaining three years we may arrange the following events: |
| | 10. <i>Hercules</i> takes refuge after another murder with <i>Ceyx</i> king of Trachis. |
| | 11. Second war with the <i>Dryopes</i> , who are expelled from Northern Greece. |
| | 12. He assists <i>Ægimius</i> king of the Dorians against the <i>Lapithæ</i> . <i>Ægimius</i> cedes a third part of his dominions. |
| | 13. <i>Hercules</i> slays <i>Cycnus</i> . After the war with the <i>Lapithæ</i> : Hesiod. Scut. 178. In his way to Trachis to <i>Ceyx</i> : Ibid. 353. Diod. IV. 37. Mars had already been defeated in Pylos: Hesiod. Scut. 359. The scene of the action with <i>Cycnus</i> is described 380. 474. <i>Cycnus</i> is slain: 419. He had plundered the hecatombs in their passage to Pytho, and was therefore hostile to <i>Apollo</i> : 478—480. (that is, to the Dorians, whom <i>Hercules</i> supported.) In this battle with <i>Cycnus</i> , <i>Hercules</i> has armour: 67. 124. as in Homer. |
| 26 | 14. War with <i>Eurytus</i> king of <i>Oechalia</i> . |
| | 15. Death of <i>Hercules</i> on mount <i>Oeta</i> . |
| | 16. The <i>Heraclidae</i> are driven from Tiryns by <i>Eurystheus</i> . They first take refuge with <i>Ceyx</i> , who is too weak to protect them: Hecataeus apud Longin. s. 27. conf. Apollod. II. 8, 1. On <i>Ceyx</i> conf. Pausan. I. 32, 5. They next apply to the Athenians, and are seated at <i>Tricorythus</i> . |
| 24 | 17. <i>Eurystheus</i> slain by <i>Hyllus</i> : Apollod. II. 8, 1. or by <i>Iolaüs</i> : Pausan. I. 44, 14. Thucyd. I. 9. Εὐρυσθέως ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀποθανόντος. conf. Strab. VIII. p. 377. Soon after the first Theban war according to Isocrates Panegyr. p. 51. e. who describes him captured in the battle, and delivered up to the <i>Heraclidae</i> : p. 53. a. <i>Atreus</i> succeeds <i>Eurystheus</i> at Mycenæ and Tiryns: Thucyd. I. 9. |

Tlepolemus son of Hercules is recorded in the Iliad to have led forces to the Trojan war from Rhodes, where he planted a colony after the death of *Hercules* ^a.

- 20 18. *Hyllus* slain by *Echemus* king of Tegea: Pausan. I. 41, 3. 44, 14. VIII. 5, 1. 45, 2. Diod. IV. 58. Herodot. IX. 26. Twenty years before the fall of Troy and 100 years before the return of the *Heraclidae* into Peloponnesus: Herodot. Ibid. Ἡρακλεῖδας—ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατὴν, ἐκαύτοις τε ἑταῖον μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. Schol. Thucyd. I. 12. ἡ τηθίντες ἐποιήσατο στρατὸς ὥστε ἐκαύτοις ἐπη παραχωρῆσαι τὴν χώραν Πελοποννησίοις.—οἱ δὲ—ἔτυχον τῆς καθόδου ὕστερον τῶν Τρωικῶν ἑτεριών. η δὲ σφέτη ἀσβολὴ τῷ ἑταῖον εἴκοσιν ἦν. The truce for 100 years is mentioned Schol. Aristid. tom. III. p. 651. Dindorf. τοὺς ἡττηθέντας ἐπὶ ἐκαύτοις ἐπη σχεῖν ἡσυχίαν. Pausanias I. 41, 3. records an opinion that the attempt of *Hyllus* was made in the reign of *Orestes*; but he corrects this account afterwards VIII. 5, 1.

^a Homer II. β. 653—670.

Τληπόλεμος δὲ Ἡρακλεῖδης ἦν τε μέγας τε
ἐς Ρόδον ἐνία μῆτας ἄγειν Ρόδινα ἀγεράχων·
οἱ δὲ Ρόδιοι ἀμφιβέβατο διὰ τρίχα κοσμοθίντες,
Ἄνδον, Ἰητόντα τε, καὶ ἀργινίντα Κάμειρον.

Tlepolemus was the son of *Hercules* by the Thesprotian *Astychea*, see p. 78. He had fled after the murder of *Lycymnus*, then an old man, the brother of *Alcmena*:

βῆ φεύγων ἐπὶ πάντας ἀπείλησαν γάρ οἱ ἄλλαι
νίκες νινών τε βίης Ἡρακλεῖτης.
αὐτὰρ ἦν δὲ Ρόδον ἔνιον ἀλιμένος, ἀλγεα πάσχων·
τριχῇ δὲ ἔνικεν καταφιλαδίδι—

Tlepolemus appears again in the Iliad ε'. 628—670. where he falls by the hand of *Sarpedon*. The Rhodian settlement and the death of *Lycymnus* are related by Pindar Ol. VII. 36—60=20—33. according to whom the mother of *Tlepolemus* was *Astydamia* daughter of *Amynor*. Hesiod also apud Schol. Pindar. Ol. VII. 42. calls her *Astydamia*. *Lycymnus* was slain at Tiryns: καὶ γάρ Ἀλκμήνας καστηρητος νόθον Σκάπτη θέντων Σκληρᾶς ἀλιμίας ἔκταν· ἐν Τίρυνθι Λικύμνιον—Ταῦτα ποτε χθονὸς οἰκιστὴρ χολοθεῖ. The Delphian oracle was consulted, and the colony proceeded from Argolis: Λερναῖς δὲ ἀπταῖς εἴθιν δὲ ἀμφιβάλλασσον νομόν. We may observe that in the account of Homer the oracle and *Apollo* are not mentioned, and *Tlepolemus* is favoured in his new settlement by *Jupiter*. Apollodorus II. 8, 2. and Diodorus IV. 58. place the death of *Lycymnus* after the death of *Eurystheus*. According to Pausanias II. 22, 8. (conf. III. 19, 10.) and Diodorus IV. 58. this event occurred at Argos. Strabo XIV. p. 653. after quoting the Homeric account concludes οἴδαμον ἐγαῦθα Δωρίας δνομέζει, ἀλλ' η ἄρα Αἰδεάς ἐμφανεῖ καὶ Βοιωτοῦς, εἶπερ ἐκεῖ η κατοικία τοῦ Ἡρακλέων; καὶ τοῦ Λικύμνου [sc. at Thebes], εἰ δὲ ὁ στρατεύς καὶ ἄλλαι φοινὶς ἐξ Ἀργους καὶ Τίρυνθος ἀπήρει ἐς Τληπόλεμος, οὐδὲ οὕτω Δωρικὴ γίνεται η ἐκεῖθεν ἀποκία. πρὸ γάρ τῆς Ἡρακλεῖδῶν καθόδου γεγέντα. Strabo does not here affirm so much as Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 125. p. and Raoul-Rochette des col. Grecques tom. II. p. 269. 272. seem to collect.

From this passage we may infer, first that it was not quite clear from what point this colony issued, and secondly that it was not known of what race the colonists were composed. That they were not Dorians is only conjectured by Strabo, because Homer does not mention Dorians, and because they proceeded before the return of the *Heraclidae* into Peloponnesus. Menecrates apud Schol. Pindar. Ol. II. 16. has the following account: Μενεκράτης φησί—(τοὺς Θύρανος προγόνους) Θυβαίους ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Κάδμου είναι. Κάδμοι γάρ Πολυδώρος, (τοῦ δὲ Λάζθακος, τοῦ δὲ Λάιος, τοῦ δὲ Οιδίπους, εἴτα Ἐπεικλῆς, τοῦ δὲ Πολυδώρος,) τοῦ δὲ Αίμων. τούτοις δὲ ἐν κυνηγείοις ἐμφύλιον τινα ἀποκτείναντα Ἀθήναζε μεταστήναντι τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τάλιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μεταστάντας σὸν τοῖς Ἀργείοις Ρόδον κατοικῆσαι μέχρι τινῶν γενεῶν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀκράγαντα κ. τ. λ. More briefly given ad v. 14. φασὶν Αἴμων τὸν Κάδμον ἔκγονον, ἀποκτείναντά τινα ἐμφύλιον ἐκ Θηβῶν Ἀθήναζε παραγεγενῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τάλιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μεταγαστάντας Ρόδον σὸν Ἀργείοις οἰκῆσαι. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα στάσεως αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθοι γενομένης εἰς Σικελίαν ἐλθεῖν ταῖς Ἀκράγαντα κτίσαι. Raoul-Rochette tom. II. p. 270—273. applies this narration to the migration of *Tlepolemus*. But if the words τοῦ δὲ Λάζθακος—Πολυδώρος, added by Mr. Boeckh, are genuine, *Hæmon* the eighth from *Cadmus* migrated to Athens about the time of the Trojan war; and his descendants would migrate to Rhodes after the time of *Tlepolemus*. But the expression κατοικῆσαι and οἰκῆσαι does not imply that they belonged to the original settlement. They probably belonged to the second migration into Rhodes, led by *Althæmenes* the Argive after the death of *Codrus*: Strabo XIV. p. 653. The followers of *Tlepolemus* himself might be adventurers from various states. From Homer it appears that he fled through fear of the other children of *Hercules*, and joined the expedition against Troy, in which they did not participate. He therefore had separated himself from the other *Heraclidae*, and for this reason might proceed from Argolis, and have Argives among his followers. Some Dorians, however, might be

2. *Pelops* is placed by Tatian, Clemens, and Eusebius^r, in the time of *Acrisius*. By one date in Eusebius he is named in the time of *Lynceus* 254 years before the Trojan era. Other dates assign his marriage with *Hippodamia* to the 168th year before; his reign to the 135th year; the succession of *Atreus* to the ninetieth year before that era^s. Castor places the death of *Pelops* eighty-five years before the fall of Troy. These dates of the chronologers are too high for the time of *Pelops*. We have shewn from the times of *Hercules*, whom *Eurystheus* and *Atreus* survived, that *Atreus* was still living about twenty years before the fall of Troy. It is not likely then, that the death of *Pelops* occurred more than sixty years, or his occupation of Pisa more than 100 years, before that era^t. The traditions concerning *Pelops* will not carry him higher than that period^v.

among them, and the triple division mentioned in the Iliad indicates that he modelled his new state after the manner of the Dorians, with whom a distribution into three tribes was usual. Aristides tom. I. p. 564. calls the ancestors of the Rhodians Argives: τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων Ἀργείων, perhaps referring to the colony of *Tlepolemus*. But p. 568. he calls them Dorians: τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐστὶ Δωρεῖς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, μέντος δὲ εἰς τοῦτο τὸν χρόνον Ἐλληνες διὰ παντὸς, Ἡρακλεῖδαις δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιδαις ἀρχηγέταις καὶ βασιλεῦσι κέχρυσθε. And then proceeds to quote the testimony of Homer Il. β. 656. They are again called Dorians p. 550. and Lacedæmon ὑμέροις p. 563. probably with reference to the colony of Dorians under *Althæmenes* the Argive: conf. Strab. l. c. Conon. Narr. 47. p. 453. Dexippus according to Syncellus p. 178. A. referred a Lacedæmonian colony there to the time of *Hyllus*: Ἡρακλεῖδῶν κάθοδος Ἄλλου—ἥγουμένου κ. τ. λ. τότε Ῥόδος ἡ γῆ τος οἰκιζεται παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίου, ὃς Δέξιππος ιστορεῖ, μετοικησάντων ἐκ Πελοποννήσου διὰ τὴν τὸν Ἡρακλεῖδῶν ἐπίθεσιν. where Dexippus, or perhaps Syncellus, has confounded the first settlement under *Tlepolemus* with the second under *Althæmenes*.

^r See above p. 8. for Tatian and Clemens.

^s Euseb. Chron. II. p. 288. anno 619 [26th of *Lynceus*] *Pelops Argis regnavit*. p. 289. Anno 667 *Pelops Hippodamiae matrimonio junctus est*. p. 291. Anno 701 [27th of *Acrisius*] In Peloponneso regnavit *Pelops Olympiorumque curator fuit*. Idem expeditione adversus Ilium suscepta victus a Dardano est.—Anno 705 [31st of *Acrisius*] Argivorum reges desinunt, quorum regnum annis 543 permanesarat usque ad Pelopem qui annis 59 dominatus est. Eusebius proceeds as follows: p. 293. anno 745 *Atreus et Thystes post Pelopem Peloponnesi imperium divisorunt*: which leaves only 44 years to *Pelops* instead of 59. p. 297. Anno 814 [69 years after the former date] *Atreus Argis regnat, Mycenis Thystes*. Anno 817 *Mycenis regnat Agamemnon annis 35; cuius 18^o anno Ilium capitum* [repeated by Syncellus p. 170. A]. Anno 835

Ilium captum est. Anno 854 Post Ἑgisthum Orestes. In the nineteenth year after the fall of Troy. Syncellus p. 160. C. D. makes *Pelops* king of Mycenæ: Μυκηνῶν Ἀργείων ἐβασίλευσε Πέλαψ ἔτη λέ ποτε δὲ κόσμου ἥν ἔτος δομός [before the fall of Troy 85 years]—τούτος δὲ οὐ ἔτη καὶ ἄλλος ἦν λέγωντος αὐτὸν βασιλεῦσαι, καὶ ἔτερος λέ. Μυκηνῶν Ἀργείων ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀτρέως καὶ Θεστής ἔτη λγ', κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους ἔτη ξε'. Then follows p. 170. A. Ἀγαμέμνων ἔτη ιη. κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔτη λε'. He places the fall of Troy in the 17th of *Agamemnon*. His dates bring down the accession of *Pelops* to the 85th year, and his death to the 50th year before that era.

^t See p. 78. Petavius R. Temp. II. II. 8. remarks that according to Eusebius *Pelops* arrived in Greece anno Eusebiano 696. But that, as his sons *Atreus* and *Thystes* begin to reign in Eusebius 115 years later, his διάβασις could not have been so early. And he objects with reason that *Eurystheus* is made to die seventy or sixty-four years (according to the date of Eusebius) before the death of *Hercules*. Petavius, however, finds his observations upon the dates in the version of Hieronymus, which differ in some respects from those of the Armenian copy.

Thucydides I. 9. mentions *Pelops* and *Atreus* in the following terms: λέγονται δέ οἱ τὰ σφέστατα Πελοποννήσου μνήμη παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένου Πελοπᾶ τε πρώτων πλήθει χρημάτων, ἀ ηλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχον ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀπόρους, δύναμι περιποιημένος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς χώρου ἐπηλύτην ὅντα ὅμως σχεῖν, καὶ ὑστερον τε τοῖς ἐκγρύποις ἔτι μείζων ξυνεγέθηναι, Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὅποι Ἡρακλεῖδῶν ἀποβανόντος Ἀτρέως δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ ὅντες αὐτῷ [conf. Schol. ad loc.], καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, ὅτι ἐστράτευε, Μυκήνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεῖς τιγχάνει δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον [conf. Schol. Hom. Illiad. β. 105. Pausan. VI. 20, 4]. καὶ ὃς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθέως, βούλομένων καὶ τὸν Μυκηναῖον φέμενον τὸν Ἡρακλεῖδῶν, καὶ ἄμα δινατὸν δεκούντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα, τὸν Μυκηναῖον τε καὶ ὃντα Εὐρυσθέως ἤρχε τὸν βασιλεῖαν Ἀτρέως παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τὸν Περσειδῶν τὸν Πελοπίδας μείζους κατα-

στῆναι. Thucydides would seem to imply that at the death of *Eurystheus Pelops* was lately dead, or even still living. But this is at variance with Homer Iliad. β. 105. 107.

αὐτὰρ ὁ αὐτεὶς Πέλοψ δόκ' Ἀτρέι, ποίμνην λαῶν·
Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλπεται πολύτερη Θύεστη·
αὐτὰρ ὁ αὐτεὶς Θύεστης Ἀγαμέμνων λέπεται φορῆναι.

Homer from this passage appears to have known nothing of the death of *Chrysippus* or the dissensions of *Atreus* and *Thyestes*. On the latter point conf. Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 184. Schol. Il. β. 106, 107. These were probably later fables. But if *Atreus* received his sceptre from *Pelops*, he was already a king before the death of *Eurystheus*. The original seat of the *Pelopidae* was *Pisatis*: Strabo VIII. p. 356. διανομάσθη πλεῖστον ἡ Πισάτις, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τὸν ἥγεμόν τον διηγένεται πλεῖστον, Οἰνόμαστον τε καὶ Πέλοπα τὸν ἐκεῖνον διαδέχεται καὶ τὸν παῖδας αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς γενομένους. Ib. p. 377. Εὑρυσθεὺς μὲν οὖν στρατεύεται εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας καὶ ἱόλαους, βοηθούστων Ἀθηναῖς, Ιστορεῖται πετεῖν ἐν τῷ μάχῃ—αἱ δὲ Μυκῆναι μετέπειν εἰς τὰν Πελοπίδας ὄρμηθένται ἀπὸ τῆς Πισάτιδος. We may suppose that *Pelops* reigned and died in *Pisatis*; that *Atreus* succeeded him there, and some years after acquired Mycenæ upon the death of *Eurystheus*.

The chronology of Castor, as exhibited by Eusebius p. 131, places the reign of *Eurystheus* 130 years, and of *Atreus* at Mycenæ 85 years before the fall of Troy. After mentioning *Argivorum imperii summa annorum* 544. *Huc usque Danaidæ*, he proceeds according to Eusebius in the following manner: *Post Acrisium translatum Mycenæ est Argivorum imperium sub Eurystheo Stheneli filio, Pelopidaeque dominium obtinuerunt: primus autem regnavit in Peloponneso Pelops qui Olympiorum curator fuit. Translato Mycenæ Argivorum imperio post Acrisium regnavit Eurystheus annis 45. Deinde Atreus et Thyestes annis 67. Post hos Agamemnon annis 30; cuius anno 18º Ilium captum est. Egisthus annis 17. Orestes, Tisamenus, Pentheus, et Cometes, annis 58 usque ad Heraclidarum descensum—a quo usque ad Ionum migrationem anni excurrunt 80 [l. 60], et a migratione Ionica usque ad Ol. 1. anni sunt 267.* Syncellus illustrates these dates p. 124, 125. μετὰ Ἀκρίσιον ἔσχατον τὸν Δαναϊδὸν εἰς Μυκῆνας μετετέθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Ἀργείων κατὰ Εὑρυσθέα τὸν Σθενέλου τὸν Περσίων· καὶ διεδέκατο τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Πελοπίδας, ἢν πρῶτος ἐβασιλεύετο Πέλοψ.—οὗτος Ὁλυμπίων προστη, βασιλεύει δὲ ἔτη νῦν—μετατεθείσης τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς Μυκῆνας μετὰ Ἀκρίσιον ἐπὶ Εὑρυσθέως, ὃν οἱ μὲν πρὸ Πέλοπος ἔτη φασὶ βασιλεῦσας εγύειν εἰς Πέλοπα τὴν μὲν εἰς Πέλοπας· εἴσας Πελοπίδας, μετὰ Πέλοπα Ἀτρέυς καὶ Θύεστης ἔτη ξένη. μεθ' οὓς Ἀγαμέμνων Ἀτρέως παῖς ἔτη σὺν ἀδελφῷ Μεγελάρη κατὰ μέρη τι-

νας λγ' κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους λ', ἥ καὶ κη'. Λίγοσθος ζ' ἥ ιζ'. Ὁρίστης Ἀγαμέμνωνος οὐδὲς καὶ Πενθίδος καὶ Κομήτης ἔτη νῆ. Ἡρακλεῖδῶν κάθεδος, οὐ Πελοπόννησον λαβάντες ἐκράτησαν μετὰ τῶν Πελοπίδας [ἔτη νῆ]. ἀφ' ης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰώνων ἀποκλιαν ἔτη ξ. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰόνων ἀποκλιας ἐπὶ πρότην ὀλυμπίδα ἔτη ἀναγράφουσι οὖτε. From the number ἔτη ξ (also ξ in excerpt. Scal.) we may correct the period to the Ionian colonies 60 for 80. According to this account in Eusebius, the chronology of Castor will be this: the years in the last column being the years before the fall of Troy.

Kings of Mycenæ:	y.	
<i>Eurystheus</i>	45	130
<i>Pelopidae</i> :		
<i>Atreus and Thyestes</i>	67	85
<i>Agamemnon</i>	30	18
<i>Egisthus</i>	17	—
<i>Orestes, &c.</i>	58	—
	172	

But we may suspect that Eusebius has given an inaccurate account of the scheme of Castor. 1. Castor according to Eusebius himself p. 129. gives 105 years and not 172 as the period of the *Pelopidae*. 2. Eusebius himself Chron. II. p. 291. has preserved a notice, doubtless from Castor, to the following effect: *Post Acrisium translato Mycenæ Argivorum dominatu reges fuerunt Perseus, Sthenelus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, Egisthus, Orestes, Tisamenus, Pentheus [l. Pentheilus], et Cometes, usque ad Heraclidarum incursionem.* In this list *Eurystheus* and *Atreus* are omitted (Syncellus p. 156. A. ill. inserts Εὑρυσθεὺς, Πέλοψ, Ἀτρέυς). Castor, then, did not compute their years in stating the period. 3. *Perseus* and *Pelops* began to reign at the same time, after the death of *Acrisius*: *Eurystheus* and *Atreus* both reigned after *Pelops*: consequently their reigns were partly contemporary. 4. The years of *Agamemnon*, as they now stand in Eusebius p. 131.—*Agamemnon annis 30, cuius 18º anno Ilium capitū,*—are not intelligible; as he took Troy in his eighteenth year, and perished on his return, the remaining twelve years of the thirty ascribed to him must have belonged to *Thyestes*, as his tutor in his minority, according to the account of Eustathius ad Il. β. p. 184. Ἀτρέυς θνήσκων ἔλπεται τὸ σκηνητρον τῷ Θύεστῃ, ὃς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπελεῖ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνωνι θνήσκων τῷ πρεσβυτάρῳ τῶν πατέων καὶ διαβεῖ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Θύεστῃ ἐπιτροπεύει τῷ Ἀγαμέμνωνι. κ. τ. λ. conf. Schol. Iliad. β. 106, 107. The 105 years, then, of the *Pelopidae*, as reckoned by Castor, were $30+17+58=105$, and the sixty-seven years of *Atreus* and *Thyestes* were not reckoned subsequent to the years of *Eurystheus*, but included them. The sixty-seven years probably contained the forty-five of *Eurystheus*

The *Pelopidae* might be traced in many parts of Peloponnesus, not only in *Pisatis* the original seat of *Pelops* himself, and at Mycenæ the seat of his sons and grandsons, but at Trezeen and in Laconia ^w.

and the first twelve of *Agamemnon*; and the chronology of Castor appears to have been this. The years in the last column are the years before and after the fall of Troy.

Kings of Argos:

Inachidae...382 } 544. See p. 8.
Danaidae...162 }

	<i>y.</i>	
<i>Atreus</i> in <i>Pisatis</i> , first	10	85
<i>Eurystheus</i> in <i>Mycenæ</i>	45	75
<i>Thyestes</i> in <i>Mycenæ</i>	12	30
	—67	
<i>Agamemnon</i> last 18	18	18
<i>Agamemnon</i> , whole period...12+18=30		
<i>Aegisthus</i>	17	1
<i>Orestes, Tisamenus, Penthesilus, Cometes</i>	58	18
	—105	
<i>Return of the Heraclidae</i>	60	76
Ionic migration	267	136
First Olympiad	403	

The death of *Pelops* is placed eighty-five years before the fall of Troy, which, if Castor reckoned fifty-three or fifty-eight years to his reign, would carry back his coming into Greece to the 138th or the 143rd year before that era; and consequently place the death of *Acrisius* and the reign of *Perseus* according to the mind of Castor at the same date. But the time of *Eurystheus* is not so far removed from probable accounts as to be inconsistent with the time of *Hercules*, whose death might reasonably be placed thirty-two years before the fall of Troy.

^v *Pelops* is contemporary with *Laomedon*: Schol. Pindar. Ol. I. 69. "Ἐκτερ καὶ Ἀγαμένων, Ἀτρεὺς καὶ Πρίαμος, Πέλοψ καὶ Λαομέδων. His father *Tantalus* was contemporary with *Ilus* father of *Laomedon*: Diod. IV. 74. *Ilus* according to Pausanias II. 22, 4. reached the time of *Pelops* himself. *Hercules* celebrated funeral games to *Pelops*: Dionys. Ant. V. p. 885. ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους τιθείενται ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑβδόμοις ἀνδράσι γυμνικοῖς τε καὶ πικισκοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ιστορήκασιν, ὃς ἐπὸ Αχιλλέως ἐπὶ Πατράκῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πρότερον ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ Πέλοπει. Perhaps the Olympic games mentioned by Clemens quoted at p. 76. and by Schol. Aristid. apud Siebel. ad Pausan. V. 8, 1. ἑβδόμος ἀγῶν δ' Ολυμπικὸς Ἡρακλέους νομοθετήσαντος ἐπὶ Πέλοπει. Apollodorus II. 7, 2: after the death of the *Molianidae* *Hercules* ἔθηκε τὸν Ολυμπιακὸν ἀγῶνα, Πέλοπος τε βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο. Pausan. V. 13, 1. ἡρόων τῶν ἐπὸ Ολυμπικὸς τοσοῦτον προτετιμημένος ἐστίν δ' Πέλοψ ὑπὸ Ηλείων δούς Ζεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων.—τὸ Πέλοπιον—ἀποτεῖμαι τῷ Πέλοπι Ἡρακλῆς δὲ Ἀμφιτρύωνς λέγεται· τέταρτος γὰρ δὲ ἀπόγενος καὶ ὥτος ὁ Πέλοπος. λέγεται δὲ

καὶ ὡς ἔθυσεν ἐπὶ τὸν βόθρον τῷ Πέλοπι. The descent was through *Lysidice* daughter of *Pelops*. Pindar Ol. X. 40—60. also places the Olympic games of *Hercules* after the death of the *Molianidae*. These games of *Hercules* we may suppose to have been celebrated soon after the death of *Pelops*. Pausanias V. 8, 1. places *Pelops* in the generation after *Endymion*, who was the third from *Aeolus*: Πέλοψ ὑστερον γενεῷ μάλιστα μετὰ Ἐνδυμίωνα, τὸν δέργανα τῷ Ολυμπίῳ Διτὶ ἐνθήσεν —Πέλοπος δὲ τῶν παιδῶν σκεδασθένταν ἐξ Ἡλίδος ἀνὰ τάσσαν τῷ ἄλλῳ Πελοπόννησον Ἀμυθάνω δικρήνειος Ἐνδυμίων ἀνέγιος πρὸς πατέρας—ἔθηκε τὰ Ολύμπια. The celebration of the games by *Pelops* and the dispersion of his sons through Greece are thus placed in the fourth generation before the Trojan war. *Pelops* in Apollod. III. 12, 6. makes war upon *Stymphalus* king of Arcadia. But *Stymphalus* the son of *Elatus* (Pausan. VIII. 4, 3) is also in the fourth generation before that period. Pindar Ol. I. 69—44. places *Ganymedes* after *Pelops*: ἐνθα δευτέρῳ χρόνῳ Ἡλίθε καὶ Γανυμῆδης which might create a difficulty, if, as the Scholiast observes, πρεσβύτερος Γανυμῆδης Πέλοπος. But Mr. Boeckh ad loc. p. 108. (who is followed by Disser. p. 12.) has removed the difficulty by remarking that Pindar might reckon *Ganymedes* the son of *Laomedon* (Eur. Troad. 822), or of *Ilus* (Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 34).

^w Heraclides apud Athen. XIV. p. 625. f. ἴδοι ἀν καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου πανταχοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ, χώματα μεγάλα, ἀ καλύσι τάφους τῶν μετὰ Πέλοπος Φρυγῶν. Strabo VIII. p. 374. Τροιζῆν καὶ Πισθεῖς, οἱ Πέλοπος ἐρυμβέντες ἐκ τῆς Πισσάτιδος, δὲ

Atreus, as we have seen, reigned after *Pelops* in *Pisatis*, and upon the testimony of Homer received the sceptre with the consent of his father ¹. After the death of *Eurystheus* he acquired Mycenæ towards the end of his life, when he was probably advanced in age, being the uncle of his predecessor. Hence his reign at Mycenæ and that of *Thyestes* were contained within the narrow space between *Eurystheus* and *Agamemnon*. *Agamemnon* was either the son or grandson of *Atreus* ², and yet was preceded by *Thyestes*. Apparently to reconcile this, the grammarians and interpreters have invented the account noticed above ² that *Agamemnon* was left a minor, and that *Thyestes* governed as his guardian. This, however, is

μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὁμόνυμα κατέλιπεν, ὁ δὲ Πιτθεὺς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔκεινον διαδέξαμενος. Conf. Pausan. II.

30, 8. Plutarch. Thes. c. 3. Πέλοψ οὐ χρημάτων πλήθεις μᾶλλον ἡ ταῖς μέγιστοι ἵσχυσι τῶν ἐν Πελοπονήσῳ βασιλίων, τοῦλας μὲν ἐκδόμενος θυγατέρας τοῖς ἀριστοῖς τοῦλοις, δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐδὲν ἄγκαταπτείρας ἄρχωνται· ἀν εἰς γενέμενος Πιτθεὺς κ. τ. λ. Six sons of *Pelops* and *Hippodamia* are recorded by Pindar Ol. I. 144. The Scholiast ad loc. gives three lists of the sons of *Pelops*: 'Ατρέα, Θύστηρ, Πιτθέα, 'Αλκάθεους, Πλεισθένη, Χρύσιππον. 2. 'Ατρέας, Θύστης, 'Αλκάθεος, Ιππαλκμος, Πιτθεύς, (ἐκ) Δίας, ἡ Χρύσιππος ἐξ 'Αξιόχοης νύφης καὶ Πλεισθένης ἐξ ἄλλης. 3. 'Ατρία, Θύστηρ, Ιππαλκμον, Πλεισθένη, Πιτθέα, Πλέοντα τὸν ηὔτερον. In Schol. Eur. Or. 5. the children of *Pelops* are thus given: Πέλοπος καὶ Ιππαλκμον 'Ατρέας, Θύστηρ, Δίας, Κυρίστηρος, Κορίθος, Ιππαλκμος, Ιππατος, Κλέων, Ἀρρείος, 'Αλκάθεος, Αἴλιος, Πιτθεύς, Τραῖζη, Νικίπη, Λυσιδίκη, καὶ ἔκ τινος 'Αξιόχοης νόθος Χρύσιππος. Of these, *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, *Pittheus*, are in all the lists and in Apollodorus. *Trazen* is in Strabo and Pausanias: *Alca-thous* in three, and in Apollod. III. 12, 6. Pausan. I. 41, 5. *Nicippē* is the mother of *Eurystheus*: Apollod. II. 4, 5. Schol. Thucyd. I. 9. calls her *Astydamia*. *Lysidicē* was married to one of the sons of *Perseus*; to *Electryon*: Schol. Pindar. Ol. VII. 49. 'Αλκμήητη μὲν ἐξ Ἡλεκτρίνων καὶ Λυσιδίκης τῆς Πέλοπος θυγατρός. Plutarch. Thes. c. 7. 'Αλκμήη Λυσιδίκης θυγάτηρ Λυσιδίκη δὲ καὶ Πιτθεύς ἀδελφοί. Diod. IV. 9. 'Ηλεκτρίνη τὴν Πέλοπος Εὐρυδίκη συνοικήσασαν 'Αλκμήητη τεκνώσαι. or to *Alca-thous*: Pausan. VIII. 14, 2. or to *Mestor*: Apollod. II. 4, 5. *Chrysippus* is mentioned by Apollodorus, Thucydides, Hellanicus apud Schol. Iliad. §. 105. Pausanias VI. 20, 4. These eight stand upon the best authorities. Of the rest; *Plisthenes* in the three lists of the Scholiast is the son of *Atreus* in Schol. Eur. Or. 5. *Dias* is a son of *Pelops* Ibid. where the writer mentions Κλεόδαν τὴν Διατος. Whence we may doubt the emendation of Heyne, who adds *ι* Δίας in Schol. Pindar. *Copreus*, not named in these lists, is a son of *Pelops* in Apollod. II. 5, 1. Κοπρέα Πέλοπες τῶν 'Ηλείου. rightly explained by Heyne ad loc. In Schol. Iliad. §. 639. Κοπρέας 'Ηλειον ταῖς;

τοῦ Πέλοπος; is perhaps from misunderstanding Apollodorus.

^x Hellanicus apud Schol. Iliad. §. 105. adopting however, like Thucydides, the tale of *Chrysippus*, describes *Atreus* as seizing upon *Pisatis* after his father's death: Πέλοψ ἐφυγάδευσε τὸν αὐτόχειρας τῆς σφαγῆς γενομένους παῖδας,—οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ἀλλαχῇ ἐκπίπουσι τῆς Πίστης τελευτῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πέλοπος 'Ατρέας κατὰ τὸ πρεσβύτερον σὺν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐλθὼν ἐκράτησε τῶν τόπων. ιστορεῖ Ἐλλάνικος. Alius Schol. φασὶν 'Ατρέα καὶ Θύστηρ ἐπιβουλεύσαντας Χρυσίππη—ἐκβεβλῆσθαι ἥπερ τοῦ πατρός· μετὰ δὲ θάνατον Πέλοπος 'Ατρέα ἐπιστρατηγῆσαντα εἰς Ἦλιν κρατῆσαι τῶν σκῆπτρων τοῦ πατρός. Schol. Eur. Or. 5. though also following the tale of the murder of *Chrysippus*, and the expulsion of *Atreus* by his father (which, as we have seen, is refuted by Homer), yet acknowledges his reign in Triphylia: ὁ δὲ Πέλοψ ὑπέτιττος ἔχων τοὺς παῖδας ἐκβάλλει τῆς πατρίδος ἐπαραστάμενος, τούτων ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλῃ φησαν, 'Ατρές δὲ καὶ Θύστης ἐν τῇ Τριφύλῃ κατέκησαν ἐν Μακέστῳ. According to Apollodorus II. 4, 6. *Sthenelus* the father of *Eurystheus* (and therefore before the reign of *Eurystheus*) planted them in Midea in Argolis: τὴν Μίδειαν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Πέλοπος παῖδας 'Ατρέα καὶ Θύστηρι παρέθετο τούτοις.

^y Schol. Eur. Or. 5. Ζεὺς, Τάνταλος, Πέλοψ, οὐ 'Ατρές καὶ Θύστηρ. ἐκ τοῦ 'Ατρέων 'Αγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος. This genealogy is adopted by Aristides tom. I. p. 270. Πέλοπος—ἄφ' οὐ τρίτος ἔγγονος βασιλεὺς κοινὸς τῇ Ἑλλάδος. and by Sophocles Aj. 1280. The other is recorded by another Scholiast ad Eur. Or. 5. 'Ατρέως Κλεόδαν τὴν Διαντος δογαγόμενος ἔσχε Πλεισθένη τὸ σῶμα ἀσθενῆ· ὃς Ἐριφύλην γύμνας ἔσχεν 'Αγαμέμνωνα καὶ Μενέλαον καὶ Ἀναξιβίαν. νέος δὲ τελευτῶν δὲ Πλεισθένης καταλείπει τῷ πατρὶ τοὺς παῖδας. Schol. Iliad. §. 249. 'Ατρεῖδαι ἦσαν κατὰ μὲν τὸ σύνθετος 'Αερότης καὶ 'Ατρέως παῖδες τοῦ Πέλοπος. τῇ δὲ ἀληθεῖᾳ Πλεισθένους, ὡς φασὶν ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Πορφύριος ἐν τοῖς ζητήμασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ Πλεισθένης νέος τελευτῇ μηδὲν καταλείψας μνήμης ἄξιον, νέας ἀνατραφέντες ὑπὲρ 'Ατρέως αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἐκλήθησαν. They are the sons of *Plisthenes* in Apollod. III. 3, 2. 'Αερότην ἔγημε Πλεισθένης, καὶ παῖδας 'Αγαμέμνωνα καὶ Μενέλαον ἔτεκε.

^z See p. 81.

not very probable. For *Eurystheus* was slain about twenty-four years before the fall of Troy; and, if *Atreus* survived him, which Thucydides affirms, *Atreus* was still living twenty-one or twenty-two years before that epoch. But *Agamemnon*, who was more than forty years of age at the time of the action of the Iliad^a, was consequently near twenty before the death of *Atreus*. And besides, Homer describes *Thyestes* as holding the sceptre in the same terms in which he had described *Atreus*^b. It is likely, then, that *Atreus* and *Thyestes* both successively held the sceptre by some mutual compact, and that it was afterwards to descend to *Agamemnon* then in early youth. If the eighteenth year of *Agamemnon*'s reign had commenced at the fall of Troy, according to the accounts already given^c, the short interval of six years will remain from the death of *Eurystheus* to be distributed between *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, in which there is no impossibility, when it is remembered that they were both older than *Eurystheus*^d. The extensive influence of *Agamemnon* is remarked by Thucydides, and indications of this may be traced in other accounts^e.

^a *Agamemnon* is addressed as an older prince than himself by *Diomed* Iliad. l. 112. and *Diomed* was born before the first Theban war, and was old enough to have borne a part in the second. See above p. 51. h. He must accordingly have been past thirty at the time of the action of the Iliad. Again, *Helen* had been nineteen years at Troy: Iliad. v. 765. *Menelaüs*, then, the younger brother of *Agamemnon*, had been married more than twenty years, and was probably more than forty years of age at the fall of Troy. That passage, indeed, of Homer:

ἥν γὰρ νῦν μοι τοδὶ ἐικοστὸν ἔτος ἔστιν
is rejected by Heyne tom. VIII. p. 751. *Si quis alias, hic utique locus rhapsodo debetur, qui tempora ad cyclicorum et tragicorum commenta accommodavit. Sane si Helena hac dixit:—jam XL saltem annorum matrona erat.* Bayle art. *Hélène* objects to it for the same reason; and Clavier tom. I. p. 254. *Comme les anciens critiques paraissent avoir élevé quelques doutes sur l'authenticité de ce passage, je crois qu'il faut s'en tenir à ce que dit Clément d'Alexandrie, que le siège commença quatre ans après l'enlèvement d'Hélène.* Clemens nowhere assigns this date, and his meaning p. 336. A. has been misunderstood by Clavier. The ancient critics are probably the Scholiast ad II. r. 326. where the reason assigned is frivolous: οὐκ ἡσαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρταγῆς Ἐλένης ἑνὸς τῆς αἰώνεως καὶ ἔτη· οὐκ ἀν γάρ ἀν καιρὸν εἶχε γαμηθῆναι Πηνελόπη, καὶ Τυλέμαχος ἦν ἀν καὶ ἔτον κ. τ. λ. In Schol. v. 765. the twenty years are explained: δέκα ἔτη ἐστρατολόγους κ. τ. λ. with which are intermixed other comments shewing that some ancient critics confounded these twenty years with the twenty years in Odyss. β. 175. Eustathius ad Iliad. v. p. 1374, who had read these mistaken comments, properly explains both periods: ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρταγῆς ὡς δεκατίας μὲν παρελθεύσῃς τῇ στρατολογίᾳ —ἄλλων δὲ δέκα ἔτῶν συντετέλεσμένων τῇ τῆς Τροίας

πολυρκίᾳ. τῇ μέν τι εἰκοσατεῖ ἐπανδρῷ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως οὐ προσλογιστέο τὰ ῥηθέντα τῆς στρατολογίας δέκα ἔτη—ἀλλὰ τὰ δέκα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὰ ἵσα τῆς πλάνης. The age of *Helen* is no objection to this verse; for this term, expressing nineteen years complete, might imply that she was thirty-seven or thirty-eight at the fall of Troy, and forty-seven when *Telemachus* saw her at Sparta Odyss. γ. 120. *Hermionē*, whose marriage with *Neoptolemus* they were then celebrating (Odyss. γ. 5), might be thirty years of age. As in that interval of ten years current στρατολογίας the second Theban war occurred, and perhaps the war of the sons of *Tyndareus* in Messenia, these would be among the causes why the expedition to Troy was delayed.

^b See p. 81.

^c See above p. 8. 81.
^d They were already in Triphylia and thence proceeded to Midea in the reign of *Sthenelus*. See p. 83. x. Memorials of *Atreus* were shewn at Mycenæ: Pausan. II. 16, 4. Ἄτρεως καὶ τῶν παλλῶν ὄντογα εἰκοδομήματα, ἵσθι οἱ θησαυροὶ σφισι τῶν χρημάτων ἡσαν, τάφος δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἄτρεως εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ δούς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐπανήκοντας ἐξ Ἰλίου δειπνοῖς κατεφόρευσεν Αἴγισθος.

^e Thucyd. I. 9. Ἀγαμέμνονοι δοκεῖ τῶν τότε δυνάμις προβάντων καὶ οὐ πιστῶντας Τυρδάρεων δρκοις κατειλημένους τὸς Ἐλένης μηνοτῆρας ἄγων τὸν στόλον ἀργῆραι—δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνων—ναυτικῷ ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων Ιοχώσας τὴν στρατευαν οὐ χάριτος τὸ πλεῖον ἡ φόβῳ ἐνισχαγγάγει ποιήσασθαι. In the Iliad i. 149. he possesses seven towns in the neighbourhood of Pylos: probably derived through *Atreus* from *Pelops*. He was said to have ruled in a part of Laconia: Schol. Eur. Or. 46. Ὁμηρος ἐν Μυκῆναις φησὶ τὰ βασιλεῖα Ἀγαμέμνονος, Στησίχορος δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίης ἐν Δακεδαιμονίᾳ. That he held connexions and influence in Crete appears from the foundation of three cities there: Velleius I. 1, 2. *Agamemnon tempestate in Cretam insulam rejectus tres ibi urbes*

3. *Cadmus* is placed by the Parian Marble 268 years before the first Theban war and 310 before the fall of 'Troy^f. He is a little before *Danaïs* in the Marble, a little after him in *Diodorus*^g, with whom those chronologers agree, who refer him to the time of *Lynceus*^h. Eusebius has various dates according to the various authors whom he followed, referring *Cadmus* to the 273rd year before the Trojan era, and to the 247thⁱ. All these dates are inconsistent with the traditions delivered concerning *Cadmus* and his descendants. We have seen that *Eteocles* fell in the first Theban war about thirty years before the Trojan period^k. Between *Cadmus* and *Eteocles* were four descents, *Polydorus*, *Labdacus*, *Laius*, *Oedipus*; and of these the second and third were minors under the successive care of the same guardian. *Laius* was slain: *Eteocles* fell in battle^l. We cannot, then, assign more than a century to the period

statuit, duas a patriæ nomine unam a victoria memoria, Mycenæ, Tegeam, Pergamum. Steph. Byz. Τεγέα—ἐν Κρήτῃ ἵπε ταῖς θυμβίαις κτισθεῖσα. which (as the interpreters of Velleius have shewn) is no contradiction of Velleius. On Pergamus conf. Serv. ad Virgil. Æn. III. 133. See Burman ad Velleium l. c.

Among the additions of later poets may be numbered the concealment of *Achilles* at Scyros. In the Iliad l. 252. x. 766. he proceeds from Thessaly with his father's advice and instructions.

^f Mar. Par. No. 7. ἀφ' οὐ Κάδμος ἐ 'Αγρύνορος εἰς Θήβας ἀρκετο.....έκτισεν τὴν Καδμείαν ἔτη ΧΗΗ ΙΔΙ Π βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀμφικτύονος. No. 22. ἀφ' οὐ 'Αργεῖον. ε. 'Αδρασ.....βας.....ευταν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα.

.....φ.θ.σαν.....ἔτη ΗΗΗΗ ΙΔΙ ΔΔΔ Π Η βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Θησέως. The date for the fall of Troy we have already seen p. 60. h. which gives the intervals here expressed.

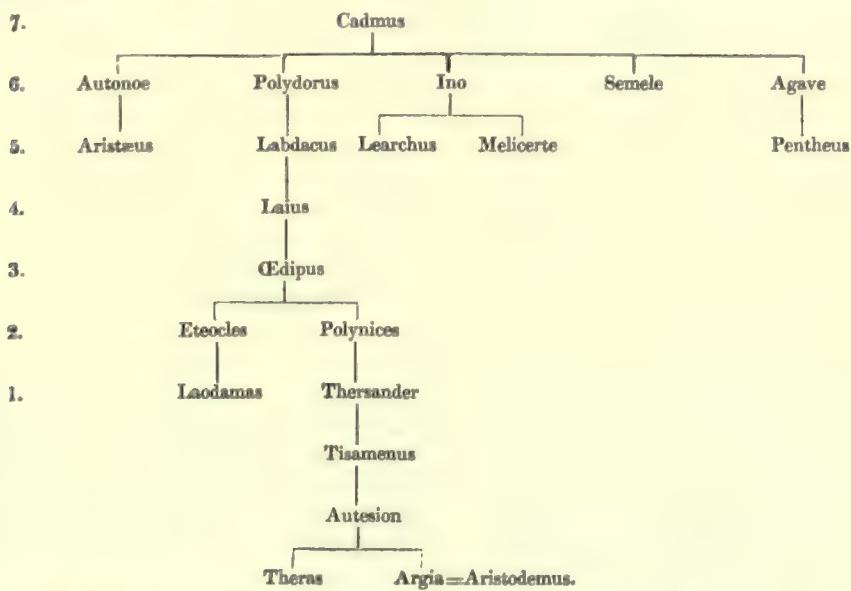
^g Diod. V. 58. Δαναὸς ἔφηγεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου—μικρὸν δὲ ὑστερον τούτων τὸν χρόνον Κάδμος κ. τ. λ.

^h See above p. 8.

ⁱ Euseb. p. 285. Anno 562 *Phœnix et Cadmus* *Thebis* *Ægyptiis in Syriam profecti regnaverunt Tyri et Sidone.* p. 286. Anno 588 *Cadmus apud Thebanos regnavit* &c. We shall see below another date of Eusebius.

^k See p. 51. h.

^l The genealogy from *Cadmus* to *Theras*, who lived in the time of *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, is as follows :



Herodotus V. 59, 60. gives the outline : ίδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμεῖα γράμματα ἐν τῷ ίρῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θήβαις τῆσι Βοιωτῶν, ἐπὶ τρίτοις τοῖς

ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὕμοια ἔντα τοῖς: Ἰωνικοῖσι. ὁ μὲν δὴ εἰς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει
Ἀμφιτρίον μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἵλυ ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάνων.

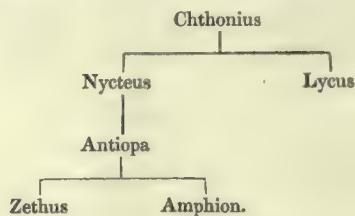
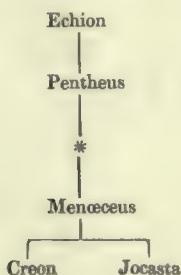
which elapsed from the coming of *Cadmus* to the death of *Eteocles*; which will place *Cadmus* at about 130 years before the fall of Troy. And this date, thus confirmed by the

ταῦτα ἡλικίην ἀν εἴη κατὰ Δάιον τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ Πολυδάρου τοῦ Κάδμου. ἔτερος δὲ τρίτους κ. τ. λ.—ἡλικίην κατὰ Οἰδίπου τὸν Δαῖον. τρίτος δὲ τρίτους λέγει καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἔξαμπτῳ

Λαοδάμας τρίτος αὐτὸν ἔνσκοψ Ἀπόλλωνι μοναρχίων ἀνιψήριος τεῖν περικαλλές ἄγαλμα.

ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμου τοῦ Ἐπεικέλους μοναρχίωντος ἐξανιστέαται Καδμεῖος ὑπ' Ἀργείων [see above p. 68]. Idem IV. 147. Θύρας ὁ Αὔτεσιωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος ἔστελλε ἐξ ἀποκιῆν ἐν Δακεδαίμονος ἦν δὲ ὁ Θύρας οὗτος γένος ἐν Καδμείος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεός τοῖς Ἀριστοδόμους παισὶ Εύρυθμένει καὶ Προκλέτι. Idem VI. 52. Ἀριστοδόμηρ τεκεῖ τὴν γυναῖκα τῇ ὄντρᾳ εἶναι Ἀργείην· θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτῆν λέγουσι εἶναι Αὔτεσιωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος [conf. Pausan. IV. 3, 3]. ταῦτην δὲ τεκεῖν δίδυμα. The children of *Cadmus* are in Apollod. III. 4, 2. According to Apollodorus and Pausanias, *Cadmus*, *Polydorus*, *Labdacus*, *Laius*, were all overborne by the native chiefs: Apollod. III. 5, 2—7. Πενθέν τε γεννήθεις ἐξ Ἀγανῆς Ἐχίου παρὰ Κάδμου εἰληφὼς τὴν βασιλείαν —ιππὸς τῆς μητρὸς Ἀγανῆς ἐμέλεισθη κ. τ. λ. δὲ Κάδμος μετὰ Ἀρμονίας Θύβας ἐκλιπὼν πρὸς Ἐγχέλεας παραγίνεται.—Πολύδωρος δὲ Θύβῳν βασιλεὺς γενόμενος—Νυκτῆδα γαμεῖ, Νυκτέως τοῦ Χθόνιον θυγατέρα, καὶ γεννᾷ Λάβδακαν. οὗτος ἀπώλετο μετὰ Πενθέως ἐκείνῳ φρονῶν παραπλήσια. καταλιπόντος δὲ Λαβδάκου παιδία ἐνιαυσιαῖον Δάιον, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείδετο Λύκος (ἔνως οὗτος ἦν παῖς)

ἀδελφὸς ὃν Νυκτέως—οἱρεῖται ὅν Λύκος πολέμαρχος ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπειθέτο τῇ δυναστείᾳ, καὶ βασιλεύσας ἐπὶ εἴκοσι φονεύθεις ὑπὸ Ζήθου καὶ Ἀμφίονος θνήσκει—οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν Λύκον κτείνονται—παραλαβόντες δὲ τὴν δυναστείαν τὴν μὲν τόλια ἐπειχίσαν Δάιον δὲ ἐξέβαλον. γαμεῖ δὲ Ζήθος μὲν Θήβην, ἀφ' ἣς ἡ πόλις Θήβαι· Ἀμφίων δὲ Νιάθην τὴν Ταντάλου.—μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίονος τελευτὴν Δάιος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. Pausan. IX. 5. Κάδμους ἐξ Ἑγχέλεας μετοιήσαντο Πολύδωρος δὲ Κάδμου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσχε. Πενθέν δὲ ὁ Ἐχίονος ἰσχὺς μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ γένους ἀξίωμα καὶ φίλια τῷ βασιλέως, ὃν δὲ ἐξ τὰ λοιπὰ ὥριστης καὶ ἀστβῆς Διονύσου δίκην ἐσχεν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. Πολύδωρος δὲ ἦν Λαβδάκος· ἔμελλε δὲ ὅρα αὐτὸν—παῖδας ἔτι ἀπολείσθειν, καὶ ἐπιτρέπει τὸν τε ὑνὸν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Νυκτέων. After the death of *Nycteus* (conf. II. 6, 2) ἐξ Λύκου ἀδελφὸν Νυκτέως ἡ τ' ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ παιδὸς περῆλθε καὶ ἡ Θηβαίων δυναστεία. Λύκος δὲ παρεδώκε μὲν αὐξηθέντι Λαβδάκῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν· γενομένης δὲ οἱ μετὰ πολὺν καὶ τούτῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, δὲ ἐπετρέπειντο αὐτοῖς Δάιον Λαβδάκου παιδία. Λύκον δὲ ἐπιτροπεύοντος δευτερον κατίστιν Ἀμφίων καὶ Ζήθος δύναμιν ἀγείραντες, καὶ Δάιον μὲν ὑποκλέπτωντον οἵ τις ἐπιμελές μὴ γενέσθαι τὸ Κάδμου γένος—ἀνώνυμον, Λύκον δὲ οἱ τῆς Ἀντιόπης παιδεῖς τῇ μάχῃ κρατῶσιν· ὃς δὲ ἐβραΐλενταν, τὴν πόλιν τὴν κάτω προσφίκισαν τῇ Καδμείᾳ καὶ Θήβαις ὄνομα ἔθεντο κατὰ συγγένειαν τῆς Θήβης. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ὁμηρος [Odys. λ'. 262], κ. τ. λ. After the deaths of *Zethus* and *Amphion*, Δάιον ἐπὶ βασιλεία κατάγοντος οἱ Θηβαῖοι. These chiefs together with *Creon* were of the Aboriginal race. The genealogy is thus given:



The Σπαρτοὶ were five in number: Schol. Pindar. Isthm. I. 41. οἱ ὑπὸ Σπαρτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες οἰκισταὶ τῶν Θηβαίων γεγόνασιν Τερένωρ, Χθόνιος, Πέλωρος, Οὐδαῖος, Ἐχίον. Pausan. IX. 5, 2. ἐπὶ Κάδμου μέγιστον μετά γε αὐτὸν Κάδμον ἥδιναντο οἱ Σπαρτοὶ Χθόνιος καὶ Τερένωρ καὶ Πέλωρος καὶ Οὐδαῖος· Ἐχίονα δὲ ὡς πρόχυτα κατ' ἀνδραγαθίαν γαμβρὸν ἥδιναντο Κάδμος ποιῆσασθαι· τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τούτους (οὐ γάρ τι ἥδινάμην ἐς αὐτοὺς παρειρεῖ) ἔποιει τῷ μίθῳ Σπαρτοὺς διὰ τὸν τρόπον ὑπόταν ἐγένοντα δυομασθῆνα. Apollod. III. 4, 1. περιεσώθησαν πέντε, Ἐχίον, Οὐδαῖος, Χθόνιος, Τερένωρ, Πέλωρ. Schol. Eur. Phoen. 942. οἱ περιλειφθέντες

τῶν Σπαρτῶν, δις Αἰσχύλος φησὶν, ἥστια Χθόνιος, Οὐδαῖος, Πέλωρος, Τερένωρ, καὶ Ἐχίον δις ἔγημεν Ἀγανῆν—ἔξ οὗ τοιεὶ Πενθέα, ὁ—, οἱ Μενοικεῖ, οἱ Κρέων καὶ Ιοκάστη. Ad v. 670. the conjectures of various authors are recorded: Πέλωρ, Ἐχίον, Οὐδαῖος, Χθόνιος, Τερένωρ, κατὰ δὲ Τιμαγήραν καὶ Κρέων.—δὲ μὲν Στησίχορος ἐν Εὐρωπείᾳ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐσπαρκέναι τοὺς ὄδυντας φησὶν, ὃ δὲ Ἀνδροτοῖς Σπαρτοῖς αὐτοὺς φησὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκολουθήσαστας αὐτοὺς ἐκ Φωιάνης Κάδμῳ σπαράδηροι οἰκισταί· Ἀμφίλοχος δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐπεστάρθαι τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Θήβαις· Διονύσιος δὲ ἔθνος Βοιωτίας αὐτοὺς φησὶν ἔνοι δὲ παιδεῖς Κάδμου κ. τ. λ. Heyne ad Apollod. III. 4, 1. supposes

history, is given from Castor by Eusebius, and appears to be approved by Eusebius himself^m.

Hellenicus made *Cadmus* contemporary with *Dardanus*ⁿ; but *Dardanus*, although probably before the time of *Cadmus*, is also placed too high by the chronologers; and the five

them to be Phœnician: *Quinque Sparti ad quos totidem familiæ Thebanæ genus referebant: qui Phœnicia forte originis fuere.* But this is contrary to his own etymology: *σκαρτός ex etymo fabula nata.* *Iudem γῆναι;* Clavier tom. I. p. 142. with much better reason supposes that they were Aboriginal chiefs whom the Phœnician settlers found in the country. And this is confirmed by the account that *Pentheus*, one of the race, resisted the worship of *Bacchus*, which the Phœnicians introduced.

According to Pausanias and Apollodorus the series of kings down to the Trojan era will be this:

1. Cadmus.
2. Pentheus.
3. Polydorus.
4. Nycteus.
5. Labdacus.
6. Lycus.
7. Amphion and Zethus.
8. Laius.
9. Creon.
10. Oedipus.
11. Eteocles.
- Creon again.
12. Laodamas.
13. Thersander.
14. Tisamenus.

Of fifteen names six were of the Aboriginal race. Clavier tom. I. p. 142. 148. with much probability conjectures that *Polydorus* never reigned at all; that *Nycteus* reigned, and was succeeded by his brother *Lycus* and his grandsons *Zethus* and *Amphion*; and that *Laius* was the first of the family of *Cadmus* who reigned at Thebes after the expulsion or retreat of *Cadmus*.

Oedipus according to Homer Odyss. λ'. 270—279. immediately discovered the marriage with his mother (whence Pausanias IX. 5. 5. collects that *Jocasta* was not the mother of his children: conf. Apollod. III. 5, 8), after whose death he had a troubled reign at Thebes. According to Hesiod he died at Thebes; and Homer Iliad. ψ'. 678. records his funeral games celebrated there: Εἰρυάλω—Μηκιστέας νῦν—

ὅς ποτε Θήβασθ' ἤλθε δεδουπότος Οἰδίποδας
ἔς τάφον—

Schol. ad loc. ἐπὶ τοῦ Μηκιστέως ἀκουστέον “ὅς ποτε”—
—εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Εἰρυάλου, ὡς ὁ Κράτης—νῦν δὲ δρόλογον ἔτι
ἐς Θήβας ἐτελεύτησε—βασιλεύοντα ἐν Θήβαις φησίν

ἀπολέσθαι, οὐχ ὡς εἰ νεότεροι. καὶ Ἡσίοδος δὲ φησιν ἐν Θύμαις αὐτῷ ἀποθανόντος Ἀργείας τὴν Ἀδράστου σὺν ἄλλοις ἀλλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν κηδείαν αὐτοῦ. Pausanias I. 28. 7. understands *Mecisteus*, and Heyne ad Homer. l. c. who observes, *Hæc de Mecisteo accipienda non de Euryalo, ut Crates fecerat; scilicet temporum ratione repugnante.* The death of *Oedipus* was probably little more than thirty years before the fall of Troy, and was therefore within the reach of the life of *Euryalus* himself. We have seen that the first Theban war, in which *Eteocles* and *Polynices* fell, was about thirty years before the Trojan era: see above p. 51. h. The second war is in Apollodorus III. 7, 2. μετὰ ἑτα δέκα, or ten years after the first; ἔτεσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ἥστερον in Pausanias IX. 9, 2. As *Diomed* was a child at the first war, and yet was present at the second, we may place the second war at least fifteen years after the first, and within fifteen years of the fall of Troy. *Laodamas* according to Apollodorus III. 7, 3. is slain; but Herodotus and Pausanias record that he retired with his followers from Thebes. *Thersander* son of *Polynices* recalled a part of the fugitives: Pausan. IX. 8, 3. and himself fell in Mysia in the beginning of the Trojan war: Ibid. 5, 7. The remaining fortunes of this dynasty are thus told by Pausanias: Ib. §. 8. τελευτήσαντος Θερσάνδρου—Πενέλεων ἄρχοντα εἴλοντο.—Πρένεων δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἵππο Εύρυπον—Τισαμενὸν βασιλέας αἱρεύνται—τῶν δὲ Ἐρινύων τῶν Λατῶν καὶ Οἰδίποδος Τισαμενῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐγένετο μῆνυμα, Αἴτεολοι δὲ τῷ Τισαμενῷ, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Δωριέας μετρήκησε τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος. This connexion with the Dorians led to the alliance with *Aristodemus* already mentioned.

^m Castor apud Euseb. p. 135. places *Cadmus* in the time of *Pandion II.* *Octavus Pandion Erechthei annis 25—Sub eodem Europa et Cadmus et qua de Spartis narrantur.* But according to the dates of Castor for the Attic kings (who computes 373 years from the first of *Cecrops* to the twenty-second of *Menestheus*, when Troy was taken) *Pandion II.* began to reign 248 years after *Cecrops* and 125 before the fall of Troy. Eusebius himself Chron. II. p. 291. 292. agrees with Castor: *Anno 699 Cecropis II. 300 Thebis, ut aliqui tradunt, regnat Cadmus. Anno 710 Pandionis II. 1º Europa rapta est. Anno 711 Pandionis 2º Spartorum res &c.* The first date is 136 years, the last 124, before the Trojan era.

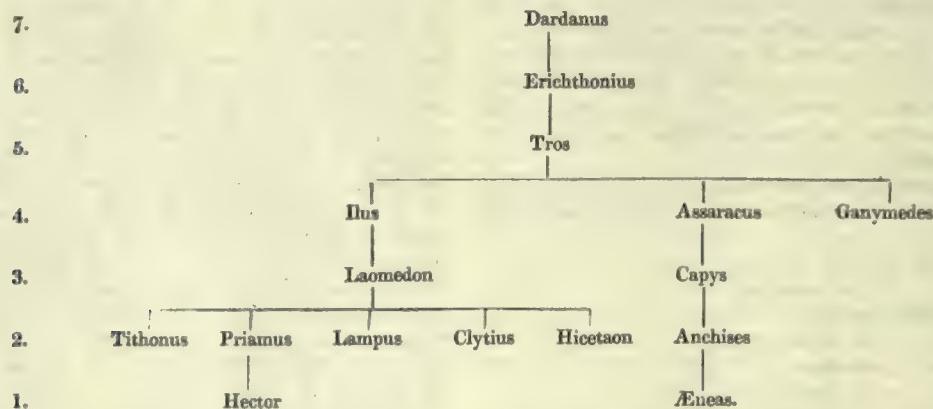
ⁿ Schol. Apollon. I. 916. quoted above p. 22. h.

generations recorded in the Iliad between *Dardanus* and *Hector* will not admit of more than 200 years between the establishment of *Dardanus* and the fall of the city^o.

4. The Arcadian kings were traced to *Pelasgus*, who appears in Arcadia in the ninth or tenth generation before the Trojan war^p. *Lycaon* son of *Pelasgus* had fifty sons^q. *Nycti-*

^o The testimonies which derive *Dardanus* from Peloponnesus have been given at p. 22. h.

Homer Iliad. v. 215—240. has the following genealogy:



Dardanus is placed in the time of *Sthenelus*: see p. 8. Euseb. p. 284. Anno 538 *Dardanus condit Dardaniam*. A date 297 years before the fall of Troy. But p. 291. he again names *Dardanus*: Anno 701 *Pelops—expeditione adversus Ilium suscepta victus a Dardano est*. In Syncellus p. 160. C. ἡττήθη ἐπειδὴ Δαρδάνου. where *Dardanus* seems a mistake of Eusebius for *Ilus*.—Anno 709. *Ilium ab Ilio (Ilo) conditum est*. Also repeated by Syncellus p. 161. D. These dates are 134 and 126 years before the era. Petavius R. Temp. II. II. 10. mentions the duration of the monarchy as follows: *Auctor ille Troicorum qui cum Iliade parva aliisque carminibus Græce editus est a Michaële Neandro Trojanum regnum 300 annis perseverasse dicit: εἰς πέρας ἡλθε τρυποσίων λυκαβάτων*. This writer according to Petavius enumerates six kings, whose reigns amount to 296 years; agreeing with the epoch in Eusebius. But the establishment of *Dardanus* may be probably placed a century below this date, and the foundation of *Ilium* by *Ilus* son of *Tros* thirty or forty years below the time assigned by Eusebius.

^p See above p. 12, 13. Two testimonies place him in the ninth, one in the tenth generation; we may therefore place him with *Danaüs* at 283 years before the Trojan era. See above p. 73. a.

^q Dionysius Ant. I. p. 31. gives *Lycaon* only

twenty-two sons: δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ταῦτα Λυκάονι γενέμενα, εἰς τεσσάρους ἔπει τελέρους νεμηθῆναι τὴν Ἀρκάδων χώραν. Apollodorus III. 8, 1. assigns fifty sons: πεντήκοντα ταῦτα δύεντησ. And Nicolaüs Damascenus p. 239. Λυκάων ὁ Πελασγὸς νῦν βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων ἐφύλαττε τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰσηγήματα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κ. τ. λ.—τῶν δὲ τούτων πεντήκοντα, δις φασι, ὄνταν ἐκ τοῦτων γυναικῶν κ. τ. λ. Heyne ad Apollod. p. 660. observes, *Lycaonis L. filii. Videntur in hunc censum retulisse Arcades conditores omnium suarum urbium seu vicorum. Adscripserat hæc nomina Pherecydes (Dionys. I. 13). Partem ex iis recitat Pausanias VIII. 3. et Schol. Lycophr. 481. nec tamen e aveniunt nomina inter se. Desiderantur in nostro nomina satis clara Acaci, Phigali, Parrhasi. Quid? quod Ēnotri, quem non præterit Pausanias p. 603. nulla omnino fit mentio? Sunt ibi quoque filii Lycaonis numero XXII. et, si penitus inspiceris, alias ac senior Lycaon [see above p. 12].* Apollodorus has only forty-eight names; Pausanias VIII. 3, 1. has twenty-eight; and eighteen of these do not occur in Apollodorus. *Parrhasus* is omitted in Pausanias. Tzetzes ad Lycophron. 481. of the fifty sons of *Lycaon* names twelve who are all in Apollodorus. In Steph. Byz. are some names which occur neither in Apollodorus nor in Pausanias. It may be worth while to exhibit these names of the sons of *Lycaon*, as an example of the practice of feigning genealogies in order to

thus a son of *Lycaon* was by one tradition the father of *Callisto*, and *Callisto* was the mother

express that the different branches of a people belonged to the same race and were sprung from the same stock.

1. *Αἰγαλος*. Apollod.
2. *Αἴμων*. Apoll. Schol. Lyc. Paus. conf. VIII. 44, 2. Αἴμωνις τόλις—οίκιστης δὲ Αἴμων ὁ Λυκάονος. Steph. Byz. Αἴμων p. 64. C.
3. "Ακακος—Ακακίσιον ἔκτισεν. Paus.
4. "Αγκύωρ. Apollod.
5. "Ακόντης. Apoll. Steph. Byz. Ακόντιον. τόλις Αρκαδίας, ἀπὸ Ακόντιον τοῦ Λυκάονος.
6. "Αλίφρορος. Apoll. Pausan.
7. "Αρκαλέν. Apollod.
8. "Αρτάλικος; Apollod. Perhaps the same as the preceding.
9. "Αρχεβάτης. Apollod.
10. "Ασαιάτης. Paus. Δασεάτης Siebel. ad loc.
11. *Βουκολών*. Apollod.
12. *Γενέτωρ*. Apoll.
13. "Ελεάτας. Pausan. Δασεάτας Bekker.
14. "Ελίκας. Apoll. Steph. Byz. Ελίκη. τόλις Πελοποννήσου. ἀπὸ Ελίκα τοῦ Λυκάονος, η̄ Ελίκης τῆς Ιανος γηγαικὸς κ. τ. λ.
15. "Εινεσάν. Paus. ἀπὸ Εινεσώντος η̄ τε τόλις καὶ δε πεταμός Εινεσών τὰ ινώματα ἐσχήκασιν.
16. *Εβαίμων*. Apoll. Steph. Byz. Εβαίμων. τόλις Ορχομενίου. Θεόποτος; ἔκτη.
17. *Εἴμων*. Apollod.
18. *Είρηντης*. Apollod.
19. "Ηραιός. Apoll. Paus.
20. *Θεσπρωτός*. Apoll. Schol. Lyc. Steph. Byz. Εφίρα τόλις Ἡτείρου, ἀπὸ Εφίρου τοῦ "Αμβρακος τοῦ Θεσπρωτοῦ τοῦ Λυκάονος τοῦ Πελασγοῦ (sic Palmer.) τοῦ γηγενοῦς τοῦ Ἀρκάδος.
21. *Θυραιός*. Paus. Idem VIII. 35, 6.
22. *Θύκνος*. Paus.
23. *Κάνθοδος*. Apollod.
24. *Καρτέρων*. Apollod.
25. *Καίκων*. Apoll. Schol. Lycophr.
26. *Κλείτηρ*. Apoll. Schol. Lycophr.
27. *Κορέθων*. Apoll.
28. *Κρώμος*. Paus.
29. *Κύναθος*. Apoll. Steph. Byz. Κύναθα.
30. *Δέαν*. Apoll.
31. *Λίνος*. Apoll.
32. *Λύκος*. Apoll. Λυκεῖς Paus. Λύκος Schol. Lyc.
33. *Λύκτος*. Steph. Byz. Λύκτος. τόλις Κρήτης ἀπὸ Λύκτου τοῦ Λυκάονος.
34. *Μαίναλος*. Apoll. Pausan. Schol. Lycophr. Schol. Apollon. I. 168. Μαίναλον τοῦ Ἀρκάδος, εἶ τατῆρ Λυκάονος. Cod. Par. Μαίναλον νιῶν Λυκάονος.
35. *Μακαρέας*. Apoll. Pausan. Steph. Byz. Μακάρεας.
36. *Μάκεδος*. See above p. 21. g.
37. *Μαντινείς*. Apollod. Pausan. Schol. Lyc.
38. *Μελαυνές*. Pausan. Steph. Byz. Μελαυναῖς. Idem VIII. 26, 5.
39. *Μηκιστεῖς*. Apollod.
40. *Νίκτημος*. Apoll. Pausan. Schol. Lyc.
41. *Οἴνωτρος*. Paus. See above p. 24. e. Pherecydes apud Dionys. I. p. 35.
42. "Οἰδεῖς. Apoll.
43. "Ορχόμενος. Apoll. Paus. Schol. Lyc.
44. "Ορος. Apoll. In "Ορος potest latere Οἴνωτρος Heyn.
45. "Ορεσθεῖς. Pausan. Steph. Byz. Ορεσθάσιον.
46. *Πάλλαρ*. Apoll. Paus. Hesiod. apud Steph. Byz. Παλλάρτιος.
47. *Παρρασός*. Steph. Byz. Παρρασία.
48. *Πέραιων*. Pausan.
49. *Πεικέτιος*. Apoll. Pherecydes apud Dionys. I. p. 35. See above p. 24. e.
50. *Πλάτων*. Apollod.
51. *Πόλυχος*. Apollod.
52. *Πορθεύς*. Apollod.
53. *Πρόθεος*. Apollod.
54. *Σουματεῖς*. Paus. Steph. Byz. Σουμάτια.
55. *Στύμφαλος*. Apoll. Schol. Lyc. Schol. Apollon. Cod. Paris. II. 1054. Στύμφηλος δὲ νῦν Λυκάονος, καὶ Στύμφηλος ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ τόλις ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ.
56. *Συκλεῖς*. Apollod.
57. *Τεγεάτης*. Paus. Idem VIII. 45, 1. Steph. Byz. Τέγεα.
58. *Τηλεβόας*. Apoll. Schol. Lyc.
59. *Τιτάνας*. Apollod. Steph. Byz. Τίτανα. Χωρίον τῆς Σικυωνίας.
60. *Τραπεζένης*. Paus. Steph. Byz. Τραπεζῆνης.
61. *Τρικόλωνος*. Paus. Steph. Byz. Τρικόλωνος.
62. "Τρέηρης. Steph. Byz. Τρεηροῖς. τόλις Ἀχαΐας—ἀνωμάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ Τρέηρης τοῦ Λυκάονος νιῶν. Pausanias II. 30, 7. mentions *Hypereas* a king of Troezen, son of Neptune, from whom Troezen was first called *Hypereia*.
63. "Τύεῦς. Paus. Steph. Byz. Θυραιοῦ.
64. *Φάσσος*. Apollod.
65. *Φθίος*. Apoll. Schol. Lycophr.
66. *Φήγαλος*. Paus. Idem VIII. 5, 5.
67. *Φινέας*. Apollod. For Φινέα, however, we may perhaps read Φενέας, from Φενέας. The founder of Phenoeus is Φενέας αὐτόχθων in Pausan. VIII. 14, 4. who might well be called in some accounts a son of *Lycaon*.
68. *Φύσιος*. Apollod.
69. *Χαρίσιος*. Pausan. Steph. Byz. Χαρίσιαι.
70. *Ψαφίς*. Steph. Byz. Ψαφίς. τόλις Ἀρκαδίας, κέλητης δὲ ἀπὸ Ψαφίδος τοῦ Λυκάονος, ἵψ' ὁ φασὶ τὸ παλαιόν ἔκτισθαι αὐτῷ. η̄ ἀπὸ Ψαφίδος τῆς "Ερικος θυγατρός. This last is the account of Pausanias VIII. 24, 1. who mentions two other accounts, that *Psophis* is the son of *Arron* and the seventh

of *Arcas*^r. *Arcas* had three sons *Azan*, *Aphidas*, *Elatus*. From *Aphidas Agapenor*, who led the Arcadians in the Homeric Catalogue, and *Echemus* king of Tegea in the time of *Hylus*, were the fifth descendants^s. *Hippothus*, also in the same generation, being the fifth from from *Nyctimus*, or the daughter of *Xanthus* and the fourth from *Arcas*.

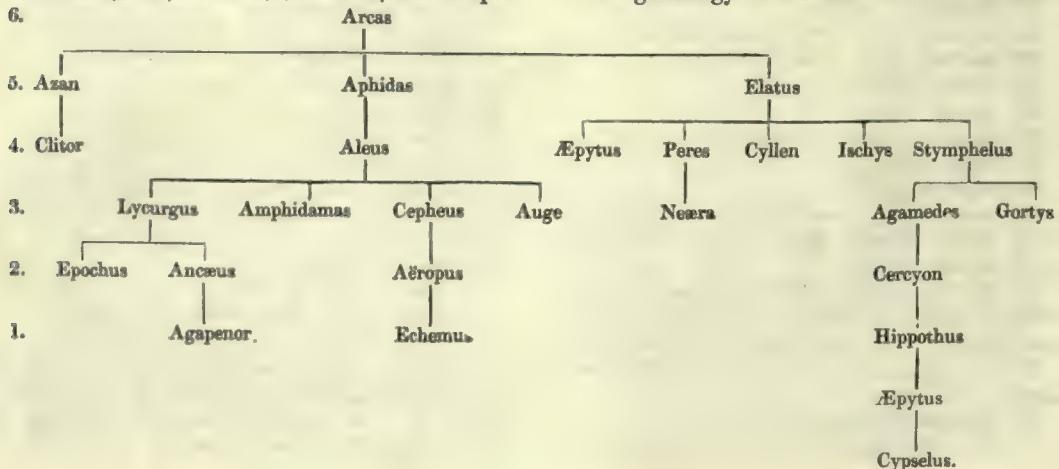
This number of the names may partly arise from corruption in Apollodorus, whose list appears to be both defective and corrupt, and partly from variation in the accounts. The fifty names might be differently supplied by different authorities. Of these names at least thirty-two are the names of places in Arcadia. Of eight others, three at least belong to Peloponnesus. Some of the sons of *Lycaon* appear from Strabo V. p. 221. already quoted to have been recited by Hesiod; and by Pherecydes: see Dionys. quoted above at p. 24. e. Clavier Hist. des Pr. Temps tom. I. p. 108. perhaps without reason supposes that the list of fifty names in Apollodorus was derived from Ephorus. This number 50 occurs frequently in mythology. *Priam* had fifty sons. *Thestius* fifty daughters: Pausan. IX. 27, 5. Apollod. II. 4, 10. *Danaüs* fifty daughters; *Egyptus* fifty sons: Apollod. II. 1, 4. *Pallas* fifty sons: Plutarch. Thes. c. 3. *Endymion* fifty daughters: Pausan. V. 1, 2. There were fifty *Nereids*: Hesiod. Theog. 264. conf. Valck. ad Ammon. p. 164. The fifty daughters of *Endymion* are ingeniously explained by Mr. Boeckh Expl. ad Pindar. p. 138.

Some traditions gave *Lycaon* a daughter, who was the mother of *Dryops*: see above p. 37. s. and some gave him another daughter, *Callisto* the mother of *Arcas*.

^r See above p. 12. 13. for the different accounts of the origin of *Arcas*. From him the country was called *Arcadia*: Pausan. VIII. 4, 1. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ βασιλεύσαντος Ἀρκάδης τε ἀγέ τι Πελασγίας ἡ χώρα καὶ ἀγέ τι Πελασγῶν Ἀρκάδες ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Steph. 6.

Byz. Ἀρκάς, Ἀρκάδης. ἀφ' οὗ Ἀρκάδης καὶ Ἀρκαδία.—ἐκαλέστο δὲ Πελασγίν, ὃς Νικόλαος πέμψτε.—ἐκλήθη δὲ καὶ Παρρασία καὶ Λυκαονία. εἰ δὲ καὶ Γρυατίδα φασὶ καὶ Ἀζανίαν καὶ Πανίαν. We may with Muller vol. I. p. 390. determine that *Lycaon* and *Callisto* were imaginary persons, and that under these names either a deity or a worship was represented. The Arcadians were an aboriginal tribe of the Pelasgic race. Hence their founder is called *Pelasgus*. Under *Arcas* is either designated the Arcadian chief who founded the dynasty of Arcadian kings (the name of the people being transferred to an individual), or, *Arcas* being an expression for the Arcadian people, as Muller vol. I. p. 390. supposes, the three leaders *Azan*, *Aphidas*, and *Elatus*, were called sons of *Arcas* because they were chiefs of Arcadian origin. But the names *Pelasgus* and *Arcas* seem to mark two beginnings of the Arcadian people; one in the time of *Pelasgus* V.; the other, three or four generations later, when they assumed the name of Arcadians; either the same tribe receiving another appellation, or another tribe of the same nation acquiring the lead. The latter is implied by Aristotle apud Schol. Apollon. IV. 264. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 397. Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Τεγεατῶν πολιτείᾳ φησίν οὐτι βάρβαροι τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν φένταν, οὔτενες ἐξεβλήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων [τῶν νῦν Ἀρ. Schol. Aristoph.] ἐπιθεέντων αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ἐπιτεῖται τὴν σελήνην. But it is evident from other traditions and testimonies that the barbarians whom the Arcadians expelled were of the same race as the Arcadians themselves: a circumstance of which we have already seen other examples. See above p. 59. d.

^s The genealogy in Pausanias VIII. 4. is this:



Elatus, succeeded *Agapenor* after the Trojan war. His grandson *Cypselus* reigned at the

Pausan. VIII. 4. τοῖς δὲ ταῖσιν ὃς οὐκέτησαν διίνειμεν 'Αρκάς τριχῇ τὴν χάραν' καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν 'Αζάνος η 'Αζανία μοῖρα ἀνομάσθη—'Αφείδας δὲ Τεγέαν καὶ τὴν προσχῆται ταῖς ἔλαχεν' ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν 'Αφείδαντεων κλῆρον τὴν Τεγέαν [conf. Apollon. I. 162]. "Ελάτεις δὲ ἔσχε τὸ ὄρος τὴν Κυλλήνην, ἐπὶ τότε οὖσαν ἀνόμυμον. χρόνῳ δὲ ὑπέρερον μετέφησεν ἐξ—Φωκίδα καὶ τοῖς τε Φωκεῦσιν ἥμινεν ὑπὸ Φλεγυῶν πολέμῳ πιεζόμενος, καὶ 'Ελατεῖας πόλεως ἐγένετο οἰκιστής, παΐδα δὲ 'Αζανία μὲν Κλείτορα 'Αφείδαντι δὲ 'Αλεύν· 'Ελάτη δὲ φάσι εἶναι πέντε, Αἴπτων, Περέα, Κυλλῆνα, "Ισχυν, Στύμφηλον. ἐπὶ δὲ 'Αζανίᾳ τῷ 'Αρκάδος τελευτήσατο: Ἀθλα ἐξέθη πρότοι. ——Κλείτωρ μὲν δὴ οὐ 'Αζανίας ἐν Λικούρῳ τε φέκει καὶ ἡνὶ βασιλέων δυνατότατος, καὶ Κλείτορα ὄφιστεν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ πόλιν· 'Αλεύς δὲ εἶχε τὴν πατρώνα λῆξιν. ἀπὸ δὲ 'Ελάτου τοῦ ταίδων Κυλλήνην τὸ ὄρος καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ Κυλλήνος καὶ ἀπὸ Στύμφηλου πηγὴ τε ὀνομάζεται καὶ πόλις Στύμφηλος ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. ——Κλείτορι δὲ τῷ 'Αζανίας οὐ γενομένων παΐδων, ἐς Αἴπτων 'Ελάτου περιεχάρσεις η 'Αρκάδων βασιλεία. The triple division is mentioned by Steph. Byz. 'Αζανία. μέρος τῆς 'Αρκαδίας, ἀπὸ 'Αζανίου τῆς [l. 'Αζανίου τοῦ] 'Αρκάδος—διήρχεται δὲ (η 'Αρκαδία) εἰς τρία, Παρρασίους, 'Αζανίας, Τραπεζούτους· καὶ ἔχει η 'Αζανία πόλεις ἐπτακαβέκας ἀς ἔλαχεν 'Αζανία. And by Schol. Eur. Or. 1642. 'Αρκάς [see above p. 13. e] ἔσχεν 'Ελάτου, 'Αφείδατα, 'Αζανία. τούτων ἀρκάτων τῆς χύρας, οὐ 'Αζανία ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ίδιαν μοῖραν 'Αζανίας ὀνόμαστεν. 'Αρκάδες οὐν πάντες κοινῇ ἐκαλεῖντο, μέρος δὲ τούτων 'Αζανίας. Another etymology is given Schol. Apollon. II. 53. ἀξαλίνος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑπροῦ: θεεὶς τινὲς οὐκ ἀπὸ 'Αζανίας βασιλέων ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τραχείαν εἶναι 'Αζανίας φασὶ κληθῆναι τὴν 'Αρκαδίαν. Apollodorus III. 9, 1. omits *Azan* and three of the sons of *Elatus*: 'Αρκάδος καὶ Λεανέρας—ώς; δὲ Εὔμηλος λέγει, νύμφης Χρυσοπεδελας, ἐγένετο ταῖδες 'Ελάτεις καὶ 'Αφείδας, ὅπου τὴν γῆν ἐμερίσαντο, τὸ δὲ ταῦν κράτος εἶχεν 'Ελάτος, δὲ—Στύμφαλος καὶ Περέα τεκνοί, 'Αφείδας δὲ 'Αλεύν καὶ Σθενέβιον, η γαμεῖ Προῖτος. Conf. Tzetz. ad Lyc. 480. It would seem that Eumelus omitted *Azan*. *Aphidas* is mentioned Schol. Apollon. I. 162. οὐ 'Αλεύς ιστορεῖται 'Αφείδαντος οὐδὲ εἶναι τοῦ 'Αρκάδος. 'Αφείδας δὲ οὐ 'Αρκάδος ἀρχαῖος ηρως ἐβασίλευσε Τεγέας. Of the sons of *Elatus*, *Ischys* is attested in a poem ascribed to Hesiod apud Schol. Pindar. Pyth. III. 14. 'Ισχυν Εἰλατίδης, and by Pindar Pyth. III. 55. 'Ισχυνος Εἰλατίδα. *Erytus* is mentioned in the Iliad β. 604 (conf. Pausan. VIII. 16, 2) and by Pindar Ol. VI. 55=34. ηρως Εἰλατίδης οὐ διδύμων 'Αρκάδων ἀνάστης Φωσάνων.—Αἴπτων κ. τ. λ. On the town Phæsana see Didymus quoting Ister apud Schol. ad loc. *Erytus*, called in Schol. Iliad. β. 604. ἀρχαῖοτας ηρως 'Αρκάς τὸ γένος, is the son of *Arcas* in Hesych. Αἴπτων: Αἴπτων δὲ εἰς ἐστι τοῦ τοῦ 'Αρκάδος ταίδων, οὐ ην βασιλεὺς 'Αρκάδων. We have already seen p. 89. that *Clitor* and *Stymphalus* were sometimes called the sons of *Lycœon*.

Pausanias I. c. proceeds with the series down to *Agapenor*: μετὰ δὲ Αἴπτων ἔσχεν 'Αλεύς τὴν ἀρχὴν. 'Αγαμῆδης μὲν γάρ καὶ Γόρτυς οἱ Στυμφήλου τέταρτον γένος ησαν ἀπὸ 'Αρκάδος, 'Αλεύς δὲ τρίτος οὐ 'Αφείδαντος. 'Αλεύς δὲ τῇ τε 'Αθηνῷ τῇ 'Αλέρει τὸ ιερὸν ὄφελον μησητεῖ ἐν Τεγέῃ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καὶ αὐτῷ κατεσκεύαστο αὐτόθι η βασιλεία. Γόρτυς δὲ οὐ Στυμφήλου πόλιν Γόρτυνα φίκεται ἐπὶ ποταμῷ.—Αλέρη δὲ ἀρσενες μὲν ποιῆδες Λικούργος τε καὶ 'Αμφιδάμας καὶ Κηφένις θυγάτηρ δὲ ἐγένετο Αἴγην.—μετὰ δὲ 'Αλεύου τελευτήσαντα Λικούργος οὐ 'Αλεύου τὴν βασιλείαν πρεσβεῖα ἔσχε—γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ παιδῶν 'Αγκαλού τε καὶ 'Επόχου, τὸν μὲν ποιήσαντα ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεὸν 'Αγκαλού δὲ Ιάσονι τε τοῦ πλοῦ μετέσχεν ης Κόλχους καὶ ὑπέρερον ὁμοῦ Μελεδάρηψ τὸ ἐν Καλυδανὶ κατεργαζόμενος θηρίον ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ τοῦ οὗδας [ex Pherecyde lib. VIII. Schol. Apollon. I. 188]. Λικούργος μὲν δὴ πορθωτάτω γήρως ἀφίκετο ἐπιδόν τοὺς παιδας ἀμφοτέρους τελευτήσαντας. Λικούργου δὲ ἀποθανόντος "Εχεμος οὐ 'Αερόπου τοῦ Κηφέων τοῦ 'Αλεύου τὴν 'Αρκάδων ἔσχεν ἀρχὴν.—'Αγαπήνωρ δὲ οὐ 'Αγκαλού [Αγκαλίου πάτης Iliad. β. 609] τοῦ Λικούργου μετὰ "Εχεμον βασιλεύσας ης Τροίαν ἡγήσατο 'Αρκάσιν. Apollodorus III. 9, 2. makes *Aphidamas* the son of *Lycurgus*: 'Αλεύου δὲ θυγάτηρ μὲν Αἴγην οὐδὲ Κηφένις καὶ Λικούργος.—Λικούργου δὲ —'Αγκαλού καὶ "Επόχου καὶ 'Αμφιδάμας καὶ "Ιάσος. 'Αμφιδάμαντος δὲ Μειδανίων καὶ θυγάτηρ 'Αντιμάχη ην Εὐρυσθεῖς ἔγημεν. The Scholiast on Homer Iliad β. 603. 609, though mutilated, affords when corrected the same generations as Pausanias from *Arcas* to *Agapenor*: 'Αρκαδία ἀπὸ 'Αρκάδος τοῦ Διός οὐ 'Αμφιδάμας, οὐ 'Αλεύς, οὐ 'Αγκαλού, οὐ 'Αγαπήνωρ.—'Αρκάδος τοῦ Διός οὐ 'Αμφιδάμας, οὐ Λικούργος, οὐ 'Αγκαλού, οὐ 'Αγαπήνωρ. In the first passage, by an error of the transcriber, Λικούργος is omitted; in the second, 'Αλεύς and in both 'Αφείδας is called 'Αμφιδάμας. The Scholiast on Apollon. I. 164. also agrees with Pausanias. The adventure of *Augē* with *Hercules* occurred in the lifetime of *Aleus*: Pausan. VIII. 4, 6. Apollod. III. 9, 1. Diod. IV. 33. which supposes *Aleus* to be still living within fifty years of the Trojan era. *Lycurgus*, however, was an old man in the youth of *Nestor*: Iliad. γ'. 133—154. *Echemus* reigned at Tegea: Pindar. Ol. X. 79. Hence the *Tegeatae* in Herodot. IX. 26: "Εχεμος οὐ 'Ηερόπου τοῦ Φηγέως (sic) στρατηγός τε ἐὸν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡρέτορος. He slew *Hyllus* twenty years before the fall of Troy: see p. 79. p. and yet was dead before the expedition, since *Agapenor* commanded. We may suppose *Echemus* to have succeeded *Lycurgus* about thirty years before the fall of Troy. He married *Timandra*: Hesiod. apud Schol. Pindar. Ol. X. 79. Τιμάνδρην "Εχεμος θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτην. daughter of *Tyndareus*: Pausan. VIII. 5, 1. Apollod. III. 10, 6. Τιμάνδρην καὶ Λήδας Τιμάνδρα η "Εχεμος ἔγημε. For her conduct conf. Eustath. ad Iliad. β. p. 305, 17.

return of the *Heraclidae* into Peloponnesus^t. According to Pausanias there were twelve generations (both inclusive) from *Cypselus* to *Aristocrates II.* who was king of Orchomenus in the second Messenian war^v. In the Arcadians, then, the original Pelasgic race remained unchanged in Peloponnesus^w through all the revolutions which ensued upon the return of the *Heraclidae*.

IV.

CONCLUSION FROM THE PRECEDING INQUIRY.

THE preceding view of the early inhabitants of Greece will lead us to the conclusion that the *Pelasgi*, *Leleges*, *Dryopes*, *Aones*, and other antehellenic tribes, were of the same race as the *Hellenes* themselves. Niebuhr, who admits^a that the Arcadians, the most ancient Argives, and the Ionians, were *Pelasgi*, who admits^b that the *Pelasgi* and *Hellenes* agreed in religion, yet asserts that the *Hellenes* and the *Pelasgians* were totally distinct races^c. But if

^t Pausan. VIII. 5, 3. 4. Ἀγαμήνορες δὲ οὐκ ἀναστέντες, οὐκαὶ ἐξ Ἰλίου, παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰππόθεν; Κερκίνεος τοῦ Ἀγαμήνου τοῦ Στυμφῆλου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπιφανὲς συμβῆναι παρὰ τὸν βίον φασὶν οὐδὲν πλὴν ὅντος οὐκ ἐν Τεγέᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν κατεστήσατο ἀλλὰ ἐν Τρακεζοῦντι. Λίπυτος δὲ ὁ Ἰππόθεν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν· καὶ Ὁρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ μαντεῖαν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλανος μετρόκησεν ἐξ Ἀρκάδιαν ἐκ Μυκρῶν. —Κυκλέους δὲ τοῦ Λίπυτον βασιλεύοντος μετὰ Λίπυτον, ὁ Δωριέων στύλος κ. τ. λ.—πιθανόμενος τε ἐς αὐτὸν ὁ Κύψελος δὲ τῶν Ἀριστοφάρχου παῖδεων οὐκ ἔχοντα τα γυναικαὶ εἵρισκε τούτῳ τὴν βυνατέρα ἑκδὺν καὶ οἰκειωσάμενος τὸν Κρεσφόντην αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐκτὸς ἐστήκεσσαν δειματος. Conf. IV. 3, 3. Polyæn. I. 7. Κύψελος Ἀρκαδίας ἥρχεν. Ἡραλδεῖος στρατευτον ἐπ' Ἀρκάδας χρησμὸς ἦν κ. τ. λ. Siebel. ad Pausan. VIII. 5, 4. rightly observes that the narratives of Pausanias and of Polyænus are not inconsistent with each other.

^v Pausanias VIII. 5. gives the descendants of *Cypselus* down to *Aristocrates* in the following manner: Δαιας ἦν Κυψέλος παῖς;—τοῦ δὲ ἦν Βαυκόλεων. τοῦ δὲ Φίαλος. Then followed *Pompus* and *Æginetes*: μετὰ δὲ Αἴγυπτην Πελιμήστηρ ἐγένετο Αἴγυπτου βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδιον, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Χάριλος τρόπων τότε ἐξ τὴν Τεγεατῶν ἐσβάλλουσι στρατιῇ, κ. τ. λ. See F. H. II. p. 417. e. for this war with *Charilaüs*. Pausan. Ibid. Πολυμήστορ δὲ οὐ γεννέντων παιδῶν παρέλαβεν Αἴχμιος τὴν ἀρχὴν Βράκα καὶ τοῖς Πολυμήστορος δὲ ἀδελφοῖς· Αἴγυπτου γάρ ἦν καὶ Βράκας.—Αἴχμιος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένετο ὁ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πόλεμος. This places the reign of *Æchmis* at about B.C. 743; and if *Charilaüs* reigned

in the time of the preceding king, he will be brought down to about B.C. 800. *Aristocrates* son of *Æchmis* is stoned by the Arcadians for sacrilege: Pausan. Ibid. τάντον δὲ οὐδέ ἐγένετο Ἰκέτας, Ἰκέτα δὲ Ἀριστοκράτης ἄλλος διώνυμός τε τῷ πάππῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἔσχεν ἐκεῖνῳ τελευτήν· κατείθωσαν γάρ καὶ τοῖτον οἱ Ἀρκάδες φωράσαντες δόρα ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίου εἰληφότα. The death of *Aristocrates II.* is placed by Pausanias at B.C. 667. For his death and his descendants see below; Appendix c. 2. Called king of Orchomenus by Strabo: see the Tables B. C. 672.

The series of kings stands thus, from *Hippothus* to *Aristocrates II.*:

1. Hippothus: Pausan. VIII. 5, 3.
2. Ægyptus II.
3. Cypselus.
4. Laias.
5. Bucolion.
6. Phintas.
7. Simus.
8. Pompus.
9. Æginetes.
10. Polymestor; contemporary with Charilaüs.
11. Æchmis, reigned B.C. 743.
12. Aristocrates I.: Pausan. VIII. 5, 8.
13. Hicetas.
14. Aristocrates II. died soon after B.C. 667.

^t See above p. 22. 57. b.

^a Hist. Rom. vol. I. p. 25.

^b Ibid. p. 23. 26.

^c P. 23. 45.

the *Hellenes* had been a different people from the *Pelasgi*, either that original Pelasgic race must have been extirpated, or some marks of a different language would have remained. But in Greece the aboriginal race was not extirpated; for we have seen that after the Trojan war, and after the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, when the several members of the Greek nation were settled in the states which they finally occupied, many Pelasgic tribes remained in the country. The Arcadians were Pelasgic. In Thessaly both the governing and the subject classes were Pelasgic. The Achæans of Peloponnesus were claimed by both races. The legend which made *Achæus* son of *Xuthus* referred them to the *Hellenes*. Another account of an earlier *Achæus* son of *Larissa*^d derives them from a Pelasgic origin. A remarkable proof of the influence of the *Pelasgi* to a late period is exhibited in the list of Amphictyonic states. That assembly was probably formed sixty years after the fall of Troy; and yet of the twelve nations which composed the league nine were of Pelasgic race^e. Even in the states which were conquered by the Dorians or other Hellenic tribes, the original inhabitants were not extirpated. The governing class was changed, but the body of the people remained. In *Argolis*, *Laconia*, *Sicyonia*, and Corinth, although the Dorians were the masters, yet the *periæci* or subject classes were still composed of the original occupiers of the country, and were of Lelegian or Pelasgic or Achæan race^f. Nor was any difference of language to be traced. In South Britain the Welch, the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants, still after the lapse of fourteen centuries retain the ancient dialect of the country, a language entirely distinct from that of the Saxons. And yet the Welch are few in number, and occupy a small province in the island. But in Greece, although the antehellenic inhabitants remained in many extensive provinces as masters of the soil, and in all as a part of the population, yet (as Mitford^g has well remarked) in the civilized ages of Greece no trace of a dialect not Grecian was to be found in the most mountainous part of the country. All agreed in one common language. The Æolic dialect was spoken equally by the Æolian *Bœoti*, the Æolians of Elis and of Phocis, and by the Pelasgian Arcadians and the Pelasgian *Thessali*^h. Through the

^d See above p. 15.

^e See above p. 66.

^f Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 86. has some very just remarks upon this subject.

^g History of Greece vol. I. p. 180.

^h Strabo VIII. p. 333. classing the Greeks according to their dialects, observes that all the Greeks north of the Isthmus were Æolic except the Athenians, the Megarians, and the Dorians of Parnassus: πάντες οἱ ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ τὰληροὶ Αθηναῖοι καὶ Μεγαρέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Δωρίων καὶ τὸν ἔτει Αἰολεῖς καλοῦνται—and that within the Isthmus all were originally Æolic till the Ionians came; and that, after the Dorian settlement, the Arcadians and Eleans remained Æolic still: ὅτῳ δὲ τοῦ Αἰολικοῦ ἔθνους ἐπικρατεῖντος ἐν τοῖς ἐκτὸς ισθμοῖς, καὶ οἱ ἐκτὸς Αἰολεῖς πρότερον ἤσαν, εἰτ' ἐμιχθῆσαν, Ιόνιοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὸν Αιγαῖον κατασχόντων τῶν δὲ Ἡεραικεῖον τοὺς Δωρίας καταγαγόντων—οἱ μὲν δὲ "Ιόνες ἐξέπεστον πάλιν ταχίνες ὑπὲν Ἀχαιῶν Αἰολικοῦ ἔθνους" διεφθῆ δὲ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τὰ δύο ἔθνη, τό τε Αἰολικὸν καὶ τὸ Δωρικό. οἵσαι μὲν αὖτες τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἐπεπλέκυστο, καθάπερ συνέβη τοῖς τε Ἀρκάσις καὶ τοῖς Ἡλείσις, τοῖς μὲν δρεινοῖς τελέων εἶναι καὶ εἰς ἐμπεπτικόσιν εἰς τὸν κλῆρον, τοῖς δὲ ἱεροῖς νομισθεῖσι τοῦ Ὄλυμπίου Διὸς—οὗτοι Αἰολοτοί

διελέχθησαν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι μικτὴ τινὶ ἐχρήσαστο εἰς ἀμφοῖν, οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον οἱ δὲ ἡττων αἰολίζοντες. Palmerius Græc. Ant. p. 55. with reason concludes from this testimony that the *Pelasgi* spoke the Æolic dialect: *Omnes quoque a Pelasgis ortæ fuerunt gentes sola dialecto diversæ eadem lingua usæ sunt; et quando Arcadas olim lingua Æolica usos fuisse asserit Strabo, non aliunde eam videntur habuisse quam a majoribus suis Pelasgis.* That the *Bœoti* spoke Æolic is confirmed by Pausanias IX. 22, 3. φανεται δέ μοι ἡ Κόρινθα μικῆσα τῆς διαλέκτου τε εἴνεκα, ὅτι γένεις αὐτῶν (διασύζονται γὰρ εἴναι, μάλιστα τῆς Φωκίδος περὶ Στείρι) αἰολίζοντες “ἀσβολωμένους” καλοῦσι. According to Strabo, however, the Doric dialect was only a branch of the Æolic, to which it bore the same relation as the Attic to the Ionic: VIII. p. 333. τὴν μὲν Ιάδα τὴν παλαιῆς Ἀτθηνᾶς τὴν αὐτὴν φαμὲν—τὴν δὲ Δωρίδα τὴν Αἰολίδι. XIV. p. 679. εἰ δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν εἰ αὐτοὶ ἤσαν "Ιόνες καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λεγόσθωσαν

Pelasgi of Italy, as is acknowledged by Niebuhrⁱ himself, after many other inquirers^k, the Æolic dialect of Greek was infused into the Roman language.

Niebuhr finds his opinion upon that well-known passage of Herodotus^l, in which that historian distinguishes the *Pelasgi* from the *Hellenes*, and concludes their language to be peculiar and not Greek. The first proposition in Herodotus is to the following effect^m: "The Lacedæmonians were of Doric, the Athenians of Ionic race. The Athenians the Ionic race were Pelasgic, and had never migrated; the Lacedæmonians the Doric race were Hellenic, and had often changed their habitations." But this does not prove the two nations to be totally distinct; for it is here affirmed that the *Pelasgi* bore the same relation to the *Hellenes* as the Ionians bore to the Darians, and the Athenians to the Lacedæmonians; which is very far from a total difference of race. The second proposition is in substance as followsⁿ: "What language the *Pelasgi* spoke I cannot exactly say; but if I may conjecture from the language spoken by the *Pelasgi* who yet remain, the *Pelasgi* of Croton^o (who formerly in-

καὶ οἱ Δωρεῖς καὶ οἱ Αἰολεῖς οἱ αὐτοὶ, ὅπερ δύο ἔθνη γένονται ἀντὶ εἰς εἰς διαφέροντας κατὰ τὰ ὑστεραὶ ἔθνη, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς διάλεκτους, τέτταρα ἀντὶ εἴη καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καθάπερ καὶ αἱ διάλεκτοι. In which Eustathius ad II. a. p. 8. agrees: 'Αττικὸν καὶ Ἰωνικὸν—δῆλον ὅτι ἐν παλλόις ἐπικοινωνοῦσιν αἱ δύο αὐτοὶ διάλεκτοι διὰ τὸ καὶ ἀποικοὺς Ἀθηναῖς εἶναι τοὺς Ἰωνας.—δρομοῖς δέ τις καὶ περὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ Δωρίδος διάλεκτον λέγεται, ὃς καὶ αὐτῶν ἐμοιότητα τινὰ ἔχοντο. We may remark however that, as the Doric dialect already existed among the mountaineers of *Doris* before the Trojan war, and as the Attic had not separated itself off from the Ionic as a distinct dialect till the time of *Solon*, there were in fact for some ages only three principal dialects in use—the Æolic, out of which branched the Doric; and the Ionic, which was spoken both at Athens and in the Ionic colonies. These three were ancient dialects: the Attic was comparatively modern. We may also remark that the differences of these three dialects would be less strongly marked in the early ages, while the nations were intermixed, than in the subsequent times, when they had ceased to migrate, and had settled into their separate states.

ⁱ Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 23. 45.

^k Dionys. Ant. I. p. 232. 'Ρωμαῖοι φωνὴν μὲν εἴτε ἄκρα βάρβαρον εἴτε ἀντητομένων Ἑλλάδα φθέγγονται, μικτὴν δὲ τινα ἐξ ἀμφοῖς, ἡς ἐστὶν ἡ πλευραὶ Αἰολές. Lydus de Mag. Rom. p. 18. εἰδὲ γὰρ ἀγρούστας ἐπ' Ῥωμᾶς, ἡ οἱ κατ' αἰολὸν διέκυνται κατ' ἕκεῖνον καιρῷ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν τὴν Αἰολίδα λέγων, οἵ φασι δὲ τε Κάτων δὲ τῷ περὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαιότητος Βάρβου τε ὁ πολυμαθεστάτος ἐν προσομίοις τῶν πρὸς Πομπήιον αὐτῷ γεγραμμένων, Εἴσανθροι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάστων εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀθόντων τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἵστειράντων φωνήν. Quintilian I. 6, 31. Continet in se (etymologia) multam eruditionem, sive illa ex Græcis orta tractemus, quae sunt plurima, præcipueque Æolica ratione (cui est sermo noster simillimus)

declinata. The passages in which Priscian traces the analogy between the Latin and the Æolic have been collected by Foster Accent and Quantity p. 97. who also quotes p. 93. to illustrate the introduction of the Greek tongue into Italy Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieget. 347. and Plin. H. N. VII. 56. We may add, that the scanty specimens of the Pelasgic language which have escaped indicate the Pelasgic to be Greek: Aristot. de Mirabil. p. 843. b. Bekk. κατὰ γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ τὴν Πελλαῖσιν τὸ αἰμάζαι φωνέα. Plutarch. Mor. p. 22. C. Δρύσες δὲ πότινος τοὺς δαιμονας καλοῦσι. These were both Pelasgic tribes. Another example is quoted by Valckenaer Etymol. p. 73. and pointed out to me by Mr. Lewis: Schol. Apollon. III. 1323. Πελασγῖδι ἀκαίνῃ: ἄκανά ἐστι μέτρον δεκάτων Θεσσαλῶν εἴρεμα· ἡ βάθεια τοιμεική, παρὰ Πελασγοῖς εὑρημένη. But ἄκανα is a genuine Greek form: see Valcken. Ibid. p. 58.

^l Herodot. I. 56—58.

^m Herodot. I. 56. Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναῖους—τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ πρακεκριμένα ἀπότα τὸ ἀρχαῖον· τὸ μὲν Πέλλαγκὸν τὸ δὲ Ἐλληνικὸν ἔθνος· καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῆ καὶ ἐξεχθρυστε τὸ δὲ τουλυπλάκητον κάρτα κ.τ.λ. This passage has been misunderstood by Palmerius Græc. Antiq. p. 55. 57. Gronovius in his version, Guinoz in Mém. de l'Acad. apud Larcher. Herod. tom. I. p. 272. and by Bishop Marsh Horæ Pelasg. p. 28. who all suppose that the Darians are here called *Pelasgi* and the *Pelasgi* wanderers. The true meaning is given by Steph. Byz. Δώριον, Salmasius de Hellenistica p. 285. Larcher himself, Wesseling, Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 21. and Niebuhr Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 23. 25. Herodotus intended to express that the Ionians were *Pelasgi*, and that the Darians were wanderers.

ⁿ Herodot. I. 57.

^o Herodot. I. c. τοῖς νῦν ἐτις Πελασγῖν τῶν ἐπειρ Τυρσηγῶν Κρητῶν πόλιν οἰκεόντων, εἰ διμορφοὶ κατε-

"habited Thessaly) and of Placia and Scylacē on the Hellespont (who dwelt with the Athenians), and of some other Pelasgic towns, their language was not Greek. If the speech of these towns was the speech of the whole Pelasgic nation, the Attic people, being Pelasgic, must have laid aside their original speech when they were transformed into Greeks^p: for the people of Croton and Placia agree with each other in language, though not with any of their respective neighbours; a proof that they retained the dialect which they carried with them into those settlements." The admission of Herodotus himself that the old Pelasgic language had disappeared in Attica is a proof that there was no radical difference between the Pelasgic and the Greek: for if this province was always inhabited by *Pelasgi* (the Ionians being Pelasgic), how happened the inhabitants to unlearn their original speech? and by whom was this new language introduced? No Hellenic tribe entered Attica. Herodotus both here and elsewhere affirms that the inhabitants were the original Pelasgic population, which had never migrated. The change which had passed upon them was a change of name but not of race^q. If, then, it had been possible for a whole nation to have adopted a new language^r, this could not have happened here, where there was no impulse of any foreign tribe to cause the change and communicate the new language. We are justified, then, by the nature of the case, in rejecting the inference which Herodotus has deduced from the dialect of Croton and of Placia^s. Even Niebuhr himself acknowledges that the assertion of Herodotus must not be

ἥσαν τοῖς τὸν Δωρεῖσι καλεομένοις: εἴκεν δὲ τηνικαῖτα γῆν τὴν τὸν Θεσσαλιότιν καλεομένην καὶ τὴν Πλακίν τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνικοι ἔγενοτο Ἀθηναῖοι—καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὗτοι οἱ Κροτωνῆται οἰδαμένοι: τῶν τὸν σφραγίδεων εἰσὶ ὄμοι γλωσσοί κ. τ. λ. Dionysius Ant. I. p. 77. —οὗτε Κροτωνῆται— understanding Herodotus to speak of Croton in Umbria, and to pronounce that the language of the inhabitants differed from that of the *Tyrrhenes* their neighbours. Κροτωνῆται is retained by Larcher Herod. tom. VIII. p. 149. and by Raoul-Rochette tom. I. p. 431. who quotes Theopompus apud Athen. III. p. 77. d. mentioning Creston in Macedonia inhabited by *Pelasgi*. Theopompus, however, makes no mention of *Pelasgi*. Dionysius is followed by Casaubon and by Niebuhr Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 29. who read in Herodotus Κρότωνα—Κροτωνῆται. The arguments of Niebuhr are forcible; and yet the term ὑπέρ Τυρρηνῶν would be an improper description of the position of Croton, because in the age of Herodotus the whole of Western Italy was called *Tyrrhenia*: Dionys. p. 68. Τυρρηνίας ὄνομα τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ἀνά τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἦν, καὶ τάσσα ἡ προσεπέριος Ἰταλία—τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἐκείνην ἐλάμβανεν. And we might doubt whether Croton, a remote and inland situation, would be accurately known to Herodotus at Thurii.

^p Herodot. Ibid. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ τὰν τοιοῦτα τὰ Πελασγικά, τὰ Ἀττικὰ ἔθνος, ἐν Πελασγικῷ, ἀμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐξ Ἑλλήνας καὶ τῷ γλώσσαν μετέμεψε.

^q Herodot. VIII. 44. Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἔχοντας τὴν τὸν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἔσται Πελασγοί, οὐ-

νομαζόμενοι Κραναιοί: ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλῆος ἐπεκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι: ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθίους τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετανομάσθησαν: Ἰανος δὲ τοῦ Εούθου στρατάρχεων γενομένου Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἰανεῖς. VII. 94. Ἰανεῖς—ἐκαλέστο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες: ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰανος τοῦ Εούθου Ἰανεῖς. In VII. 161. he again asserts that the Athenians were a most ancient people, and had never quitted their country.

^r Bishop Marsh Horæ Pelasg. p. 29. justly ridicules the idea of a whole nation all at once forgetting its former language, and learning a new one.

^s If Κροτωνῆται is the reading (see note ^o), we may discover the cause why the inhabitants of Croton and of Placia spoke the same language. The Pelasgians of Placia had come from the west, and after dwelling for a time in Attica had been driven from thence to Lemnos, from whence they had been expelled about seventy years before the settlement of Herodotus at Thurium. This we may collect from comparing Herodotus with Strabo, Philochorus, Myrsilus, Pausanias, and Thucydides: Strabo V. p. 226. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ [between Cosa and Graviscæ on the coast of Tuscany] τότος ἐστὶ καλούμενος Ἄργιστονίλλα: ιστορεῖται δὲ γενέσθαι τοῦτο βασίλειον Μαλαιώτου Πελασγοῦ, οὐ φασι διαστείσαται ἐν τοῖς τότοις μετὰ τῶν συνικῶν Πελασγῶν ἀπελθεῖν ἐνθένδε εἰς Ἀθήνας. Pausan. I. 28, 3. τῇ ἀκροπόλει, τῇ δὴ οὖτος Κίμων φιδόμηντες αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου, περιβαλλεῖν τὰ λοιπὰ λέγεται τοῦ τελέους Πελασγοῦ οἰκήσαντάς τοτε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν φασὶ γὰρ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὁπέρβιον πυνθανόμενος δὲ οὔτις ἥσαν, οὐδὲ ἄλλο ἐδιάμην μαθεῖν ἡ Σικελοῦς τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔτας ἐς

'Ακαρναίαν μετικῆσαι. Plin. H. N. VII. 56. *Litterarias ac domos constituerunt primi Euryalus et Hyperbius fratres Athenis.* Schol. Lucian. Catapl. c. 1. tom. III. p. 172. τύρανος εἴργται ἀπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν τὸν βιάλων καὶ λρυτῶν ἔξαρχος, ὃς φησι Φιλλίχορος. Τυρρηνοὶ γὰρ ἀλλοι τινὰ χρόνον οἰκήσαστες δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὑφίσησαν ἐξανιστάμενοι τῇ πόλει, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπάλοτες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄλλοι δὲ ἐκφυγόντες Δῆμον καὶ Ἰμβρον φύκησαν. Dionys. Ant. I. p. 75. Μυρσίλεος—τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς φησι ἀπειδὴ τὴν ἵστην ἔξιλτον ἐν τῇ πλάγῃ μετανομασθέντας Πελαργούς, τὸν ὄρνεαν τοῦς καλούμενοι τελαργοῦς εἰκασθέντας, ὃς κατὰ δέργελας ἀφέτων εἰς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Βάρβαρον· καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ τεῖχος τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὸ Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τούτους περιβαλεῖν. Phot. Lex. Πελαργικόν: τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν τυρρηνῶν [I. Τυρρηνῶν] κατασκευασθὲν τῆς ἀκρόπολεως τεῖχος· τούτους γὰρ ἀληθῆναι τελαργοὺς οὖν Πελασγούς, ὃς πλανήτας τινάς. Etymol. p. 659. Πελαργικόν: τὸ ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν κατασκαφέν [I. κατασκευασθὲν] τεῖχος· εὗς καὶ θεασάμενοι τινες Πελαργούς ἀνθρακαν. διὰ τὰς σινδόνας ἢς ἐφόρους. Hesych. Πελασγικόν: τειχίον οὕτω ἐν Ἀθήναις καλούμενον, Τυρρηνῶν κτισάστων. Alberti and Ruhnkenius have restored Τυρρηνόν to Photius and κατασκευασθὲν to Etymol. Magn. We may remark that the term πελαργός was not applied to the whole Pelasgian race, as Bishop Marsh Horæ Pelasg. p. 17. appears to suppose, but only to these Pelasgi from the west who came into Attica. Herodot. VI. 137. Πελασγοὶ ἦσαν τε ἑκτὸς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξελάσθησαν, εἶτα ὃν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως, τῶτο γὰρ οὐδὲ ἔχον φράσαι, τὸν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι Ἐκαταῖς μὲν δὲ Ηγροσάδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖς λόγοις λέγων ἀδίκως· ἦσαν τε γὰρ ιδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώρην, τὴν σφισι ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν δύσταν ἔσταν οἰκήσαντες τοῦ τεῖχους τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτε ἀντλαμένου,—ἐξεργασμένῳ εὖ—λαβεῖν φύειν τε καὶ ἡμεραν τῆς γῆς κ. τ. λ. He relates in the sequel that they were expelled from Lemnos by Miltiades. Thucyd. IV. 109. ὁ Ἀθως ὄρος—πόλεις ἔχει Σάρην μὲν Ἀνδρίου ἀποικιας—τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Θύσσον καὶ Κλεονᾶς καὶ Ἀκροδόνους καὶ Δίου [conf. Herodot. VII. 22]. αἱ οἰκεῖται ἐμμελκτοῖς ὕδνοις Βαρβάρων διγλάστους, καὶ τι καὶ Χαλκιδίκου ἔνι βραχῖ, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τὸν καὶ Δῆμον ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρρηνῶν οἰκησάστων. Thucydides appears to concur with Herodotus that these Τυρρηνοὶ Πελασγοὶ did not speak Greek; and these perhaps were the “other towns” to which Herodotus referred. Dionysius p. 68. refers the Tyrrhenian migration into Greece described by Myrsilus to about the second generation before the Trojan war. Strabo however, IX. p. 401. ascribes the walls of the Acropolis to Pelasgi from Boeotia, who had expelled the Boeotians into Thessaly, where they dwelt at Arne ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον. At their return ἦδη τοῦ Αἰολικοῦ στόλου παρεσκευασμένου—ἐξέβαλον τοὺς μὲν Πελασγούς εἰς Ἀθήνας, ἀφ' ἧς ἐκλήθη μέρος· τι τῆς

πόλεως Πελασγικόν· φύκησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Τυρρηνῆς. This brings the Pelasgi who built the walls into Attica sixty years after the Trojan war; a date consistent with Velleius I. 3. who places it at the return of the Heraclida: *Tum Græcia maximis concussa est motibus. Achæi ex Laconica pulsi eas occupavere sedes quas nunc obtinent; Pelasgi Athenas commigravere.* Where Boecler ad loc. rightly explains Dionysius. The variation in Strabo is easily reconciled. The Pelasgi from the west (or Sicels according to Pausanias) first visited Acarnania, then Boeotia, and lastly Attica; as Niebuhr understands it Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 34. Clavier des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 100. unnecessarily distinguishes the Boeotian Pelasgi from the Tyrrhenian. Their expulsion from Attica and occupation of Lemnos was in the time of *Theras*: Schol. Apollon. IV. 1764. (the *Minyæ*) ἐκβιηθέντες ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἀπῆλθον εἰς Σπάρτην ἔποικοι.—συγκαλούθησαν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν τῆς Θήρας καὶ Δήμους, ἐκβιηθέντες ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἐκ τῆς Δήμου. Herodotus IV. 145—148. relates their expulsion from Lemnos by the Pelasgi from Attica—ἕποντες Πελασγοὺς ἐκβιηθέντες—in the time of *Theras*; and Pausanias VII. 2, 1. Μινῖας τοὺς ἐκβιηθέντας ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκ Δήμου Θήρας ἥγαγεν. which would place the occupation of Lemnos by the Pelasgi from Attica about 100 years after the fall of Troy. They appear under the name of Τυρρηνοί in many narratives: Plutarch. Mor. p. 247. A. Τυρρηνῶν τῶν Δῆμων καὶ Ἰμβρον κατασχόντων. p. 296. B. Τυρρηνοί—σπηνίκα Δῆμους καὶ Ἰμβρον κατέκρινον κ. τ. λ. where they are confounded with the *Minyæ* whom they expelled: Larcher Herod. tom. III. p. 536. These Τυρρηνοί appear in Schol. Apollon. I. 580. Laërt. VIII. 1. Πιθαγόρας—ὅς Ἀριστότελος, Τυρρηνὸς ἀπὸ μᾶς τὸν νήσον δικαίως ἀπειδεῖσθαι Αθηναῖς Τυρρηνούς ἐκβαλότες. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. c. 1. λέγει δὲ δὲ Κλεάνθης ἀλλοις εἴναι εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Τυρρηνὸν ἀποφαίνεσται τὸν τὴν Δῆμον ἀποικόντων. They were still in Lemnos in the reign of *Darius*, when *Olanes* reduced Lemnos and Imbros: Herodot. V. 26. εἶλε Δῆμον καὶ Ἰμβρον ἀμφοτέρας ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκεῖσθαις—about B. C. 505: see F. H. II. p. 314. The expedition of *Miltiades* (Herodot. VI. 140) may be placed after this date.

These Tyrrheno-Pelasgi alone were known in Greece in the time of Herodotus as Pelasgians; as Niebuhr vol. I. p. 35. rightly remarks. But the fact that the language of these Pelasgi from the west was barbarous, may lead us to suspect that they were not of Pelasgic race at all. We have seen p. 25. that the Pelasgi were established in Tuscany, and p. 27. that they were expelled or conquered by the *Hetrusci*. But according to Cato apud Servium ad Aen. X. 179. these Pelasgi who preceded the *Hetrusci* spoke the Greek

stretched too far^t, and rather inconsistently observes^v, “ That there was an essential affinity between the *Pelasgi* and the *Hellenes*, notwithstanding this difference, is probable from the ease with which so many Pelasgic nations ripened into Hellens; and from the Latin language containing an element which is half Greek, the Pelasgian origin of which seems unquestionable.” And concludes^w that the Greeks and Pelasgians, though “ essentially distinct,” were yet “ kindred races.” How the Pelasgians could have ripened into Greeks in Arcadia and Thessaly and Attica, if the two races had been essentially distinct^x, or how the two races could have been essentially different, and yet at the same time kindred races with an essential affinity, is not very clear.

Dionysius, then, with great reason affirmed the Pelasgians to be Greeks^y. The *Pelasgi* and *Leleges* were kindred tribes. The *Æolians* and *Dorians* were Hellenic. The *Achæans* and *Ionians* were Pelasgic nations, but intermingled with the *Hellenes*. All these were branches springing from the same stock, and members of one great family. To what race of mankind this family of nations belonged has been the subject of much inquiry and great diversity of opinion. Most writers ascribe to them a foreign original. The *Pelasgi* are derived from Phœnicia by Jackson^z; from Egypt and Syria by Bryant^a. Others suppose them to be from India^b. Stillingfleet^c and Salmasius^d derive them from *Peleg*. Bishop Marsh^e in-

language: *Cato originum I. qui Pisas tenuerint ante adventum Etruscorum negat sibi compertum, sed inveniri Tarchonem Tyrrheno oriundum —Pisas condidisse, cum ante regionem eandem Teutones quidam [doubtless some Pelasgic tribe] Græce loquentes possederint.* Now it is very possible that some other people, neither Pelasgic nor Etruscan, might, upon the decline of the *Pelasgi* in Tuscany, have in reality possessed Croton and the country near Graviscæ, from whence they proceeded in quest of new settlements. That these were called *Tyrrheno-Pelasgi* by the early Greek historians is no proof that they were Pelasgic, since the same error which prevailed respecting the *Tyrrhenes* (see p. 27) might occur respecting these. The migration from Tuscany happened in so early a period, before the historical times, and from so remote a region, that the colonists might easily have been mistaken for *Pelasgi*, because they came from a country which the *Pelasgi* had once possessed. It does not appear that Dionysius p. 69. 77. had any other authority than Herodotus (as he understood Herodotus) for recording that the *Pelasgi*, when driven from other places, retained Croton. Herodotus could only relate the opinions of his own age. Pausanias believed the settlers from the west to be Sicels.

^t Vol. I. p. 23. “ His assertion, however, must not be stretched to mean a difference like that between the Greek and the Illyrian or Thracian. Nations whose languages were more nearly akin than the Latin and Greek would still speak so as not to be mutually under-

“ stood ; and this is all that Herodotus attends to.”

^v Vol. I. p. 23.

^w Ibid. p. 45. 50.

^x Niebuhr p. 50. argues that by the magical power exercised by the Greek language and national character over foreign races, the inhabitants of Asia Minor hellenized themselves after the Macedonian conquest. But the cases are not parallel, because, in the first place, the Macedonian Greeks occupied Asia as conquerors (a circumstance which was wanting in Arcadia and other provinces); and, in the next place, the original Asiatic dialects were not extinguished.

^y Dionys. Ant. I. p. 25. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πελασγοί τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς κ.τ.λ. p. 45. ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικόν, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

^z Chronol. Antiquities vol. III. p. 49. 62.

^a Ancient Mythology vol. I. p. 187.

^b Lemprière by Barker art. *Pelasgi*. 2nd ed. 1832.

^c Stillingfleet Origines Sacrae III. IV. 13. supposes the *Pelasgi* to have possessed Greece before it was occupied by the sons of Japheth; deriving them from *Phaleg*, from the resemblance of name. This branch of the family of *Phaleg* he supposes proceeded northwards to Scythia, and thence they drew downwards towards Thracia, &c.

^d Salmas. de Hellenist. p. 342. *Pelasgos a Phaleg et Græcos sive Γραικούς a Rhagan dictos esse certa fides est ex nominis indicio et re ipsa. Pelasgorum τὸ πολυκλάνητον appellatio Phaleg ostendit, quæ divisionem sonat.*

^e Horæ Pelasg. p. 17.

clines to agree with Salmasius. These opinions, however, deriving them from Phoenicia or Egypt or India or from *Peleg*, are mere conjectures founded upon no authority. All that we know of the *Pelasgi* is derived from the Greeks: and in their accounts, as we have already observed^f, the *Pelasgi* appear in Peloponnesus as an aboriginal race eighteen generations before the Trojan war. Beyond that point the Grecian annals cannot reach. This being the extent of our information, why should we reject the very obvious conclusion that the *Pelasgi* were not a foreign people but the *Aborigines* of the country, and that they belonged to that original race by whom the isles of the Gentiles were first peopled? The Mosaic history ascribes the planting of this land to the sons of *Japheth*^g: the national traditions of the Greeks ascend to the times of *Moses* himself; and, if these traditions contain no positive testimonies to confirm the Scripture account (which was not to be expected), yet at least they contain nothing which in the slightest degree impeaches the Mosaic narrative^h. Moreover, if the Mosaic account is accurate, that Greece was planted by the family of *Japheth* (which no rational mind will doubt), the authority of *Moses* contributes to refute the theories which have been mentioned, and to confirm the fact collected from the Greek writers themselves, that the *Pelasgi* were aboriginal; for in the time of *Moses* the *Pelasgi* were in the country. Now it is not probable that he would have assigned the isles of the Gentiles, in which Greece is included, to the children of *Japheth*, if at that very time this race had already disappeared, and the country had been occupied by the children of *Ham* or the descendants of *Peleg*ⁱ.

^f See above p. 24. The first occupiers of Southern Greece might either enter from the north through the Isthmus, or they might reach the coasts of Peloponnesus across the islands of the Ægean from the southern coast of Asia Minor. If, which is most probable, they proceeded by a gradual progress from the original seat of mankind in Asia through the north-west countries of Asia Minor, and thence through Thrace and Macedon and Thessaly into Peloponnesus, yet this original movement was in too remote an age to be reached by the traditions of the Greeks. It has already been shewn at p. 23. that the accounts which place the *Pelasgi* in Thrace refer to a later occupancy.

^g Gen. X. 2. *The sons of Japheth, Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan and Tubal and Meshech and Tiras: and the sons of Gomer, Ashkenaz and Riphath and Togarmah: and the sons of Javan, Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim.* By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations. This last clause is to be referred not only to the sons of *Javan*, but to all the sons of *Japheth*. Josephus Ant. I. 6, 1. interprets thus: Ἰαφέθον μὲν ὅν τῶν Νιών παιδὸς ἡσαν ἐπτὰ νιοῦ. κατοκύστι δὲ ὁ τοι ἀπὸ Ταύρου καὶ Ἀμάρου τὸν ὄρον ἀρξάμενον, καὶ προῆλθον ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀστας ἄχρι ποταμοῦ Ταυάδος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐν Γαδείρων. From *Javan* and *Elishah* he derives the Greeks: ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰανάνω Ἰανία καὶ πάντες Ἑλληνες;

γεγόνατιν.—Ιανάνω δὲ τοῦ Ἰαφέθου, τριῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ παῖδων γεννημένων, Ἐλισᾶς μὲν Ἐλισαῖον ἐκάλεσεν ὃν ἡρ-
χει. Αἰολεῖς δὲ νῦν εἰσὶ. Bochart lib. III. cap. 3. in the interpretation of *Javan* follows Josephus. Of *Elishah* he observes cap. 4. *Elisa Chaldæis est Hellas, Josepho Æoles: mihi Peloponnesus, in quo Elis vetustissima est et amplissima regio.* But *Elis* was not so named till a later period. The two former interpretations are the best.

^h The names *Japheth*, *Javan*, *Elishah*, *Dodanim*, have been ingeniously traced in *Iapetus*, *Iones*, *Æoles*, *Dodona*; and although a cautious criticism might reject these etymologies as not wholly certain, yet we assert that these coincidences of name strongly confirm the position that Greece was really first peopled by the sons of *Japheth*: and that in the tribes so often mentioned in this inquiry, the *Pelasgi*, the *Hellenes*, the *Æoles*, the *Iones*, the *Achæi*, we have the descendants of that original race. Niebuhr Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 21. 22. speaking of the Mosaic pedigrees in general, is of opinion that *Moses* represents races belonging unquestionably to entirely different families as connected. The only mode of supporting this opinion is to produce testimonies superior in age and authority to the book of Genesis. As Niebuhr has not done this, we shall continue to hold that the Mosaical genealogies are accurate.

ⁱ *Javan* is Greece in Dan. X. 20. XI. 2. Ezek. XXVII. 13. Isaiah LXVI. 19. *Chittim*

V.

FROM THE FALL OF TROY TO THE IONIC MIGRATION.

AFTER the Trojan war the family of *Agamemnon* led the Æolic migration into Asia; the descendants of *Neleus*, an Æolian race, acquired the ascendancy at Athens, and conducted the Ionian colonists. In Peloponnesus many states were occupied by the Dorians under the *Heraclideæ*, and an ancient Pelasgic dynasty continued, as we have seen, to reign in Arcadia. All these families are exhibited in the following Table, which deduces them from their real or supposed originals, *Deucalion* and *Danaïs* and *Tantalus* and *Pelasgus*. Those who seem to be real historical persons are distinguished from the others in this Table according to the principles described in the Introduction. When the genealogy has been given before, only those parts of the descent are repeated here which were necessary to shew the connexion. Thus the children of *Cadmus* have been given at p. 85, the *Æolidæ* at p. 40, the children of *Arcas* at p. 90, the descendants of *Niobë* at p. 18.

is Greece and Macedonia in Isaiah XXIII. 1. 12. These names would be no proof that the race of *Javan* were still in the land in the times of Isaiah and Daniel and Ezekiel; because, when the name had been once given, it would continue to be applied when the cause for assigning it had ceased. But there must have been once a reason for the name. *Moses* was delineating the families of mankind, and describing the countries of which they were in possession. Had "the great Amo-
nian family," according to Bryant, or the race

of *Peleg*, according to others, already overwhelmed Greece and the adjoining countries, it is likely that *Moses*, who not only as an inspired writer, but as acquainted with Egyptian learning, had means enough of knowing it, would have described that family as possessing those countries. Greece would scarcely have been called the land of *Javan* in the Hebrew writings from *Moses* to *Ezekiel*, if already before the time of *Moses* it had ceased to be the land of *Javan*.

GENERAL TABLE OF

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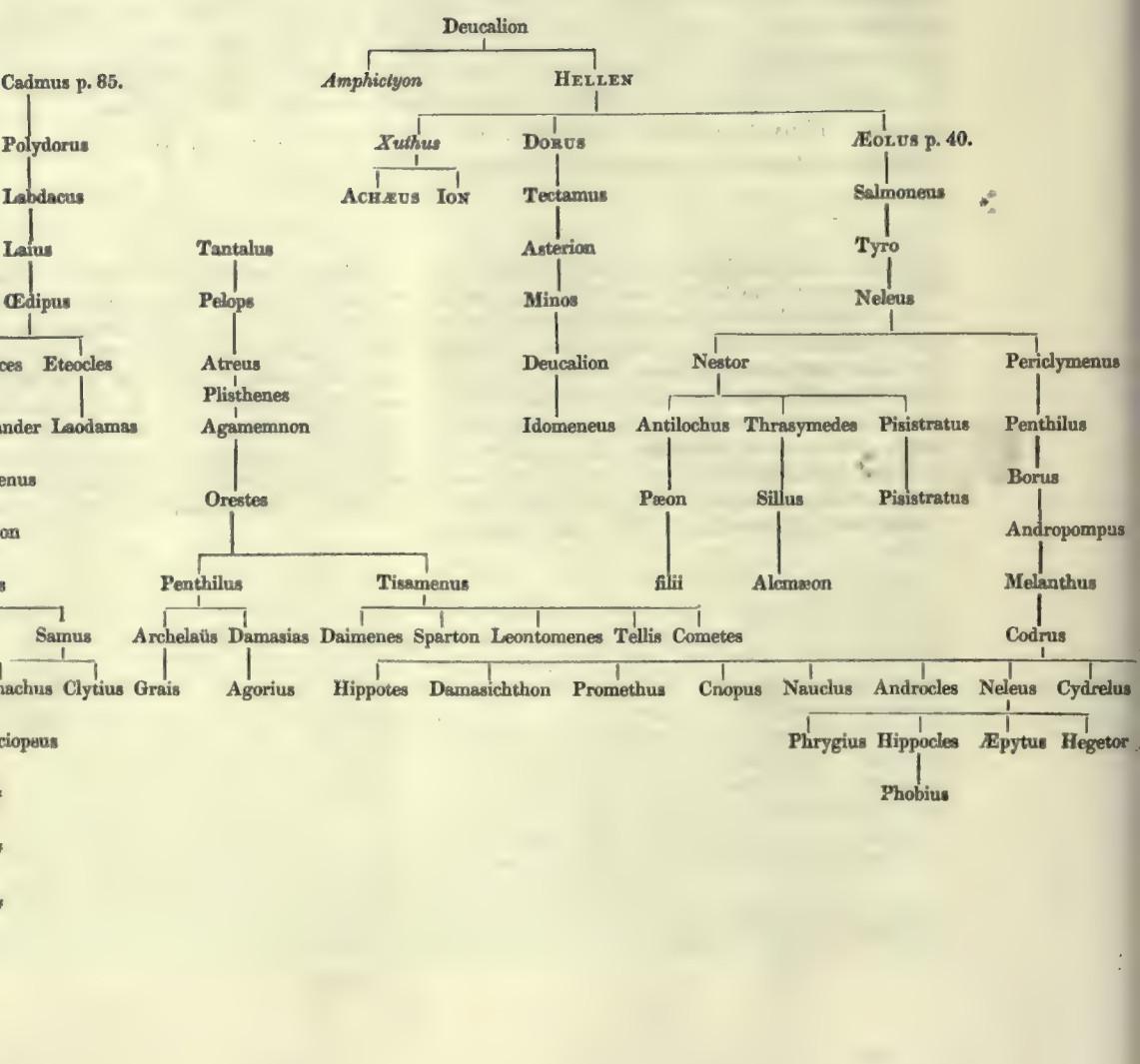
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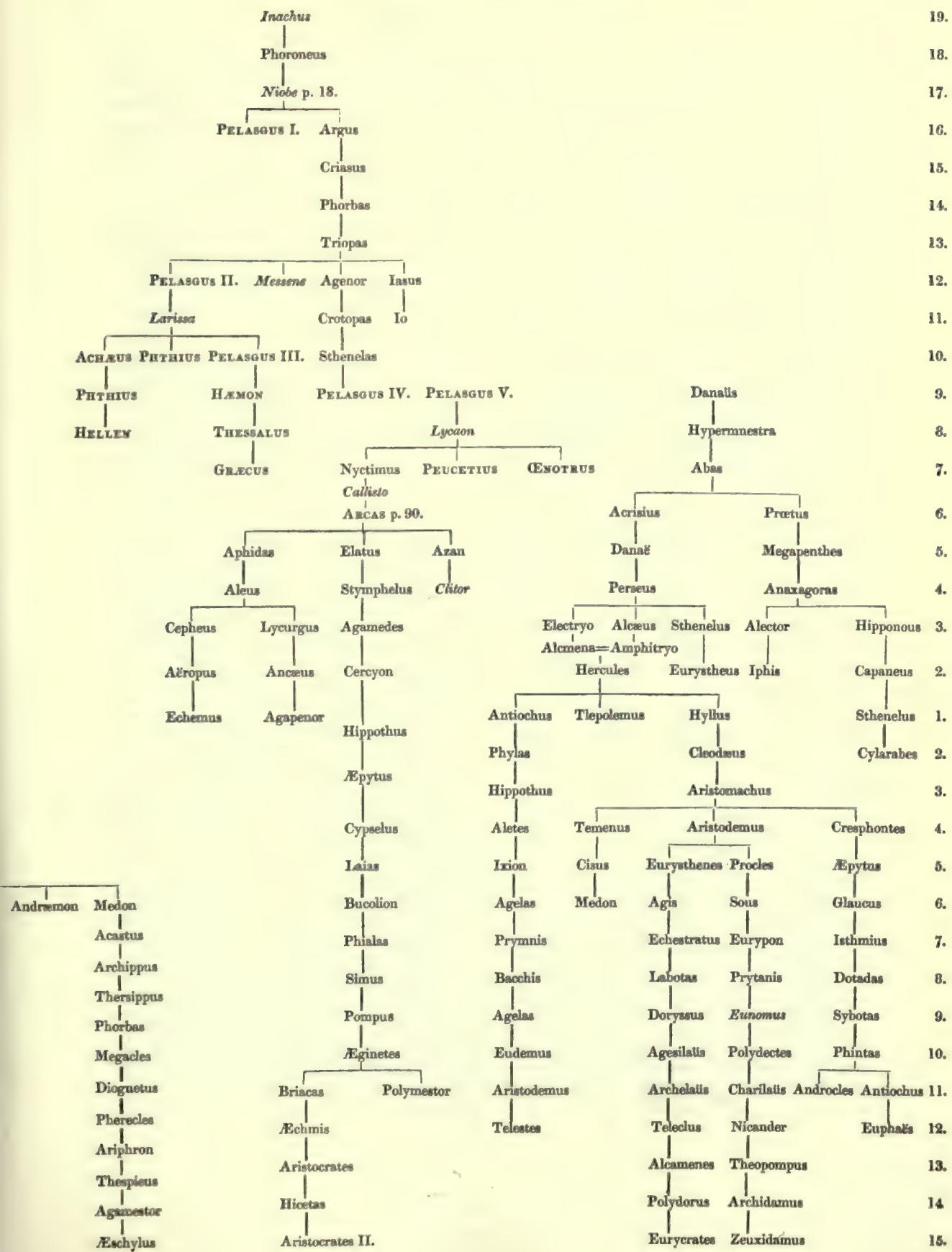
12.

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Orestes recovered Mycenæ in the eighth year after the death of his father^a. He acquired the kingdom of Lacedæmon at the death of *Menelaüs*, and annexed Argos to Mycenæ, and some portion of Arcadia^b. He withdrew to Tegea in the latter part of his life, and died in Arcadia^c; probably at Tegea^d. He was succeeded by his son *Tisamenus*, in whose reign the *Heraclidæ* recovered Peloponnesus^e. According to Apollodorus, *Tisamenus* fell in the action with the sons of *Aristomachus*^f; but according to other accounts he seized upon Achaia. He at first attempted an amicable coalition with the Ionians of that province, but their leaders fearing the influence of *Tisamenus* rejected his propositions, and opposed him with an army. *Tisamenus* was slain, but his followers were victorious, and their adversaries the Ionian leaders retired into Attica^g. *Tisamenus* being thus slain in the conquest of Achaia, his four sons *Daimenes*, *Sparton*, *Tellis*, *Leontomenes*, reigned there, together with *Damasias* son of *Penthilus*, and with *Preugenès* and *Patreus*, Achæans from Lacedæmon^h.

^a Homer. Odyss. γ. 305.

ἐπτάστες δὲ ἥνασσε τούνχρισσοι Μυκήνης,
τῷ δέ οἱ ὄγδατῷ κακὸν ἤλθε δῆς Ὀρέστης.

^b He occupied Argos upon the failure of the line of *Megapenthes*, which had ruled there from the time of *Acrisius*: Pausan. II. 18, 5. Κυλαρά-θης ὁ Σθενέλου τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν· οὐ μέντοι παῖδας κα-
τέλιπεν οὐδὲ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος τὸν Ἀρ-
γος κατέσχε παροκῶν τε ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνευ τῆς πα-
τρίας ἀρχῆς προσπεινημένος μὲν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς πολλοὺς παρειλήφως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Σπάρτη βασιλείαν, συμμαχικοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ Φυκέων δεῖ ποτε ἐπὶ ὑφελεῖται ἐτοίμου παρόντος. Λα-
κεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀρέστης Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφέν-
των αὐτῷ—Ὀρέστου δὲ ἀπόθανόν τος, ἔσχε Τισαμενὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἐρμίνης τῆς Μενελάου καὶ Ὀρέστου παῖς.

^c Pausan. VIII. 5, 3. Ὁρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ μαντείαν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος μετάκησεν ἐς Ἀρκάδιαν ἐκ Μυκηνῶν. Strabo XIII. p. 582. records his death in Arcadia.

^d The bones of *Orestes* were said to be found at Tegea in the reign of *Anaxandrides*: Herodot. I. 67. who is followed by Pausanias III. 3, 6. 11, 8.

^e Pausan. II. 18, 6. ἐπὶ τούτων κατίσιν ἐς Πελο-
πόννησον Ἡρακλεῖδαι.

^f Apollod. II. 8, 3. συμβαλόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τῷ πεζῷ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ προτεροῦσι στρατῇ, καὶ Τισαμε-
νὸν κτείνουσι τὸν Ὀρέστον.

^g Pausan. II. 18, 7. Τισαμενὸς μὲν οὖν ἤλθε σὺν τῷ στρατιῷ καὶ οἱ ταῖδες ἐς τὴν ἡποὺν Ἀχαιῶν. VII. 1, 3, 4. τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπῆρεν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίου καὶ Ἀργους ὑπὸ Δω-
ρίων ἐξελλάσθαι.—τότε δὲ ὑπὸ Δωρίων ἐκπειτικότες ἐκ τε Ἀργους καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίου ἐτεκηρυκεύοντο “Ιστον αὐτοί τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ὀρέστου γενέθεα σύνοικοι σφισιν ἀνευ πολέμου. τότε δὲ Ἰόνων τοῖς βασιλέας ὑπῆρε δέος μὴ Ἀχαιῶν ἀναμιχθέντων αὐτοῖς Τισαμενὸν ἐν κοιφ βασιλέας ἐλωταὶ κατά τε ἀνδραγαθίοις καὶ γένεις δέξαν. Ἰάνων δὲ οὐ προσεμένον τοὺς Ἀχαιῶν ἀλγούς ἀλλὰ ἐπεξελ-
θόντων σὺν ὅπλοις, Τισαμενὸς μὲν ἔπειται ἐν τῇ μάρχῃ, Ἰε-
ναῖς δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ κρατήσατες ἐποιήκοντες κατατεφευγότας ἐς Ἑλίκην, καὶ ὑπερον αἴφασιν ἀτελθεῖν ὑποσπόδους. Τι-

σαμενοῦ δὲ τὸν γεκρόν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Ἑλίκῃ θαψάντων, ὑστε-
ρον χρόνῳ Λακεδαιμονίου τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς σφισιν ἀνεπάντος
χρηστηρίου κομίζουσι τὰ δοτᾶ ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐς
ἔμι ἔτι αὐτῷ τάφος ἔνθα τὰ δεῖπνα Λακεδαιμονίου ἐστὶ
τὰ φεδιτια καλάμενα. Polyb. II. 41, 4. ἀπὸ γὰρ Τι-
σαμενοῦ βασιλευθέντες (οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ), διὰ ὁρέστου μὲν
νιδίς κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον ἐκπειτῶν τῆς
Σπάρτης κατέσχε τοὺς περὶ Ἀχαιῶν τόπους, ἀπὸ τούτου
κατὰ τὸ συνεχές καὶ κατὰ τὸ γένος ἔνας Οὐγύνος βασιλευ-
θέντες, μετὰ ταῦτα δυσαρεστήσαντες τοῖς τοῦ πρειηρημένου
πασι—μετέστησαν εἰς δημοκρατίαν τὴν πολιτείαν. Idem
IV. 1, 5. ἀρξάμενοι δέ τοι Τισαμενοῦ τὸν Ὀρέστου τάδεν
ἔνος καὶ φίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου βασιλευθένται
κατὰ γένος ἔνας εἰς Οὐργυν. Strabo VIII. p. 383. οἱ δὲ
Ἀχαιοὶ Φθιώται μὲν ἥσαν τὸ γένος φίκησαν δὲ Λακεδαι-
μονοί· τῶν δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐπικρατησάντων, ἀναληφθέντες
ὑπὸ Οὐγύνου βασιλευόμενοι διέτελεσαν, εἰτα δημοκρατη-
θέντες κ. τ. λ. Polygen. II. 37. Τισαμενὸς ἄγρον τὸ
στρατόπεδον ὄρεις πελλούς ἴδων ὑπὲρ τὸν τόπον περιπομέ-
νον, οὐ μὴ ἐπὶ γῆς ζάνοντας, συῆκεν ὃς δεδίστες ἀνθρώ-
πους ἐγκαθημένους ζάνειν ὀκνεῖν, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐρευνησά-
μενος τοῦς ἐγκαθημένους ἐπιθέμενος κατέκοψε τοὺς λοχώντας
τινας.

^h Pausan. VII. 6, 2. ἥσαν δὲ οἱ τὸ μέγιστον τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς ἔχοντες κράτος οἱ τε Τισαμενοῦ παῖδες, Δαμιένης
καὶ Σπάρτην καὶ Τέλλις τε καὶ Λεοντομένης· Κομῆτης δὲ
ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Τισαμενοῦ παίδων πρότερον ἔτι διαβε-
βίκει γαντιν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. εὗτοί τε δὴ τημαῖτα ἐν τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς ἐδυνάστενον καὶ Δαμασίας ὁ Πειθίλου τὸν Ὀρέ-
στην, τοῖς Τισαμενοῦ παῖσιν ἀνεψιδές πρὸς πατέρες· ἵσχυν δὲ
ἐπὶ ἴσης τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐκ Λακεδαι-
μονίου Πρειγένης καὶ διὰ νιδίς, ὄνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Πατρές. Ago-
rius son of Damasias settled with Oxylos in
Elis: Pausan. V. 4, 2. ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ [Oxylos] καὶ
ἐκ Δελφῶν χρησμὸς τὸν Πειθίλην ἐπάγεται συνοικιστήν.
Οὖνας δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν ἐπιεἴτο σπουδῇ, καὶ ἀναζητῶν εἴ-
ρεν Ἀγάριον τὸν Δαμασίου τοῦ Πειθίλου τὸν Ὀρέστην, καὶ

Penthilus another son of *Orestes*ⁱ led the Æolic migration which was destined to settle in the Troad; a settlement originally planned by *Orestes* himself, after whose death *Penthilus* proceeded from *Aulis*, in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy, at the time when the Boeotians returned into their own province from Arne^k; many of whom joined the followers of

αὐτέν τε ἐξ Ἑλίκης τὸν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ σὺν τῷ Ἀγαρίῳ μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπηγάγετο εἰς πολλῆν.

ⁱ Pausan. II. 18, 5. τὸν δὲ Ὁρέστου νέβον Πενθίλον Κυανίων ἔγραψεν ἢ τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἡρόγόντη τὴν Αἰγαίου τεκεῖν. Conf. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 1374.

^k Strabo XIII. p. 582. τέτρασι γὰρ δὴ γενεαῖς πρεσβύτερος φασὶ τὴν Αἰολικὴν ἀποικίαν τῆς Ἰωνίης διατριβᾶς δὲ λαβεῖν καὶ χρόνον μικροτέρους. Ὁρέστην μὲν γὰρ ἀρέσκει τῶν στόλων τούτων δὲ Ἐργαδίᾳ τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, διαδέσσονται τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πενθίλον καὶ πρεσβεῖν μέχρι Θράκης. ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσι τὸν Τραικὸν ὑστερον, δὲ αὐτὴν τὴν τὸν Ἡρακλειδῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κάθεδεν εἶτ' Ἀρχέλαιον υἱὸν ἐκείνου τεραιώσται τὸν Αἰολικὸν στόλον εἰς τὴν νῦν Κυζίκην τὴν περὶ τὸ Δασκιλον. Γράν δὲ τὸν υἱὸν τούτου τὸν νεώτατον προειδόντα μέχρι τοῦ Γραινίου πτωμαῖς καὶ παρεκκενασμένον ἄμεινον περιεώσται τὸ πλέον τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Δέσθον καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτὴν. According to Pausanias III. 2, 1. *Penthilus* penetrated to Lesbos: Λακεδαιμόνιοι συνήρατο Γράν τῷ Ἐγέλᾳ τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὁρέστου στελλομένῳ γανσοῖς ἐς ἀποικίαν, καὶ δὲ μὲν τὴν τῆς Ἰωνίας μεταξὺ καὶ Μυσῶν, καλούμενό δὲ Αἰολίδα ἐφ' ὑμῶν, καθέξειν ἐμελλεν^g. δὲ οἱ πρόροτοι Πενθίλος Δέσθον τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης ἥπειρος εἶλε ἔτι πρότερον. According to another account, *Orestes* himself: Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 1374. ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν δὲ Ὁρέστης—χρησμὸν ἔλαβε στέλλεσθαι πρὸς ἀποικίαν^h δὲ συνάδεις δὲ διαφόρων ἔθνων λαοῖς, οὓς ἐκάλεσεν Αἰολεῖς—ἡλθεν εἰς Δέσθον, αὐτὸς μὲν ταχὺ ἀποθανεῖν τέλοις κίνσας οὐκ ἡδονήση, ἀπόγονος δὲ τούτου καλούμενος Γράν μετὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη κυριεύσας τῆς Δέσθου τόλιν ἔκτισε—τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας Δέσθου Ἐλλάνικος ὁ Δέσθοις ἴστορει ἐν πράτῃ Αἰολικῶν. The leader of the Æolian settlement in Tenedos is named by Pindar Nem. XI. 43=33. who ascribes the settlement to *Orestes*: τὸ τε Πεισάνδρον πάλαι Αἴμ’ ἀπὸ Σπάρτας Ἀμύκλαθν γὰρ ἔβα σὺν Ὁρέστῃ, Αἰολέων στρατιῶν χαλεπέτε δεῦρ’ ἀνάγον. Schol. ad loc. τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Πεισάνδρου—τοῦ τοτε σὺν τῷ Ὁρέστῃ ἀποικίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίου εἰς Δέσθον στειλαμένου τὸ τῶν Αἰολέων γένος^j τὸ δὲ δεύρο ὃς πρὸς τὸν Τένεδον τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς Δέσθου.—Πεισάνδρου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου—ἀπος δὲ (φησί) σὺν Ὁρέστῃ ἀπήκησεν ἐκ Σπάρτης καὶ τὴν Τένεδον κατακήσε—περὶ δὲ τῆς Ὁρέστου εἰς τὸν Αἰολίδα ἀποικίας Ἐλλάνικος ἐν τῷ πράτῃ Αἰολικῶν ἴστόρηκεν. Demo apud Schol. Eur. Rhes. 250. e cod. Vat. does not name Lesbos, but mentions *Orestes* and *Penthilus*: Δῆμων γοῦν ἐγγείμενος περὶ αὐτῶν... φησὶν ὡς ὑστερὸν τὸν Τραικὸν λοιμῷ καὶ φθορᾷς καρποῦ πειρηληθυίας τὴν Ἐλλάδα, παντευομένην [L.—αν vel —οις] περὶ τὸν παρόντων χρῆσθαι τὴν τυβίαν τηρικάτα παῦλαν αὐτοῖς τὸν δεινῶν ἐπειδάν τινες τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἔχονταν τὸ γένος πλεύσαν-

τες εἰς Τροίαν τὰς πόλεις κτίσασι, καὶ τὰς τὸν θεῶν τιμὰς ἀναλαβόσιν, ἃς ἡφαντοῦσι συνέβαινεν ἐπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ταῦτην τὴν παραδεξάμενον τὸν Ὁρέστην συνέβη λιτεῖν τὸν βίον, μετὰ δὲ Ὁρέστην Τισαμεὸν λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρρών, καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνον Κομήτην. ὃς χρωμένου τοῦ δέοντος πλεύν—δοθῆναι χρησμὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον Μυσῶν πλεῖν. καταλιγμῆσας τὰς πόλεις συνηροισμέναν τὸν χρησμὸν ἀφίστασθαι καὶ τὸν Κομήτην καταλιπεῖν μικρὸν πεφροτικέαν λέγοντας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Μυσῶν ἔσχάτου. κατὰ τὴν ἔχομένην γενεὰν Πενθίλου πάλιν συναγείραντος τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπενέγκαντος χρησμὸν, διὰ τὸ παράδοκον εἰς παροιμίαν διὰ τοῦτο προστῆναι φασιν. This passage was in the work περὶ Παροιμιῶν. Conf. Harpocr. v. Μυσῶν λείαν. Demo has here confounded the times, if he placed *Penthilus* in the generation after *Cometes*. The accounts however which ascribe to *Orestes* or to *Penthilus* a settlement in Lesbos may be reconciled with Strabo, if we suppose that *Orestes* himself designed a settlement there which was to proceed not under his own personal conduct, but under his auspices; that *Penthilus* attempted an establishment in the island, which was for the time abandoned; and that *Grais* finally completed the settlement. The name *Penthilus* is traced in Lesbos: Steph. Byz. Πενθίλη. πόλις Δέσθουν οἱ πολῖται Πενθίλεις, ἀπὸ Πενθίλου. Aristot. Rep. V. 10.=8, 13. ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τοῖς Πενθαλίδας Μεγαλῆς περιβότας καὶ τύπτοντας ταῖς κορίναις ἐπιθέμενος μετὰ τὸν φίλον ἀνεῖλεν. Plutarch. Mor. p. 984. Ε. "Ἐγαλον τὸν Αἰολέα, Μύρτιος ὁ Δέσθοις ἴστορει, τῆς Φινέως ἐρῶντα θυγατρὸς ῥιψεῖσης κατὰ χρησμὸν τῆς Ἀμφιτρίτης ὑπὸ τοῦ Πενθίλιδῶν [conf. Wyttentb. ad loc. tom. IV. p. 992]. But these passages do not prove (as Raoul-Rochette Col. Grecques tom. III. p. 36. supposes them to do) that *Penthilus* himself was personally resident in Lesbos. The tale of *Enalus*, quoted by Plutarch from *Mytilus*, is also told at large by Anticlidēs ἐν νεώτοις ἀριδ Αθηναῖν XI. p. 466. c. who likewise attributes the occupation of Lesbos to *Grais*: Ἀντικλείδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ ἑκαδεκάτῳ νεώτοις περὶ Γράν διηγούμενος τοῦ τῷ ἀποικίαν εἰς Δέσθον στειλαντος σὺν ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦ χρησμὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς δηλόσας καταθέναι διαπλέοντας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι εἰς τὸ πέλαγος παρθένον, γράφει καὶ ταῦτα κ. τ. λ. And by Plutarch VII. Sap. p. 163. Α: χρησμὸν γενομένου τοῖς οἰκίσαυτι Δέσθον, ὅταν ἔματι πλέοντες προστίχωσιν ὁ καλεῖται μεσόγειον τότε ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδῶνι μὲν ταῦρον Ἀμφιτρίτη δὲ καὶ Νηρῆις ζῶσαν καθίεναι παρθένοι· ὅντας δὲ ἀρχηγεῖον ἐπτὰ καὶ βασιλέων, ὃγδου δὲ τοῦ Ἐγείλαν πιθοχήστου τῆς ἀποικίας

*Penthilus*¹. This date, which is fixed by Thucydides and Strabo, determines the reigns of *Orestes* and *Tisamenus*. If *Orestes* was dead in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy, and had recovered his kingdom in the eighth year, he might reign about fifty-two, and his son *Tisamenus* (who filled the space till the Dorian conquest) about twenty years. And this agrees with the account that *Tisamenus* was in the throne when a former expedition was led by *Aristomachus*^m; and the chronology adopted by Velleiusⁿ, who gives seventy years to *Orestes* and three to *Tisamenus*, seems to be erroneous.

About the same time that *Penthilus* prepared his expedition, *Cleues* and *Malaüs*, also descendants of *Agamemnon*, collected a band of followers. But they fixed for some time in Locris; and the settlement of *Penthilus* and his sons passed first into Asia. The settlers from Locris afterwards founded *Cymē*^o.

ἵγεμάνος, ὅτος μὲν ἥθεος ἦν ἔτι, τὸν δὲ ἐπτὰ κληρονύμων
τοῖς ἄγαμοι παῖδες ἤσαν, καταλαμβάνει θυγατέρα Σμυνθέας ὁ κλῆρος κ. τ. λ. where τοῦ Ἐχελάτου does not mean *Echelatus* (as rendered in the Latin version) but the son of *Echelatus*, namely *Grais*; who is at this time said to be ἥθεος. Σμυνθέας θυγατέρα is, as we have seen, Φιέως θυγατέρα in the other passage of Plutarch. The name therefore is corrupt in one of the two passages.

The date of Strabo, in the sixtieth year from the fall of Troy, is confirmed by Thucydides I. 12. Βοιωτοὶ ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἀλωσι—τὸν νῦν Βοιωτίαν—καλούμενό φίσαν. Strabo IX. p. 401. Βοιωτοὶ ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν οἰκεῖαν ἥδη τοῦ Αἰολικοῦ στόλου παρεσκευάσμένου περὶ Αἴλιδα τῆς Βοιωτίας, ὃν ἐστελλων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ τοῦ Ὁρέστου παῖδες. The expression in Strabo XIII. p. 582. ὡς' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον is not to be understood too strictly, but with some latitude, as expressing the period generally. Strabo again XIII. p. 621. consistently marks the beginning of the Æolic migration: πᾶσα ἡ Αἰολικὴ ιστορία μικρὸν ὕστεραν τῶν Τρωικῶν γενεών.

¹ Strabo IX. p. 402. οἱ Βοιωτοὶ—τὴν Αἰολικὴν ἀποκλιαν σύνεπραξαν ταῖς περὶ Πενθίλων, εἰλείστους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν συμφέμαντες, ἀπει καὶ Βοιωτικὴν πραταροειδῆναι. Hence the Boeotians in after times accounted themselves ἔνγγενες τῶν Λεσβίων Thucyd. III. 2. Schol. ad loc. τὸ συγγενὲν ὄντων ἐπὶ μάρνας τοὺς Βοιωτῶν ἐνεκτέοντος γὰρ κατὰ τὸ Αἰολικὸν συγγενεῖς τῶν Λεσβίων. Again Thucyd. VII. 57. Μηθυμναῖοι καὶ Τενέδιοι καὶ Λίνιοι—Αἰολῆς Αἰολεῖσι τοῖς κτίσασι Βοιωτοῖς ἐμάχοντο. And Anaxander the Theban commands the Æolians from *Cymē* κατὰ τὸ ἔνγγενες Thucyd. VIII. 100. Probably from this large proportion of Æolo-Boeotian followers, and not for the reason given by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1374., the settlement was named Æolian rather than Achæan.

^m Apollod. II. 8, 2. Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Ὁρέστου βασιλεύοντος Πελοπονησίαν—γενομένης πάλιν μάχης, μικῶς Πελοπονησία, καὶ Αριστομάχος θύσκει.

ⁿ Velleius I. 1. (whom Larcher follows Herod.

tom. VII. p. 584) *Regni potitur Ægisthus per annos septem. Hunc Orestes—obtruncat. Factum ejus a diis comprobatum, spatio vite et felicitate imperii apparuit: quippe vixit annis 90 regnavit 70.*—Post *Orestes* interitum filii ejus *Penthilus* et *Tisamenus* regnare triennio. Castor, as we have seen p. 81. gives fifty-eight years to *Orestes*, *Penthilus*, *Tisamenus*, and *Cometes*. But his account by an opposite error brings the succession of *Orestes* too low. *Penthilus* never reigned at all. *Cometes* according to Pausanias VII. 6, 2. also migrated to Asia. Demo (as we have seen) apud Schol. Eur. Rhes. 250. makes him reign after *Tisamenus* in Peloponnesus. Asclepiades apud Schol. Eur. Or. 1640. makes *Orestes* die at the age of seventy years: Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ φησὶ τὸν Ὁρέστην ὅτε ὄφεως ἀναιρεθῆναι ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτον. which agrees with the account that he was already dead in the sixtieth year from the Trojan era. This account of Asclepiades, confirmed by Strabo, is justly preferred to that of Velleius by Raoul-Rochette tom. II. p. 447.

^o Strabo XIII. p. 582. Κλείηρον δὲ τὸν Δάρων καὶ Μαλαὸν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπογόνος ὄντας Ἀγαμέμονος, συναγαγεῖν μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καθ' ὃν καὶ Πενθίλος· ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν τοῦ Πενθίλου στόλον φέννας περαιωθέντα ἐκ τῆς Θράκης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, τούτους δὲ περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ τὸ Φρίκιον ὅρος διατρίψαι τοὺς χρόνον ὕστερον δὲ διαβάντας κτίσαι τὴν Κύμην τὴν Φρικωνίδα κληθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λοκρικοῦ ὄρους. Ib. p. 621. φασὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Φρικίου τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν Λοκρικοῦ ὄρους δρυμηθέντας κατάραι μὲν εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν τὴν Κύμην ἐστί, καταλαβόντας δὲ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς κεκακωμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ τολέμου κατέχοντας δύο μῆνας ἔτι τὴν Δάρισταν, διέχουσαν τὴς Κύμης ὄντος ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίους, ἐπιτειχίσαις αὐτοῖς τὸ νῦν ἔτι λεγόμενον Νέον Τεῖχος, ἀπὸ τρικοπτα σταδίων τῆς Δαρίστης, ἀλθόντας δὲ κτίσαι τὴν Κύμην καὶ τοὺς περιγενομένους ἀνθρώπους, ἐκέντει ἀνοικίαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Λοκρικοῦ ὄρους τὴν τε Κύμην Φρικωνίδα καλεῦσιν ὄμοιας δὲ καὶ τὴν Δάρισταν. For the *Pelasgi* see above p. 22. 23.

In the gradual progress of the Æolian settlements a long period of years necessarily elapsed between the first migration under the direction of *Orestes* and the establishment of *Cymæ*. Hence various dates are assigned by different authors. Strabo affirms that the Æolic migration preceded the Ionic four generations ^p; which is true of *Orestes*, for *Neleus* son of *Codrus* was contemporary with his fourth descendants *Graïs* and *Agorius* ^q. Pherecydes ^r in general terms observes that the Æolic migration preceded the Ionic. The settlement of *Graïs* was computed ^s to be 100 years after the establishment planned by *Orestes*. The author of the life of Homer ascribed to Herodotus ^t reckons 130 years from the Trojan war to the occupation of Lesbos, twenty years more to the foundation of *Cymæ*, and eighteen from this event to the foundation of Smyrna. If we understand this computation to proceed from the end of the Trojan war, we shall have about 70 years from the expedition of *Penthilus* to the settlement of Lesbos, and about 90 from *Penthilus* to the foundation of *Cymæ*; which is not inconsistent with the former calculation of 100 years from *Orestes* to *Graïs*. Velleius is less accurate, who places the Æolic migration after the Ionic, and yet assigns the colonization of Lesbos to the fifteenth year after the return of the *Heraclidae* ^v.

According to Herodotus the Æolians had twelve states on the continent after the foundation of Smyrna, and eight in the islands exclusive of some settlements around mount Ida. Smyrna was lost to the Colophonians, and in Lesbos five states only remained in the time of Herodotus, the sixth, Arisba, being conquered by the Methymnæans ^w; so that in his age

^p See p. 103. k. ^q See p. 100.

^r Apud Strab. XIV. p. 632.

^s Probably by Hellanicus. See above p. 103. k.

^t Vit. Hom. c. 38. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς εἰς Ἰλιον στρατείας ἦν Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος ἥγειραν ἔτεσιν ὑπερον ἐκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα Λέσβου φύσιθη κατὰ πόλεις, πρότερον δέσποιντος μετὰ δὲ Λέσβου οἰκισθεῖσαν ἔτεσιν ὑπερον ἔκοιτος. Κύμη ἡ Αἰολῶται καὶ Φρικτίς [Φρικανίς Strabo XIII. p. 582] καλεομένη φύσιθη, μετὰ δὲ Κύμην ἐκτικατέκα ἔτεσιν ὑπερον Σμύρνα ἵππο Κυμαῖος κατρίσθη.

^v Vell. I. 2. *Exclusi ab Heraclidis Orestis liberi jactatique cum variis casibus tum sævitia maris quintodecimo anno sedem cepere circa Lesbum insulam.* Idem I. 4. *Iones—urbes constituere Miletum, Ephesum, &c.—Et mox Æolii eadem profecti Græcia longissimisque acti erroribus non minus illustres obtinuerunt locos, &c.* The fifteenth year after the Return might be the date of an establishment on the coast of Asia under *Archelaus* son of *Penthilus*.

^w Herodot. I. 149—151. The twelve states named by Herodotus were these:

1. Cyme: Κύμη ἡ Φρικανίς Herodot. See above p. 104. o.

2. Larissæ: see above p. 25. n.

3. Neon Teichos: πόλις τῆς Αἰολίδος Steph. Byz. conf. Strabon. XIII. p. 621.

4. Temnos: πόλις τῆς Αἰολίδος Steph. Byz. Strab. XIII. p. 621. Xenoph. Hel. IV. 8, 5.

5. Cilla.

6. Notium: called πόλις Ἰωνίας by Steph. Byz.

7. Ægiroessa: Steph. Byz. ἔστι καὶ Αἰολίδος πόλις Αἰγείρουσα, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος.

8. Pitane: πόλις Αἰολίδος Steph. Byz. Besieged by Parmenio in B. C. 335: Diod. XVII. 7.

9. Ægææ: Steph. Byz. Αἴγαι—ἡ ἐν Μυδρῷ ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι. τὰς Αἴγας Strabo XIII. p. 621. Αἴγαι Xenoph. Hel. IV. 8, 5.

10. Myrina: Αἰολί; πόλις Strabo XIII. p. 622. conf. Steph. Byz.

11. Grynea: Strabo XIII. p. 622. Herodot. αὗται ἑδεκα Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι. Taken by Parmenio in B. C. 335. Diod. XVII. 7.

12. Smyrna: abandoned to the Colophonians: Herodot. I. 150. Hence πόλις Ἰωνίας Steph. Byz. Pausan. VII. 5, 1. Σμύρνα ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα πόλεσιν ὅβασαν Αἰολέων—“Ιωνες ἐκ Κολοφῶνος δρυψθεῖτες ἀφελέμενοι τούς Αἰολεῖς ἔσχον” χρόνῳ δὲ ὑπερον καὶ “Ιωνες μετέδοσαν Σμυρναῖς τοῦ ἐπ Πανιονίῳ συλλόγουν. By the influence of the Ephesians: Strabo XIV. p. 633. αὗται μὲν δώδεκα Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις” προσελήφθη δὲ χρόνοις ὑπερον καὶ Σμύρνα, εἰς τὸ Ἰωνικὸν ἐναγαγόντων Ἐφεσιων. ησαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς σύνακοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἤνικα καὶ Σμύρνα ἐκαλέστο ἡ Ἐφεσος:—ἀπελθόντες δὲ παρὰ τὴν Ἐφεσίων οἱ Σμυρναῖοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ τόπον ἐν φύν ἐστίν ἡ Σμύρνα, Λελέγων κατεχόντων ἱκβαλοτες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔκτισαν τὴν παλαιὰν Σμύρναν διέχουσαν τῆς νῦν περὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους. ὑπερον δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰολέων ἐκπεσόντες κατέφυγοι εἰς Κολοφῶνα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἑβδόμηντες ἐπίστρεψαν σφετέρας ἀπέλαβον [Σμύρνη τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος κτισθεῖσαν Herodot. I. 16]. Smyrna therefore had first an Ionic origin from Ephesus, and then received Æolian settlers; which is consistent with the dates as-

there remained eleven states on the continent (exclusive of some settlements on mount Ida) and seven in the islands.

During the reign of *Orestes* the *Heraclidæ* made no impression upon Peloponnesus. In the first attempt *Hyllus* was slain ^x. A second was made in the reign of *Orestes*, led by Cleo-

signed, if we assume with Eratosthenes 140 years after the fall of Troy for the era of Ephesus, and with the authorities already quoted (p. 105. t.) 168 years after the same epoch for the Æolian era of Smyrna. For the time at which Smyrna was received into the Ionian league see the tables B. C. 688. Vitruvius IV. 1., in a passage in which he confounds times and persons, erroneously supposes *regis Attali et Arsinoes beneficio Smyrnæorum civitas inter Ionas est recepta*. A treaty with *Seleucus Callinicus*, made by the Smyrnæans some years after B. C. 246, has been given in F. H. III. p. 313.

In the islands Herodotus names the following :

Lesbos :

1. Mytilene : Thucyd. III. 18. VIII. 23. Steph. Byz. τὰς ἐν Λέσβῳ μεγίστη. Ἐκατῶν Εὐρώπη. ἀπὸ Μυτιλήνης τῆς Μάκαρος θυγατρὸς, ἡ Πέλοπος· εἰ δὲ ὅτι Μυτίληνς ἦν ὁ οἰκιστής, εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ Μύτωνος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Μυτιλήνης. θεν Μυτωνίδα καλεῖ τὴν Λέσβον Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ. Παρθένος δὲ Μυτωνίδας τὰς Λεσβικάς φησι. For the orthography of the word conf. Wess. ad Herodot. I. 160. The name is spelt Μυτιλήνη in Menandri. de encom. p. 96. Heeren. Isocrates p. 424. a. ταῖς Μυτιληναῖς ἄρχουσι; Bekker ex MS. G. Coray tom. I. p. 430. Conf. Coray ad loc. tom. II. p. 316. Boissonade ad Herodian. ἐπιμερισμ. p. 84. Voss. ad Melam p. 502. In Athenaeus XIII. p. 606. a. the edd. have Μυτηλην. the MS. Μυτιλην. male Schweigh. Μιτιλην. Μιτιλήνης however, not Μυτιλήνης, occurs in the Parian marble №. 37.

2. Methymna : Thucyd. III. 18. VIII. 23. Steph. Byz.

3. Antissa : Thucyd. Ibid. Steph. Byz.

4. Pyrrha : Thucyd. Ibid. Steph. Byz.

5. Eressus : Thucyd. Ibid. Steph. Byz. Herodot. I. 151. πάντες τὰς τὴν Λέσβῳ γέμουσται.

6. Ariaba : Herodot. Ibid. τὴν ἑκτην ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκεμένην Ἀρισθεαν ἡνδραπόδισαν Μηδυμναῖον. conf. Steph. Byz.

7. Tenedos : Thucyd. VII. 57. Herodot. I. 151. ἐν Τενέδῳ μία οἰκέταια τάλις.

8. Hecatonnesi : Herodot. Ibid. ἐν τῇσι Ἐκατὸν νήσοισι καλεομένησι ἄλλη μία.

Velleius I. 4, names *Smyrnam*, *Cymen*, *Larissam*, *Myrinam*, *Mitylenemque*, et alias urbes quæ sunt in *Lesbo insula*. Herodot. I. 151. αὗται αἱ ἡπερβότιδες Αἰολίδες τάλις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰόνῃ οἰκημένων κεχωριδαται γὰρ αὕτα. One of the towns in Ida was *Antandros*: Steph. Byz. Ἀντανδρας. τάλις ὑπὸ

τὴν Ἰόνην πρὸς τῇ Μυστιᾳ τῇς Αἰολίδες, ἀπὸ Ἀντάνδρου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Αἰολέων.

^x See above p. 79. In the first attempt in which *Hyllus* fell, the *Heraclidæ* were met at the Isthmus by the Achæans, Ionians, and Arcadians of Tegea; and *Hyllus* was slain in single combat by *Echemus*: Herodot. IX. 26. προερήθη ἐκ πάντων συμμάχων ἐθελοντὴς Ἐχέμος. Schol. Pindar. Ol. X. 79. ἵπτο τούτου τοῦ Ἐχέμου τὸν Τλλαν φασὶ τελευτῆς κατίντα εἰς Πελοπόννησον. This happened ἐπει τε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρόντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατίντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον Herodot. Ibid. That is, soon after the death of *Eurystheus*. In the reign of *Atreus*: Diod. IV. 58. who had been raised to the government through fear of this attempt of the *Heraclidæ*: Thucyd. I. 9. *Echemus*, who slew *Hyllus*, was himself dead before the Trojan war: Pausan. VIII. 5, 2. and the account of Apollodorus II. 8, 2. places the expedition of *Hyllus* four years after the death of *Eurystheus*: ἀπολομένου δὲ Εὐρυσθέως ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον ἥλι—θον εἰ Ἡρακλεῖδαι καὶ πάσας εἶλαν τὰς πόλεις. ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ καθόδῳ γενομένη φθορὰ πάσαν Πελοπόννησον κατέσχε κ. τ. λ.—Τλλος δὲ—παραγενόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπινόματο πᾶς ἀν κατέλιπεν. ὃ δὲ θεος ἔφηται περιμελάντας τὸν τρίτον καρπὸν κατέρρεσθαι. γομίσας δὲ Τλλος τρίτον καρπὸν λέγεται τὴν τριτην τούτην περιμελας χρόνον σὺν τῷ στρατῷ κατήγει ** These positions coincide with the dates already given p. 77. 78. from Herodotus and Schol. Thucyd. which place the death of *Hyllus* twenty years before the fall of Troy. And if four years had elapsed from the death of *Eurystheus*, we may place the death of *Hercules* about six years before the death of *Hyllus*, and in the twenty-sixth year before the Trojan era, as in the table at p. 77. Diodorus I. c. makes the return of the *Heraclidæ* to be effected fifty years after the death of *Hyllus*: Τλλος μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλεῖδαι εἰς μοναχὸν προεκαλέσατο τῶν πολεμίων τὸν βουλόμενον ὁμολογίας θέμενος τουάτας κ. τ. λ.—εἰ Τλλος λειφθεὶ μὴ κατέναι τὸν Ἡρακλεῖδαι εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐπέδει ἐπῶ πετῆκοντα. καταβάντος δὲ εἰς τὴν πρόκλησιν Ἐχέμου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Τεγεατῶν, δὲ μὲν Τλλος ἀγγρέθη εἰ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖδαι κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀπέστησαν τῆς καθόδου, καὶ τὴν εἰς Τρικόρυβον ἐπάνοδον ἐποήσαντο.—δέ ὁ πετῆκοντας χρόνος διῆλθε, κατῆλθον εἰς Πελοπόννησον. Diodorus is here inconsistent with himself; for he places the death of *Hyllus* thirty years after the Trojan war, since he places it fifty years before the return, which according to Diodorus himself was eighty years

dæus^y; a third by *Aristomachus* son of *Cleodæus*, after the death of *Orestes*, which was repelled by *Tisamenus*^z. After the sons of *Aristomachus* were grown up, the Dorians made another effort, which succeeded. This fourth invasion, led by *Temenus*, *Aristodemus*, and *Cresphontes*, sons of *Aristomachus*^a, which was in the eightieth year after the fall of Troy^b,

after that war. And yet he himself relates that *Hyllus* was slain immediately after the death of *Eurystheus* and in the reign of *Atreus*. It is evident that he has confounded two accounts of this event; the erroneous account noticed by Pausanias I. 41, 3. which placed the death of *Hyllus* in the reign of *Orestes*, with the true account, also noticed by Pausanias, VIII. 5, 1. which placed it before the Trojan war and before the reign of *Agapenor*.

^y Heyne ad Apollod. II. 8, 2. and others have remarked the corruption of this name. Few names have been more corrupted. He is Ἀρίδαιος in Euseb. Praep. V. 20. Κλεδότος Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 804. Κλεδάμον Pausan. II. 7, 6. Κλεδέου III. 15, 7. Κλεάδας in Schol. Pindar. Isthm. VII. 18. Κλεδάτης in Syncellus p. 262. C. The expedition of *Cleodæus* is recorded by Ονομασις apud Euseb. Praep. V. p. 210. C. φέρε τὰ καθήκοντα διέλθεν τῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλεῖδας δηγγήματος. εὗτοι γάρ τοι ὄμηροις κατὰ τὸν ισθμὸν εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐσφάλησαν. Ἀριστόμαχος ὁν δὲ Ἀρίδαιος, ἔτειδη ὁ Ἀρίδαιος ἑτεύκει ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ, ἔργεται ἀκούσμονος παρὰ σὲν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἑτεύμει δὲ ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πατέρ. σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ λέγεις,

ὑκτὴ τοι φάίνεται θεοὶ δὲ ἰδού στενύρων.

καὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ισθμὸν ὄμηροις ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ μάχῃ τελευτῇ. τούτων δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Τήμενος κακοδαιμόν [I. δ. κ.] ἦκει ἐν κακοδαιμόνοις τρίτος. σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ παρεργυζεῖς δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόμαχος τῷ πατέρι, καὶ οὐδα ἀλλα. κάκεινός σοι (ἔφη) τεισθεῖς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ. καὶ σὺ ἔφης, οὐ κατὰ γῆν λέγω στενύρην ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν εὐρυγάστορα. ἑπειδὴ χαλεπὸν ἦν εἰπεῖν «κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν.» κάκεινός ἦν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν κ. τ. λ. Theodoret Therapeut. X. p. 628. C.=958. mentions the expedition of *Aristomachus*: καὶ γάρ Ἀριστόμαχος οὐ γενοκός τὴν στενύρην τὸν μὲν πορθμὸν καὶ τὰς τρίπεις κατέλιπε, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ισθμοῦ προβαλὼν τὸν βίου κατέλιπεν. The Scholiast on Pindar Isthm. VII. 18. mentions also that of *Cleodæus*: τὸν σὺν τοῖς Ἡρακλεῖδαις εἰς Πελοπόννησον κατειθίσταν, δὲ Ἀριστόμαχος ὁ Κλεᾶδας καὶ Κλεᾶδας ὁ Τάλον ἤγαντε. The text in Apollodorus II. 8, 2. is mutilated:—Ἀριστόμαχος θνήσκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡδρωθησαν εἰ Κλεᾶδαιν παῖδες, ἔχριστο περὶ καθόδου. τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ εἰπότος ὅτι καὶ τὸ πρότερον, Τήμενος γῆτα τέλευτο πεισθέντα ἀτυχῆσαι. δὲ θεοὶ αὐτεῖπε τὸν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοῖς αἰτίας εἶναι τοὺς γάρ χρησμοὺς οὐ συμβάλλειν λέγειν γάρ οὐ γῆς ἀλλὰ γενεᾶς καρπὸν τρίτου, καὶ στενύρων τὸν εὐρυγάστερα, δεκάνα κατὰ τὸν ισθμὸν ἔχοντι τὴν θάλασσαν. ταῦτα Τήμενος ἀκούσας ἡτοίμαζε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ ταῦς ἴσηζατο κ. τ. λ. The

name Κλεάδαν, as Heyne ad loc. remarks, is here out of place: *insertum alieno loco, cum sint hoc loco εἰ Ἀριστομάχου παιδες intelligendi*. But Heyne justly determines that a chasm occurs in the text between the mention of *Hyllus* and the mention of *Aristomachus*: *Mihi quidem manifestum fit post κατήσει esse lacunam et excidisse locum de Hylli cæde, &c.* It is manifest that *Cleodæus* and the oracle νίκη—στενύρων had both been mentioned. According to Schol. Aristid. tom. III. p. 651. Dindorf. this oracle had been given to *Hyllus* himself: *οἱ περὶ Τάλον Ἡρακλεῖδας τὸν Ἀπόλλανα ἤραντο πῶς ἀν κρατήσωσι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, καὶ ἔχρησον αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν στενῶν κατελθεῖν, μὴ συνέπετε δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν διὰ τοῦ ισθμοῦ κατήρχοντο* ἀπαντησάντων αὐτοῖς τὸν Πελοποννήσον, ἔδοξε μανομαχῆσαι κ. τ. λ.

^z See Apollodorus quoted above p. 104. m. We have seen already some testimonies to the expedition of *Aristomachus*. He occurs in Pausanias II. 7, 6. Ἀριστόμαχος ὁ Κλεδάμον τῆς γενομένης μαντείας ἀμαρτὼν δι' αὐτὸν καὶ καθόδου τῆς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἥμαρτεν.

^a Their descent is given by Herodotus VII. 204. Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεδαίου τοῦ Τάλον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. And again VI. 52. Syncellus p. 262. C. Τηρέντιον τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεαδέτους τοῦ Τάλον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Phlegon de Olymp. p. 142. Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεδαίου τοῦ Τάλον, Ἡρακλέων. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 804. omits *Aristomachus*: ὁ Τήμενος οὗτος ἔκγονος ἦν Ἡρακλέος· Ἡρακλέος γάρ καὶ Δημανέρας Τάλος, Τάλον δὲ καὶ Ιόλης τῆς Εύρυτου Κλεδότος, Λίχας, καὶ Κῆνος, Κλεδότον δὲ καὶ Περιδέας ὁ Τήμενος οὗτος καὶ ἔτερος.

^b Thucyd. I. 12. Δυρῆς τε ὁ δύοδηκοστῷ ἔτει (μετὰ Ιλίου ἀλλον) ἔνιν Ἡρακλεῖδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον. Eratosthenes apud Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 336. B. ἀπὸ μὲν Τροίας ἀλλοσεως ἐπὶ Ἡρακλεῖδον καθόδον ἔτη δύοδηκοτα. Apollodorus apud Diod. I. 5. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἀκαλύθως Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ Ἀθηναῖῳ τίθεμεν δύοδηκοτα ἔτη πρὸς τὴν κάθεδον τῶν Ἡρακλεῖδον. This number has been adopted by Velleius I. 2. *Tum sere anno octagesimo post Trojam captam—Pelopis progenies—ab Herculis progenie expellitur. Duces recuperandi imperii fuere Temenus, Cresphontes, Aristodemus, quorum atavus fuerat. Crates apud Tatian. p. 107. εἰ περὶ Κράτητα πρὸ τῆς Ἡρακλεῖδον καθόδου φασιν "Ομηρον ἡμακέναι, μετὰ τὰ Τρωικά, ἐδετέρῳ τῶν δύοδηκοτα ἔτορ. Pseudo-Plutarch. de vita Homeri tom. V. p. 1070. Wytt. εἰ μὲν περὶ Ἀριστοταρχὸν φασιν "Ομηρον γεέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰανυκὴν ἀποκίαν, ητοις ὑστερεῖ τῆς τῶν Ἡρακλεῖδον καθόδου*

and 100 years after the attempt of *Hyllus*, we may place perhaps fifty years after the death of *Cleodæus*^c and about twenty after the death of *Aristomachus*^d. The three brothers, ac-

έτεσιν ἐδήκοντα· τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλεῖδας λείπεται τὸν Τρωικὸν ἔτεσιν ὑγδόνκοντα. εἰ δὲ περὶ Κράτυγης καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἡρακλεῖδῶν καθόδῳ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, ὃς οὐδὲ ἔτη ὑγδόνκοντα ἀπέκειν τὸν Τρωικὸν. From this passage compared with Tatian p. 108. Clemens p. 326. D. we may collect that Aristarchus also adopted the date of Eratosthenes. All however did not agree in this amount. Some computed the period at 120 years, according to Clemens Strom. I. p. 336. D. ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀλάσσεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλεῖδῶν κάθοδον ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, ἡ ἑκατὸν ὑγδόνκοντα. Castor, as we have seen p. 82, if Eusebius rightly represents his numbers, reckoned the interval at less than eighty years.

^c Eusebius Chron. II. p. 300. records anno 869. *Oxyntis* 1^o secundum nonnullos Heraclidarum incursio; which Syncellus thus expresses p. 177. D. Ἡρακλεῖδῶν κάθοδος "Τύλλου τὸν πρεσβυτέρου παιδὸς Ἡρακλέους ἥγουμένον τῆς κατὰ Πελοποννησίν μέχης κ. τ. λ. The date of Eusebius gives the thirty-fourth year from the fall of Troy. When we compare Diodorus quoted p. 106. x. who reckons that the *Heraclidæ* returned fifty years after the attempt of *Hyllus* in the reign of *Atreus*, and the account in Pausanias I. 41, 3. (which he afterwards rejects) that the expedition of *Hyllus* was in the reign of *Orestes*, we may conclude that this expedition in the reign of *Orestes*, about the thirty-fourth year from the Trojan era, or the thirtieth according to Diodorus, was in reality the expedition of *Cleodæus*, which was confounded with that of *Hyllus* by some, and with the true return by others. From the date, then, in Eusebius, compared with Diodorus, it appears probable that the attempt of *Cleodæus* was referred to the fiftieth or the fifty-fourth year after the death of *Hyllus*; and this would place it at about the twenty-second or twenty-sixth year of the reign of *Orestes*.

It is no argument against the truce for 100 years that this term was not completed. The thirty years' truce in B. C. 445, and the fifty years' truce in B. C. 421, were not observed. But it is also probable that the tradition of a fifty years' truce might have been preserved because fifty years elapsed from the death of *Hyllus* to the death of *Cleodæus*, and the tradition of a 100 years' truce because that period intervened between the death of *Hyllus* and the actual return of the *Heraclidæ*.

^d *Aristomachus* fell not more than twenty years before the final conquest; because his death occurred within the reign of *Tisamenus*, as already shewn, and probably not much less, be-

cause in the interval his sons grew to manhood—ἡδράθησαν Apollod. II. 8, 2. Larcher Herod. tom. VII. p. 583, 584. rightly makes the interval nineteen years, but improperly places the death of *Aristomachus* within the reign of *Orestes*, contrary to Apollodorus. Clavier des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 3. brings down the death of *Hyllus* to a lower point, and supposes him to have fallen during the absence of *Agamemnon* at the siege of Troy, because if *Agamemnon* had remained in Greece *Echemus* would not have had the command of the army, and because *Echemus* reigned at the same time with *Agapenor*. But this is contrary to the authorities already produced; and those testimonies are confirmed by the probable state of things. For it is much more likely that the *Pelopidæ* would have carried their forces to Troy after the danger from the Dorians was at an end, than that they would have withdrawn their army while the attack of *Hyllus* was yet impending. Moreover *Echemus* preceded *Agapenor*. And it is not said that *Echemus* commanded; he is only one of the allied leaders. Clavier also p. 8. places the death of *Aristomachus* fifty years after the death of *Hyllus*, and rejects the expedition of *Cleodæus*, which he affirms to rest on the sole authority of *Œnomaus*. But we have seen it also mentioned by the Scholiast on Pindar, and strongly indicated by the date which Eusebius preserves, thirty-four years from the fall of Troy. Isocrates Archidam. p. 119. b. in his narrative of the claims of the *Heraclidæ* only notices the final and successful effort: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον—κατὰ μὲν ἄρχας οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τὸν ἔχθρον δύναμιν ἐν πολλοῖς πλάνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἤσαν, τελευτῆσαντος δὲ Εὐρυθέων κατρίχησαν ἐν Δωριέσσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τρίτης γενεᾶς ἀφίκετο εἰς Δελφούς, χήρασθαι τῷ μαντείῳ περὶ τινος βουληθέντες. ὁ δὲ θεὸς περὶ μὲν ὅν ἐπιπράτησαν οὐκ ἀνεῖλεν ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἵεναι χώραν. σκοπούμενοι δὲ τὴν μαντείαν εἵρισκοι "Ἄργος μὲν κατ' ἀγγιστεῖαν αὐτῶν γηρύνεον—Δακεδαίμονα δὲ κατὰ δύσιν—Μεσσηνῆν δὲ δοριάλωτον ληφθεῖσαν—ὑπολαβόντες δὲ οὕτως ἔχειν τὴν μαντείαν καὶ τὸν προγόνοις τοὺς ὑμετέρους παραλαβόντες καὶ στρατόπεδον συστησάμενοι τὴν μὲν ίδιαν χώραν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς συνακολουθήσασιν ἔδοσαν τὴν δὲ βασικήλας ἔκαιρον αὐτοῦ παρ' ἐκείνην ἔλαθον, ἵνα δὲ τούτοις πίστεις ἀλλήλους δύναται ἐποιῶντο τὴν στρατείαν. But we cannot conclude from hence that Isocrates had never heard of the other attempts. He mentions only what was necessary to his purpose. Thus in Panath. p. 286. a. he gives a different account of the motives of the invaders: Δωρεῖς ὄντες ἐπειδὴ κατεῖδον τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἔαντων ἀδέξους καὶ

accompanied by *Oxylus* from Ætolia^c, conquered *Tisamenus*. *Oxylus* was established in Elis^f;

μικρὰς καὶ πολλὰν ἐνδεῖς οὖσας, ὑπεριδόντες ταύτας ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Πελοπονῆσφ πρωτευούσας, ἵπτος Ἀργος καὶ Λακεδαιμονία καὶ Μεσσηνή, μάχῃ δὲ νικήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἡττηθέντας ἔκ τε τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἔξεβαλον κ. τ. λ. He omits here the oracle and the claims of the *Heraclidæ*: he omits in both passages the attempt of *Hyllus*, which he could not but have known. We are not then to infer from the silence of Isocrates that he only believed one expedition. Aristides tom. II. p. 215. notices the unsuccessful attacks: ἐν μὲν γὰρ δὲ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς εἰσβολῆς ἐπειώντο, ἥτεχον ἀλθόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν Ἀχαικὸν εἴρον αὐτὸν πόρον ὄντα τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς. διόπερ ἐκεῖνοι ὁ θεὸς διὰ τὴν στενῶν τούτων ἐπιχειρεῖν προῆλγεν. οἱ δὲ ἀγροῦσαντες καὶ τὴν ἐπέραν τραπέμενοι μικροὶ καθάπτας ἀπέλαντο.

^c According to Apollodorus II. 8, 3. they were also accompanied by *Pamphylius* and *Dymas* sons of *Aegimius*, who fell in the action: θνήσκουσι δὲ συμμαχῶντες αὐτοῖς οἱ Αἴγιμοι παιδεῖς Πάμφυλος καὶ Δύμας. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. V. 92. δῆλον ὅτι καὶ οἱ Αἴγιμοι παιδεῖς Δύμας καὶ Πάμφυλος συγκατήθοντες Ἡρακλεῖδαις. But these were contemporary with *Hyllus*. From these three the three Dorian tribes received their names: see above p. 70. I. Herodot. V. 68. Τλλέας καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ Δυμανάτας. Pindarus apud Boeckh. tom. I. p. 577. κλεινὰ δὲ καὶ γαντίκλινοι Αἴγιμοι· σὺν θεῷ δὲ να αἴσῃς Τλλου τε καὶ Αἴγιμοι Δοριέντες ἐθνῶν στρατὸς ἐκτίσσατο. Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. No. 1128. Argis.—^d φίλα τῶν Τλλέων. N°. 1123. Argis.—^e φίλα τῶν Δυμάνων. See Müller Dor. vol. II. p. 76. who refers to these testimonies together with some others, and justly concludes that wherever there were Dorians there were also Hyleans, Pamphylians, and *Dymenes*. Hence he explains the term *τριχάκις* in Homer and Hesiod to mean “the thrice divided ‘Dorians.’” If the account in Apollodorus and in the Scholiast had any foundation, we must suppose that the names of the tribes had been converted into the names of individuals, and that under the terms *Pamphylius* and *Dymas* were described the leaders of those two tribes who accompanied the *Heraclidæ* into Peloponnesus. Pausanias II. 28, 3. preserves a narrative which places *Pamphylius* a generation later still, and deviates yet further from the truth; where it is related that *Pamphylius* married a daughter of *Deiphontes*: ταύτην Πάμφυλον τὸν Αἴγιμον λέγουσιν ὑπέρεων γῆμαι.

^f *Oxylus* was the grandson of *Thoas* (who was present at Troy) and descended in the ninth or tenth degree from *Ætolus*. Pausanias V. 3, 5. makes him the ninth from *Ætolus*: Οξύλος Αἴμανος τοῦ Θεαρροῦ. Θίας δὲ ἡ αὕτη ὡς καὶ τοῖς Ατρέας παῖ-

σὶν ἀρρών συγκαθεῖτε τὴν Πριάμον. γενεὰ δὲ ἀπὸ Θίατος ἀνήκουσιν ἐξ Αἰτωλῶν τὸν Ἐνδυμίλωνος. See above p. 41. An epigram apud Strabon. X. p. 463. makes him the tenth: Ἐφορεος—φησὶν ἀφικομένου ἐξ Ἡλίδος Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίλωνος—τοὺς μὲν Κουρῆτας εἰς τὴν νῦν καλούμενην Ἀκαρνανίαν ὑποχωρῆσαι τοὺς δὲ Αἰτωλούς συγκατελθίντας Ἑπεινοῖς τὰς ἀρχαιοτάτας κτίσαις τοὺς ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ πόλεων δεκάτη δὲ ὑπερον γενεᾷ τὴν Ἡλίν ὑπὸ Οξύλου τοῦ Αἴμανος συνακισθῆναι περαιωθέντος ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας. παρατίθεσι δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτων μαρτύρια τὰ ἐπιγράμματα, τὸ μὲν ἐν Θέρμαις τῆς Αἰτωλίας, ὃν τὰς ἀρχαιοτάτας ποιεῖσθαι πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστιν, ἐγκεχαραγμένον τῇ βάσει τῆς Αἰτωλού εἰκόνος· “Χώρης” κ. τ. λ.—τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ τῷν Ἡλείων ἐπὶ τῷ Οξύλου ἀνδρίστι·

Αἰτωλός ποτε τόνδε λιπών αὐτόχθονα δῆμον
κτίσαστο Κουρῆτος γῆν δορὶ πολλὰ καμάν·
τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς γενεᾶς δεκατόσπορος Αἴμανος οὐδὲς

Οξύλος ἀρχαὶν ἔκτισε τήνδε πόλιν.

Apollodorus I. 7, 7. combined with Antoninus Liberal. would place only six generations between *Ætolus* and *Oxylus*: Αἰτωλοῦ—Πλεύρων καὶ Καλυδῶν ἐγένετο—Καλυδῶνος δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς Ἀμυθάσονος Ἐπικάστη καὶ Πρωτογένεια, ἐξ οὗς καὶ Ἀρεος Ὁξύλου. Antonin. c. 32. mentions Ἀνδραιμονίου ὁ Οξύλος. If *Andræmon* son of *Oxylus* was the father of *Thoas*, as Clavier Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 97. supposes (which however is not very clear, since *Andræmon* son of *Oxylus* lived in *Dryopis* and married *Dryopæ*: Antonin. Ibid. and *Andræmon* father of *Thoas* lived in Ætolia and married *Gorgë*: Apollod. I. 8, 1), then the first *Oxylus* was grandfather of *Thoas*, and the second *Oxylus* was the eighth from *Ætolus*. The Scholiast on Homer. Iliad. v. 218. will add another generation: Αἰτωλος—τεκνοῦται Πλευράνα—τοίτου δὲ γίνονται δύο παιδεῖς, Κούρης καὶ Καλυδών. οὗτος Δημάχος. which would agree with the nine generations of Pausanias. In Strabo δεκάτη seems to have been rightly restored by some editors. In the extant copies the passage stands, τὰς ἀρχαιοτάτας δέκα. τῇ δὲ ὑπερον γενεᾷ retained by Siebel. ad Pausan. and by Marx Ephori fragm. p. 127.

Oxylus became the guide of the *Heraclidæ*: Schol. Pindar. Ol. III. 22. Οξύλος τις ἀνὴρ, εἰς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἥρκα ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἥτεγνοτο καθηγήσατο αὐτοῖς τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἀντιδόσεως δὲ τρόφῳ τῷ Ἡλείων ἡγεμονίαν παρ' αὐτῷν λαμβάνει. Pausan. V. 3, 5. ἐπὶ Ἡλείων βασιλεύειτος ἐν Ἡλίδι [the grandson of *Amphimachus* who fought at Troy], τηρικαῖτα δὲ Δοριέων στόλος σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστομάχου παισὶν ἥθροιζετο ἐπὶ καθόδῳ δὲ Πελοπόννησον. γῆγεται δὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν λόγιον τόδε, ἡγεμόνα τῆς καθόδου παιεῖσθαι τὸν τριόβθαλμον. ἀποροῦσι δέ σφισιν δι τοῦ ὁ χρήσμος ἐθέλοι συνέτυχεν ἐλαύνειν ἄνηρ ἡμίονος, δὲ ἔπειρος διέφθαρτο τῷ ἡμίονῳ τῶν διθαλμῶν. Κρεσφάτου δὲ συμφρονήσαντες

Temenus the eldest of the brothers had Argos for his share ⁵, where *Cisus* his eldest son succeeded him. But the people so abridged the royal authority that they left to *Medon* son of *Cisus*, and to his successors, little more than the name of king ^h. *Temenus* himself was murdered by his sons, jealous of his son-in-law *Deiphontes*, also descended from *Hercules*ⁱ. Cres-

ώς δε τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἔχοι τὸ μάρτυρα, οὕτως φίκεισαντο αὐτὸν εἰ Δωριεῖς — δε ἀνὴρ ἦν "Οὖλος. — συνεπετάκει δὲ τῷ Ὀβύλφῳ φυγάδας ἐνὶ Αἰτωλίᾳ εἶναι. Apollod. II. 8, 3. τὸν τριόφθαλμου ἔγγατον καθημένου μανοφθάλμῳ τὸν γὰρ ἔτερον τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκέκοτο τέλειον ἐπὶ φόνῳ γάρ αὐτος φυγάν εἰς Ἡλιον καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν, ἐπιαυτοῦ διελθόντος, ἐπανήρχετο. Strabo VIII. p. 357. "Ἐφορός φησιν Αἰτωλὸν ἐκτεσόντα — ἕκ τῆς Ἡλείας εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ὀφράσαι τε ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ τὴν χώραν — τούτου δὲ ἀπόγονος ὑπάρχαντα Οὖλον φίλον τοῖς τερι Τήμενον Ἡρακλεῖδας ἡγήσασθαι τὸν ὁδὸν — ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου λαβεῖν χάρα τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἡλείαν κάθιδον προσοῦνταί οἱσταν. To this return of *Oxylus* Herodotus refers VIII. 73. when he assigns Elis to the Aetolians: Αἰτωλῶν Ἡλιον μονην. Larcher ad loc. not advertting to this Aetolian original of *Oxylus* and his followers, proposes to alter Αἰτωλῶν into Αἰολέαν.

§ Plato Leg. III. p. 683. d. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὃς γε λέγεται τὸ τοῦ μίθου, τριχῇ τὸ στράτευμα διανείμαντας τρεῖς τόλμεις κατοικίζειν, Ἀργος, Μεσσήνη, Λακεδαιμονία. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἀργους Τήμενος ἐγένετο Μεσσήνης δὲ Κρεσφόντης Λακεδαιμονίου δὲ Προκλῆς καὶ Εὔρυθμένης. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. V. 92. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀριστοδίμους ταῖδες Προκλῆς καὶ Εὔρυθμένης ἔσχα τὸν Δακωνικὴν, ὃ δὲ Τήμενος τὸν Ἀργος, ὃ δὲ Κρεσφόντης τὴν Μεσσήνην. Pausan. IV. 3, 3. Τήμενός τὸν Δωρίεων Ἀργος ἐφέρτων ἔχειν, Κρεσφόντης γῆν σφᾶς ἔτει τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἀπε καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοδίμους προεβίτερος. Ἀριστοδίμος μὲν οὖν ἐτύγχανεν ἥδη τεθνεῖς, Θύρας δὲ ὁ ἀπεσίλων τῷ Κρεσφόντῃ μάλιστα ἥραντιότῳ, τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν Θηβαῖος τε καὶ ἀπόγονος πέμπτος Πολυυείκους τοῦ Οἰδίποδος, τότε δὲ ἐπετρέπειν Ἀριστοδίμους τοὺς ταῖδας θεῖος ὁν πρὸς μητρός [see p. 86. l.] Temenus takes the lead in the expedition in Apollod. II. 8, 2. Σεπομαῦς αριδ Euseb. Præp. p. 211.

^h Pausan. II. 19. 2. See below, Appendix c. 1.

ⁱ Apollod. II. 8, 5. Τήμενος μὲν οὖν ταρατεμένος τοὺς ταῖδας Ἀγέλας καὶ Εύριπον καὶ Καλλίαν τῷ θυγατρὶ προσανέγειτο Ἄρηνος καὶ τῷ ταΐτῃ ἄνδρι Δηϊφόντη. θεον εἰ ταῖδες πείθουσι Τιτάνας ἐπι μισθῷ τὸν πατέρα αἴτιον φονέσσαι. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ φόνου, τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ στρατὸς ἔχειν ἔδικαντεν Ἄρηνος καὶ Δηϊφόντη. Pausanias II. 19, 1. gives the following account: Τήμενος ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φανεροῦ Δηϊφόντη τῷ Ἀυτιμάχου τοῦ Θρασυλάνος τοῦ Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους στρατηγοῦ τρόδε τὰς μάχας ἔχρισαστο ἀντὶ τῶν ιῶν καὶ σύμβουλον ἔει τὰ πάντα ἔχειν, ἀπε αὐτὸν τε ἐκπίνεις πεπονιμέος πρότερον ἔτι γαμβρὸν καὶ τῶν ταῖδων ἀρεσκόμενος τῷ Ἄρηνος μάλιστα. ὑπαπεθετο δὲ ἥδη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐξείλην καὶ Δηϊφόντην τρέπειν. ἐπεβούλευθη δὲ τούτην εἰνεκα ὑπὸ

τῶν ιῶν. ἐκείνων δὲ αὐτῷ Κεῖσος προεβίτατο; ὅν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν. He relates II. 28. what occurred after the death of Temenus: ὃς Ἐπιδαιρόν τε λέγουσι καὶ εἰκὸς ἔχεις γράψω. Κεῖσος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Τημένου ταῖδες μάλιστα ηδεσσαν Δηϊφόντην λυτήσοντες εἰ διαλῦσαν τῶς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἄρηνον διηγησεῖν ἀτίκοντα οὐν ἐς Ἐπιδαιρον Κερίνης καὶ Φάλκης. Ἀγυρλῷ γάρ τῷ νευτάτῳ τὰ ποιεῖμενα οὐδὲ ἡρεσκεν οὗτοι δὲ στήσαντες τὸ ἄρμα ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος κήρυκα δεποτελλοντοι παρὰ τὴν ἀδελφήν — ὃς δὲ ὑπῆκοντος καλλούσιν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ νεανίσκοι πολλὰ μὲν Δηϊφόντου κατηγόρουν πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὴν λυτένον ἐπανήκειν εἰς Ἀργος. — Ἄρηνος δὲ τέτοιος λεχθεῖσιν ἀλγήσασα ἀπεδίδουν σφίσι τὴν ἴσην, Δηϊφόντην μὲν αὐτῇ τε ἄνδρα ἀρεστὸν εἰναι φίσασα καὶ Τημένην γενέσθαι γαμβρὸν οὐ μεμπτὸν, ἐκείνων δὲ Τημένου προσκύνεις σφαγεῦσιν οὐομάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ παισὶ κ. τ. λ. In the sequel Deiphontes kills Cerynes, and Phalces Hyrnetho. Δηϊφόντης δὲ σὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἀναλαβόντες τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἄρηνος κομίζουσιν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἀνά χρόνον Ἄρηνος κινθέν. Idem II. 26, 1. (Ἐπιδαιρόν) βασιλεύειν φασι: Πιτυρέα Ιανος ἀπόγονον τοῦ Επιθεού. τοῦτον παραδούντας λέγουσιν ἀμαζεῖται τὴν γῆν Δηϊφόντη καὶ Ἀργείος. καὶ δὲ μὲν ἐς Ἀθηναῖς δομοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα φίσεται, Δηϊφόντης δὲ καὶ Ἀργείοις τὴν Ἐπιδαιρίαν ἔσχαν. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ οὗτοι τὸν ἄλλον Ἀργείον, Τημένου τελευτήσαντος, Δηϊφόντης μὲν καὶ Ἄρηνος κατ' ἔχος τὸν Τημένου ταῦδεν, δὲ δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς στρατὸς Δηϊφόντη καὶ Ἄρηνος πλέον ἢ Κείσον καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς νέμοντες. Deiphontes therefore reigned or dwelt at Epidaurus after the death of Temenus, and Cisus at Argos. Other passages record that Deiphontes occupied Epidaurus: Pausan. II. 29, 5. μοῖρα Ἀργείον τῶν Ἐπιδαιρον δομῶν δηϊφόντη κατασχόνταν διαβᾶσα εἰς Αἴγιναν καὶ Αίγυντας τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις γενόμενοι σύνοικοι τὰ Δωρίεων ἔθη καὶ φονὴ κατεσήσαντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. Conf. VII. 4, 3. And Phalces Sicyon: see II. 6, 4. quoted at p. 29. q. Ephorus apud Strab. VIII. p. 389. τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τοὺς μετὰ τὴν Ἡρακλεῖδον κάθιδον, Κορίνθου μὲν Ἀλίτην, Σικυώνας δὲ Φάλκη, Ἀχαίας δὲ Τισαμενόν, Ἡλίδος δὲ Οὖλον, Μεσσήνης δὲ Κρεσφόντην, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ Εύρυθμένην καὶ Προκλῆς, Ἀργους δὲ Τήμενον, καὶ τῶν τερὶ τὴν Ακτὴν Αίγανον καὶ Δηϊφόντην. Hence Scymnus 528.

Φάλκην δὲ τὸν Σικυόνα τὴν δὲ Αχαίαν Τισαμενόν: Ἡλίδος δὲ ὑπάρχειν Οὖλον ἡγεμόνα, Κρεσφόντην δὲ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, Εύρυθμένην δὲ καὶ Προκλῆς Λακεδαιμονίους, Ἀργους δὲ Κίστον καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Τήμενον, τῶν δὲ τερὶ τὴν Ακτὴν Αίγανον, διὸ λόγος, καὶ Δηϊφόντην οὐαν ὄντα Τημένου.

The words in Strabo περὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν are verified

phontes, who obtained Messenia, was also slain with two of his sons by a faction^k. *Aristodemus*, the youngest of the three brothers, died according to some accounts before the armament had entered Peloponnesus^l; but according to the Lacedæmonians themselves he survived till the termination of the expedition, and died in possession of Sparta^m.

by Scymnus, who doubtless followed Ephorus. Heyne ad Apollod. II. 8, 5. p. 518. has neglected this passage of Scymnus. The various names Ἀγραι; in Pausanias, Ἀγαδ; in Scymnus, Αγαδ; in Strabo, Ἀγέλας; in Apollodorus, are probably corruptions of the same name, and designate the same person, with scarcely more variations than we have seen at p. 107. y. in the name Κλεοδαιος. Wesseling ad Diod. XV. 31. reads Ἀργαιος in Scymnus and Pausanias, which was perhaps the true form, since it occurs in the Macedonian kings who were descended from Temenus. The memory of Hyrnetho was preserved by the Argives in the name of a tribe added to the three Doric tribes: Steph. Byz. Δυράν. πρωτεύη ἡ Τρηνία. Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. N°. 1130. p. 582. *Argis*:—Δ φύλα τῶν Τραβλων. N°. 1131. *Argis*:—Δ φύλα . . . ναβιων. Althæmenes a son of Cisus settled a colony in Crete, and Cisus himself according to Ephorus apud Strab. X. p. 481. reigned at Argos in the time of Procles king of Sparta: "Εφόρος φησι—τὸν ερμοθέτην Δικούργου πάντες γενεαῖς πεπέραν Ἀλθαιμενος εἴσαι τοῦ στελλαντος τὴν εἰς Κρήτην διαποιαν τὸν μὲν γὰρ ιστορεῖσθαν Κίστων ταῦδα τοῦ τὸ Αργος κτίσαντας περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἥρικα Προκλῆς τὴν Σπάρτην συνάψκε.

^k Strab. VIII. p. 361. "Εφόρος δὲ τὸν Κρεσφόντην ἐπειδὴ εἴλε Μεσσήνην διελεύνει φησιν εἰς πάντες τὸλμεις αὐτὴν, διστε τὴν Στενίκλαρον μὲν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς χώρας ταῦτης κειμένην διποιεῖσαν βασιλείων αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας. ἐντέθεν δὲ Ἰαυίτηρ τέμφια πρεσβυτὴν εἰς Πύλον καὶ Ρίον τὸς Μεσσηνίους ἀπαγατας ταῖς Δωριεσσιν ισενόμους παιήσαστα" ἀναξικαθαύστων δὲ τὸν Δωριέαν, μεταγράντα μόνην τὴν Στενίκλαρον ημίσαι τὸλμην, εἰς τούτο δὲ τοὺς Δωριέας συναγορεῖν πάστας. Pausan. IV. 3, 3. Μεσσηνίους τὸν ἄρχαλον εἰς ἔργετον ἐπει τὸν Δωριέαν δῆμος ἀνάστατος, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαν τε συγχρυστοῖς ὑπὸ Κρεσφόντου καὶ ἀναδάστασθαν τὸν Δωριέας τὴν γῆν· ταῦτα δὲ σφισιν εἴκεν ταριστατο ὑποφίλη πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεύοντας, οἵτις ήσαν δὲ Ἰωλοῦ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Μινύαι. γυναικα δὲ ἔσχε Κρεσφόντης Μερόπην τὴν Κιλίλεων, βασιλεύοντας τότε Ἀρκάδων [see p. 92. t], ἀφ' ἧς ἀλλοι τὸ δὲ ταῦδες ἔργετο αὐτῷ καὶ νεύτας Λίκτος. τὰ δὲ βασιλεῖα—φιδοδομήσατο ἐν Στενίκληρρ.—διοικέμενον δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ πολλὰ δὲ χάριν τοῦ δήμου μᾶλλον, εἰ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες αὐτὸν τε Κρεσφόντην ἐπαναστάτες καὶ τοὺς νιόδες ἀποκτείνουσι τοὺς λογοτός· δὲ Λίκτος — περγίνεται μόνος τοῦ εἰκονος. Apollod. II. 8, 5. Κρεσφόντης οὐ πολὺ Μεσσήνης βασιλεύεσται χρόνων μετὰ δύο ταῖδων φονεύθεις ἀπέβανε. Πολυφάντης δὲ ἐβασιλεύεται, αὐτὸν τὸν Ἡρακλεῖδην ὑπάρχειν. καὶ τὴν τοῦ φονεύθεις γυναικα ἄκνεσται Μερόπην ἔλαβεν. ἀρρέθη

δὲ καὶ οὗτος· τρίτον γὰρ ἔχοντα ταῦδα Μερόπη καλούμενον Αἴτιτον ἔδωκε τῷ ἔαυτῃς πατρὶ τρέφεις οὗτος ἀνδραθεὶς καὶ κρίφα κατελθὼν ἔκτενε τὸν Πολυφάντην καὶ τὴν πατρίαν βασιλείαν ἀπέλαβεν. The account of the stratagem by which Cresphonites obtained Messenia is told by Apollodorus II. 8, 4. Pausanias IV. 3, 3. In Apollodorus all the three provinces are assigned by lot: τράτη μὲν λῆξις Ἀργος δευτέρα Λακεδαιμόνιον τρίτη δὲ Μεσσήνη. the lot of Cresphonites remains the last, and he obtains Messenia. In Pausanias Argos is given to Temenus, and lots are cast for the other two. The lot of Cresphonites by a stratagem comes out the first, and he takes Messenia. Polyenus I. 6. and Schol. Soph. Aj. 1271=1285. agree with the tale of Apollodorus. Euripides apud Strab. VIII. p. 366. appears to agree with Pausanias that there were two lots, and with Apollodorus that Messenia was the last. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 73. pronounces that we are indebted to the tragic poets alone for the invention of this fable. That it was a poetical embellishment is very probable. But it is also probable that this invention was of earlier date, because Apollodorus and Pausanias usually draw their materials and their facts from older poets than the tragedians. Pausanias IV. 4, 4. makes this fraudulent acquisition one of the causes of war between Sparta and Messenia: τράτερος ἔτι ὑπέτως ἔχοντες διὰ τὸ Κρεσφόντου κακούργημα εἰς τὸν κλῆρον. Isocrates Archid. p. 120. acknowledges a triple division (though not naming lots), but ascribes the claim of the Spartans upon Messenia to another cause: Μεσσήναι εἰς τοῦτο ἀσεβεῖς ηλθον ὅστις ἐπιβιωλεύσαντες ἀπέκτειναν Κρεσφόντην — διαφυρόντες δὲ οἱ παῖδες αὐτῶν τοὺς κινδύνους ἱέται κατέστησαν ταῦτης τῆς τόλμης, ἀξιῶντες βοηθεῖν τῷ τεθνεῖται καὶ τὴν χάραν δίδοντες ἥμιν.

^l See above p. 110. g. and Ephorus apud Strab. et Scymn. at p. 110. i. According to Apollodorus II. 8, 2. he died while the armament was at Naupactus: ἐκεὶ δὲ ὄντες τοῦ στρατεύματος Ἀριστόδημος κεραυνωθεὶς ἀπέθανε. According to Pausanias III. 1, 5. he was slain at Delphi: οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀποτεμάνοντες τὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τοξευθῆναι λέγουσιν Ἀριστόδημον ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος — δὲ διηθέστερος ἔχει λόγος Πυλάδου τοὺς παῖδας καὶ Ἡλέκτρας, ἀνεψιοὺς ὄντας Τισαμενῆ τῷ Ορέστου, φονεύσας τὸν Ἀριστόδημον.

^m Herodot. VI. 52. Λακεδαιμόνιοι διολογήσοντες οὐδεὶς τοιτῇ λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον—βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν σφέας δὲ ταῦτην τὴν χάρην τὴν γῆν ἐκτέσαται, διλλ οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστόδημους παῖδας, μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν Ἀρισ-

At the time of the Dorian conquest, *Melanthes*, a descendant of *Neleus*, was king of Messenia. He retired to Athens, accompanied by two other branches of the family of the *Nelidæ* and a large body of followers. He probably owed it to the influence of these, not less than to his success in the war against the Thebans, that he was elected king by the Atheniansⁿ. His son *Codrus* is described in many early testimonies^o.

τοδῆμφ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναικα—ἐπιδότα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὰ τέκνα ποσφ τελευτῇ. In the narrative of Cenomaurus apud Euseb. Praep. V. p. 210. he entered Peloponnesus, but before the expedition was completed Aristodemus died, and a retreat ensued: ἐπειδὴ συνεκίρησε νόσος πλησία, καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀριστόδημος, πάλιν ἐπανεχώραν, καὶ ὁ Τίμενος ἔλθων ἀτεμέμφετο τῷ ἀποτυχίᾳ. Xenophon Ages. 8, 7. after the Spartan account describes Aristodemus at Sparta: οἵτινα μὲν εἰς οἰκία ἡρκει αὐτῷ [sc. Ἀγριστάρχῳ] θεάσθω δὲ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ· εἰκάσει γὰρ ἦς τις ἔτι ταῦτας ἑκίνας εἴναι ἀπότελος Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Ἡρακλέους ἔτε κατῆλθε λαβὼν ἐπεστήσατο. Repeated by Plutarch Ages. c. 19. Blair in his Tables B. C. 1102 allows one year to Aristodemus, and Mr. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 510. also allows “about a year “for Aristodemus;” which he thinks expressed by χρόνον εἰς πολλὸν in Herodotus. But this term εἰς πολλὸν χρόνον is used by Herodotus on another occasion to describe the reign of Cleomenes I., nineteen or twenty-nine years: see F. H. II. p. 208. and may accordingly well express more than a single year in the case of Aristodemus, and would sufficiently agree with the twelve years assigned by Larcher tom. VII. p. 584. We may allow four or five years to the reign of Aristodemus, and place the birth of Eurysthenes and Procles in the fifth year after the Return.

■ Pausan. II. 18, 7. ἐκβάλλοντοι οὖν ἐκ μὲν Δακεδαίμονος καὶ Ἀργους Τισαμενού, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μεσσηνίας τοὺς Νέστορος ἀπογόνους, Ἀλκμαλῶνα Σίλου τοῦ Θρασυμῆδος καὶ Πεισιστράτον τὸν Πεισιστράτον καὶ τοὺς Παιονος τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου παιδεῖς, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Μέλανθον τὸν Ἀνδροτόμητον τοῦ Βάρου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Περικλυμένου. Τισαμενός μὲν οὖν ἦλθε σὺν στρατιᾷ καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς ἐς τὴν ιὺν Ἀχαΐαν εἰς δὲ Νηλεῖδας πλὴν Πεισιστράτου (τούτον γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα παρ' οἷς τινας ἀπεχόρησεν) ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ τὸ Παιονιδῶν γένος καὶ Ἀλκμαλῶν διπλά τοις ὄντος στρατηγοῖς. Μέλανθος δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν, ἀφελόμενος Θυμοληπτὸν τὸν Ὀξύντου Θυμοληπτὸν γὰρ Θησεῖδῶν ἔσχατος ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναῖον. Periclymenus the ancestor of Melanthus is the brother of Nestor: Odyss. λ'. 285. Apollod. I. 9, 9. II. 7, 3. Whence correct the genealogy in F. H. II. p. 299. k. Larcher tom. IV. p. 471. is inconsistent with himself at tom. VII. p. 191. 349. 350. Antilochus fell at Troy: Odyss. γ'. 111. 112. Thrasymedes was present at Troy: Iliad I'. 81. and is mentioned among the six sons of Nestor Odyss. γ'. 412. See above p. 51. g. Pisistratus the

youngest son of Nestor was of the same age as Telemachus: Odyss. γ'. 49. and, if his son lived till the return of the Heraclidae, there might be about $80+12=92$ years between the birth of the father and the expulsion of the son.

Strabo VIII. p. 359. describes the fortunes of Melanthus: κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον ἦν Μέλανθος βασιλεὺς τῶν Μεσσηνίων καθ' αὐτοὺς τασσομένων πρότερον δὲ ἵπποις ἤστα τοῦ Μενελάου. XIV. p. 633. τοῖς περὶ Μέλανθον τὸν Κόδρον πατέρα πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν Πινδῶν συνεξάραι φασιν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. IX. p. 393. μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον—ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς οἰκίας συνέβη πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ὃν ἦν καὶ ὁ τῆς Μεσσηνίας βασιλεὺς Μέλανθος· ὅπος δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐβασίλευσεν ἐκβάτων πικήσας ἐκ μονομαχίας τὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν Βασιλέα Ξάνθον.

◦ Herodotus V. 76. relates that the Dorians invaded Attica πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοικισαν· ὅτος δὲ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόδρον βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηναίων ὥρδης ἀν καλέστω. V. 65. εἰς Πεισιστράτοις—ἔντες ἀνέκαθεν Πύλων τε καὶ Νηλεῖδας, ἐκ τῶν αὐτέων γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον ὡς πρότερον ἐπήλυδες ἔντες ἔγενοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλῆς. Plato Conviv. p. 208. d. οἵτις σὸν προσποθανεῖν ἀν τὸν ὑμέτερον Κόδρον ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν παιδῶν, μὴ οὔμενος ἀθανάτου μνήμην ἀρετῆς περὶ ἕαντος ἔστεθα; Lycurgus Leocr. p. 158. relates his death: ἐπὶ Κόδρον γὰρ βασιλεύοντος Πεισιστράτου γενομένης ἀφορίας κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔδει στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, κ. τ. λ. Phot. Suid. εὐγενέστερος Κόδρον. τοῦ ιοῦ τοῦ Μελάνθου τοῦ Μεσσηνίου, πατέρος δὲ Μέδωντος καὶ Νειλέων. ὅτος δὲ Κόδρος Διηρέων ἐπιστρατευσάντων Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πεισιστράτου φυγάδας ἐδέκαντο, ἐν οἷς καὶ Μέλανθος, χρησμοῦ δὲ αὐτοῖς δοθέντος αἰρήσει τὴν πόλιν ἐὰν ἀπόσχωνται τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων βασιλέως, νοῆσαι τὸν χρησμὸν, ἀναλαβὼν ὑλοτόμου ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἐντυχόν τοὺς φύλακες τῶν Δωρίων ἐνα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνεῖπε. διοργισθέντες δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἀνεῖδον, ὃς Δημο... (ὡς Εὐδημος Suid.) Suidas adds a narrative, οἱ δὲ ἡρτορες τῷ Κόδρος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐντίμου ἐχρήσαντο, ὃς φησιν Εὐδημος ἐν τῷ περὶ λέξεων ἡγορικῶν. Δημο... in Photius seems to have been rightly corrected into Δημων. that is, Δημων περὶ παρομιῶν, in which he might explain the proverb εὐγ. Κδ. Cicero Tusc. I. 48. Codrum qui se in medios immisit hostes veste famulari, ne posset agnoscis si

In the reign of *Medon* son of *Codrus* the second great migration from Greece after the Trojan war began to occupy the coasts of Asia. These migrations of early Greece—ἀποικίαι—were of a different character from those which have occurred in modern Europe. The colonies which the nations of modern Europe have planted in the East and in America were not emancipated from their allegiance to the mother country. They existed for the supposed benefit of the parent state. But by the emigrations of the Greeks a new state was created, legislating for itself, and conducting its own concerns in peace and war. In the Greek emigrations the new establishment was not the vassal, but the equal of its parent state^P. The spirit of modern colonization appears in what the South American states and the United States of the North originally were to the mother countries, Spain and Britain. The character of the Grecian settlements is seen in what they have become since their independence. But as among the Greeks this independence existed from the first, there was nothing to produce hostile feelings between the old and the new state. They were bound together by a community of interest and of language, by common institutions and religious rites; and the relation in which they stood led to a respect which was not forcibly exacted by the one, but voluntarily yielded by the other, without interfering with its freedom. The effects of the two systems were as opposite as the principles on which they were conducted. The South American colonies ruined Spain without producing a flourishing people in the new country. The settlements of Greece left the mother state stronger than before, and gave birth to new and prosperous communities, equal and often superior in wealth and population to the mother city.

The Ionian settlers who passed from Attica into Asia partly expelled and partly associated with themselves the Carian and Lelegian inhabitants of the country^q. The adventurers themselves were composed of a mixed race. The leaders were Aeolians from Pylos. The followers were Ionians (who composed the greater part) from Peloponnesus and Attica, Boeotians from Thebes, *Minyæ* from Orchomenus, Pylians, Locrians, *Abantes*, Molossians, *Dryopes*, Pelasgians from Arcadia^r. This various body of settlers married Lelegian and Carian

esset ornatū regio, quod oraculum erat datum si rex interfectus esset victrice Aethenas fore. Strabo IX. p. 393. οἱ Ἡρακλεῖται παροξυνάντων αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ τὸν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ,—ἐπι: Κόδρος ἐβασίλευε τῆς Ἀττικῆς τότε ὁ τοῦ Μελάνθου παῖς, ἐστράτευσαν δὲ τὴν Ἀττικήν ἡττηθέντες δὲ μάχῃ τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἔξοδησαν γῆς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν δὲ κατέσχουν, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν ἔκτισαν τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθράποις Δωρίας ἀπὸ Ιάνου ἐποίησαν. Mitford vol. I. p. 336. observes, referring to this passage of Strabo, "When *Codrus* succeeded his father *Melanthes*, "Megara seems to have been already firmly settled." But in this passage it is affirmed, as in Herodotus already quoted, that Megara was founded after the war with *Codrus*. Plutarch de Exil. p. 607. B. mentions *Codrus*: Κόδρος δὲ τίνες ἀνέβασθαισεν; οὐ Μελάνθῳ φυγάδας ἐν Μεσσήνῃ; Pausanias VII. 25, 1. relates a circumstance of this war: ὅτε ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας Πελοποννήσοις, τότε Κόδρον τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς τοῦ Μελάνθου βασιλεύσατο, ὃ μὲν δὴ ἄλλος στρατεὺς τὸν Πελοποννησιαν ἀπεχθῆσεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπειδὴ ἐπέβητο τῷ Κόδρῳ τὴν τελευτὴν κ.

T. λ. I. 19, 6. δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἔνθα Πελοποννήσοις Κόδρος τὸν Μελάνθου βασιλεύεντα Ἀθηναῖς κτείνουσι. Polyenus I. 18. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1378. Justin II. 6. Velleius I. 2. Valerius Maximus V. 6, 1. externally concisely describe this war and the death of *Codrus*. At the time of his death he was said to be seventy years of age: Conon Narr. 26.

P Thucyd. I. 34. οὐ γάρ ἐπὶ τῷ δεῦλοις ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ δμοῖς τοῖς λειτομένοις εἴναι ἐκπέμπονται.

^q See above p. 34. h.

^r Pausan. VII. 2, 2. "Ιώνιοι δὲ τοῦ στόλου μεταχόντες οὐδὲ Ἐλλήνων, Θρακίοι τε οἱ διμοῦ Φιλέτρα γεγονότι ἀπογόνοι Πηγίδεων, καὶ Ὄρχομένιοι Μινύαι συγγενεῖς τῶν Κόδρου παιδῶν, μετέσχον δὲ καὶ Φικέων οἱ ἄλλαι πλὴν Δελφῶν καὶ Ἀβαντῶν δὲ Εὐβοίας. IX. 37, 3. μετέσχον Ὄρχομένιοι καὶ τοῖς Κόδρου παισὶν ἐξ Ιωνίων τοῦ στόλου. The relationship here mentioned was not because utrique Aeolida fuere, *Orchomenii a Sisypho Codridæ a Cretheo*, as Palmerius and Siebel. ad locum suppose, but for the reason recorded by Pausanias himself IX. 36, 4. Νηλεὺς Κρηθέως βασι-

women^s; so that their descendants were derived from mingled Hellenic and Pelasgic together with Lelegian and Carian ancestors. The Ionian name, however, prevailed; and the *Codridæ* had the lead^t. The sons or grandsons of *Codrus*^v occupied eight of the Ionian cities; Miletus^w,

λέσιν Πύλου γυναικα ἔσχεν ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ Χλωρίου Ἀμφίσ-
τος τοῦ Ἀσταν. and by Strabo VIII. p. 347. τῶν μετὰ Χλωρίδος τῆς Νέστορος μητρὸς ἀλθόντων ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τοῦ Μινυελοῦ. The various races are also noticed by Herodotus I. 146. τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἀλαχιστη μοῖρα, τοῖς Ἰονίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οἰνό-
ματος οἰδέν. Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομενοῖς ἀναμεμιχαται, καὶ Καδμεῖοι, καὶ Δρυόπες, καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμοι, καὶ Μο-
λοστοῖ, καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πέλασγοι—ἄλλα τε θνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμιχαται. Strabo XIV. p. 633. τοῖς περὶ Μέ-
λανθον—πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν Πύλου συνεξῆρα φασιν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας· τούτον δὴ πάρτα τὸν λαὸν μετὰ τῶν Ἰόνων κοινῇ στεῖλα τὴν ἀποκλαν.

* Pausan. VII. 2, 3. ὃς ἐκράτησαν τὸν ἀρχαῖον Μιλησταν οἱ Ἰωνες, τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν τὸ ἄρσεν ἀπέκτειναν τὴν ὅσοι τῆς πόλεως ἀλισκομένης ἐκδιδράκουσι, γυναικας δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς ἑκείνων γαμοῦσι. Herodot. I. 146. οἱ δὲ αὐτέων ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανῆν τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὅρμητέντες, καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιματατοι εἶναι Ἰόνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναι-
κας ἡγάγοντα ἐς τὴν ἀποκλινη, ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας.

* Herodot. I. 147. βασιλέας ἐστίσαντο οἱ μὲν αι-
τέαν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἰππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Κακινας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γάρ περιέχονται τοῦ οἰνόματος μᾶλ-
λον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰόνων. ἔστοσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γε-
γονότες Ἰωνες εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἰωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων γεγονόται καὶ Ἀπαταύρια ἄγονοι ὅρτην. ἄγονοι δὲ πάντες τὴν Ἐφετίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων—καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φύου τινὰ σκῆψιν. The new settlers adopted the worship of the Heliconian *Neptune*, which they derived from the Ionians of Peloponnesus: Herodot. I. 148. τὸ δὲ Παιανών ἐστι τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἵρες πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμένος, κοινῇ ἔξαρσημένος ὑπὸ Ἰά-
νυν Ποσειδῶνος Ἐλικωνίης. Pausan. VII. 24. 4. Ἐλίκη πόλις, καὶ Ἰάσιν ιερὸν ἀγιώτατον Ποσειδῶνος ἥρον Ἐλικω-
νίων. διαμεμενκέναι δέ σφισι, καὶ οὓς ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπε-
σόντες ἐξ Ἀθήνας καὶ ὑπέρον δὲ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὰ παραθα-
λάσσια ἀφίκονται τῆς Ἀσταν σέβεσθαι Ποσειδῶνα Ἐλικω-
νίων. The Prienians especially shared in this worship: Strabo VIII. p. 384. 385. τῆς Παιανικῆς θυσίας ἣν ἐν τῇ Πριηνέων χώρᾳ συντελοῦσιν Ἰωνες τῷ Ἐλι-
κωνίῳ Ποσειδῶνι· ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Πριηνεῖς ἐξ Ἐλίκης εἴναι λέγονται· καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ταῖτην βασιλέα καβι-
στᾶσιν ἄνδρα νέον Πριηνέα τὸν τῶν ιερῶν ἐπιμελησόμενον. Long after the Ionic migration, τοὺς δὲ τῆς Ἐλίκης ἐκπεσόντας Ἰωνας αἰτεῖν τεμφαντας παρὰ τῶν Ἐλικέων μάλιστα μὲν τὸ βρέτας τῶν Ποσειδῶνος, εἰ δὲ μη, τοῦ γε ιεροῦ τὴν ἀφίδρουν· οὐ δύτων δὲ, πέμψαι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν κ. τ. λ. The twelve Ionian states were a number retained from the original institution in Peloponnesus: Pausan. VII. 6, 1.

* See p. 100.

* Neleus occupied Miletus: Pausan. VII. 2, 1. Μέδων καὶ Νειλένος πρεσβύτατος τῶν Κόδρου παιδίων ἐστα-
σίσασαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασκεν ὁ Νειλένος ἀνέκε-
σθαι βασιλεύομενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μέδοντος, ὅτι ὁ Μέδων τὸν
ἔπερν ἦν τῶν παιδῶν χράλος. δόξαν δέ σφισι ἀνεγεγεῖται ἐς
τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, δίδωσι Μέδοντι ἡ Πυθία βα-
σιλείαν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὼ δὴ Νειλένος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν
Κόδρου παιδίων ἐς ἀποκίλαντα στεπτάλησαν, ἀγαγόντες μὲν
καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλόμενον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστάν σφισι
ἡσαν τῶν στρατεύματος οἵτινες.—εἰ Κόδρου παιδίς ἐπε-
τάχθησαν Ἰωνιν ἄρχοντες, οὐδέν σφις γένος τοῦ Ἰόνων
μετόν, ἀλλὰ Μεστήνοις μὲν τῶν ἐκ Πύλου τὰ πρὸς Κόδρου
καὶ Μελάνθου, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὄντες τὰ πρὸς μητρός.—δὲ
ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσταν κατῆραν, ἐπ' ἄλλην ἐπέτοιτο
ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλεων, Νειλένος δὲ καὶ ἡ σὺν αὐτῷ
μοῖρα ἐς Μίλητον.—τοῦ δὲ Νειλένος ὁ τάφος ἴοντας ἐς Δι-
δύμους ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν ἐν ἀριστέρᾳ τῆς δόδυ. Ζελ. V. H. VIII. 5. ὅτι Νηλένος ὁ Κόδρου τῆς βασι-
λείας ἀμοιρήσας ἀπέλιπε τὰς Ἀθήνας, διὰ τὸ τὴν Πυθίαν
Μέδοντι τὴν ἀρχὴν περιάλιαι εἰς ἀποκίλαν στελλόμενος. τῇ
Νάξῳ δὲ προσωριστὸν οὐχ ἐκὼν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος βια-
σθεῖς ἀπάρται δὲ βουλόμενον καταπέντες ἔναντοι ἀνεμοὶ
διεκάλουν. ἀποροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεστάτων οἱ μάν-
τες ἔφασαν δεῖν καθαρῆναι τὸ στρατόπεδον.—προσετοή-
σατ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποκτεῖναι τινὰ παιδία, καὶ δεῖσθαι
καθαροῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνεχόρησε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπεισε
τοῖς συνειδότας ἔαντοις, οὐ γενομένου, καὶ γνωσθέντων ἑκεί-
ναν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπέλιπε, οἱ δὲ ἤκησαν τὴν Νάξον. Νη-
λένος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀφίκετο καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἤκησε Μί-
λητον, Κάρας ἐκελάσας καὶ Μυγδανας καὶ Λέλεγας καὶ
ἄλλους βαρβάρους. Herodot. IX. 97. (at Mycale) Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινής ἐστὶν ἵρον τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Παστικλῆος ιδρυσατος, Νειλέφ τῷ Κόδρου ἐπιστόμενος ἐπὶ Μίλητου κτιστόν. Strabo XIV. p. 633. Μίλητον δὲ ἔκτισεν Νηλένος ἐκ Πύλου τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ—τοῦ δὲ Νηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Πο-
σειδίῳ βαρύς θύρυμος δεκιντατοι. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 823. ἡ δὲ Μίλητος κτίσμα Νηλέων ἀνδρὸς Πυ-
λίουν αὐτοῖς μετοικήσατος, κατὰ δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Νηλέως ὁ
Κόδρου ἔκτισεν αὐτήν. where Eustathius does not seem to know that Neleus the Pylian and Neleus son of Codrus were the same person. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1378. preserves some of the traditions concerning Neleus: Κόδρου τελευτήσατος, Μί-
λητον καὶ Νηλέων οἱ τούτων παιδεῖς ἤριζον περὶ βασιλείας.
ἐχρήσθη οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ πρῶτον θύσια τα. κ. τ. λ.—

* Νηλένος δὲ πάλιν χρηστὸν λαβὼν ἤκουσε,
Νηλεῦ, φρέζεν ὅπις ἀλίκων Καρῶν γένος ἀνδρῶν—
λαβὼν οὖν Ἰωνας τοὺς ἀλαθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἤγαγεν
εἰς τὴν Ἀσταν, καὶ ἐκράτησε Μίλητον καὶ Καράς, καὶ
ἔκτισε τρεῖς πόλεις ὡς φησιν Ἀριστεῖδης ὁ ἥττων καὶ πολ-
λοὶ τῶν ιστορικῶν. ἔτερον δὲ πάλιν φασὶν ὅτι Νηλένος χρη-

μὸν ἔλαβε Δελφικὸν στέλλεσθαι ἐπὶ χρυσοῦς ἄνδρας, δεῖξεν δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα, κ. τ. λ.—δὲ δὲ Νηλεὺς χρονὸν εἴληφεν ἑκεῖ οἰκεῖ ἔνθα ἀντὶ παρθένος αὐτῷ δῆ γῆν θάτι βεβρεγμένη. Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Μίλητον παρεκλειστοῦ περαμένων θυγατρὶ δύοπας αὐτῷ πολὺν εἰς σφραγίδα: τῆς δὲ προθύμως διδαίσης, Νηλεὺς ἐκράτησε τῆς Μιλήτου καὶ ἔκτισε τρεῖς πόλεις. Another tradition concerning the daughter of Neleus is noticed by Lycophron 1385: ὅταν κέρη καστούρης—and explained by Tzetz. ad loc. She is mentioned Etym. Magn. v. Ἐλεγεῖν, ἡ θυγάτηρ Νηλέως τοῦ ἥρησταμένου εἰς Καρπαν τῆς Ιώνων ἀποικίας ἦ; τὸ κύριον δύομα Πειρά φασὶν εἶναι. εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἐλεγένεν [Ἐλεγάνεν Sylburg.] τὸ ἀκολασταῖνον. διὸ οὐδεὶς αὐτὴν Ἀθηναῖον ἡμίονιθη γῆμαι. The adventurers encountered many difficulties from adverse weather and from the enemy: Strabo I. p. 10. ἡ τῶν Αἰολέων δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ιώνων ἀποικία πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πταισματα [sc. σφάλματα ἐξ ἀνοίας] παραδεκτεῖ. Isocrates Panath. p. 272. d. mentions two wars, one at the first settlement: ὁ περὶ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν ἀποικιῶν, εἰς ὃν Δωριέων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἤλθε συμπολεμῆσαι, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡμῶν ἥρημάν καταστάσα τῶν ὡκεανοῦ ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν βοσκομένων τοσοῦτον τὰ πράγματα μετέστησεν ὥστε—ἐπώνυσε τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἀ πρότερον ἔπασχον ταῦτα δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. The other at a later period: οὐδὲν ἔγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἐλληνῶν πολέων ἄρτι κατηκινέναι, τῆς δὲ ἥμετέρας ἔτι βασιλευομένης. He appears to refer to a war in the time of the sons or grandsons of Neleus, while Athens was still under the perpetual archons. Polybius XVI. 12. speaks of a Carian war in which the loss fell upon the city of Iassus: εἴχονται τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν Ἀργείων ἀποικία γεγονέαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μίλησιαν, ἐπαγαγομένων τῶν προγόνων τὸν Νηλέων οὐν τοῦ κτίσαντος Μίλητον διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρικῷ πολέμῳ γενομένην φθορὰν αὐτῶν. Parthenius c. 14. and Alexander Aetolus there quoted mention a grandson of Neleus named Phobius, who reigned at Miletus and was succeeded by Phrygius: Φοβίῳ δὲ τῶν Νηλειδῶν Παρθεν. ταῖς Ἰσταλῆσσος Φόβιος Νηλητάδα Alex. Aetol. Parthenius adds, Φόβιος—παρεχόρρος Φρυγίῳ τῇς ἀρχῆς. Hippocles son of Neleus is also mentioned by Zenobius Adag. V. 17. p. 118. who with Hengelor occupied the islands: μίλα Μύκονος [I. Μύκονος]. Νηλεὺς προστάξει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισοῖς Ἡγήτορι καὶ Ἰσταλῆται τὰς ἱστούς καταστρέψασθα. χειροσαμένων δὲ πολλὰς τοῦ Ἡγήτορος Ἰστακλέους δὲ μίλα τὴν Μύκονον,—πέμφαστες ἥρωτησαν κοινῇ τὸν θεὸν τίνες εἴναι τοῦ Ἰστακλέους ἱστοῖ. δὲ εἶτε “μίλα Μύκονος.” Hippocles is called Ἰστικλες in Schol. Dionys. Perieg. 526. Phrygius was also a son of Neleus, and a war between Miletus and Myus in his time is mentioned by Plutarch Virt. Mul. p. 253. F. Polyæn. VIII. 35. τῶν εἰς Μίλητον ἀφικμένων Ιώνων στασιάσαντες ἔπι τρὶς τὸν Νηλεὺς παιδας ἀπεχέρρησαν εἰς Μυοῦντα κακεῖ κατέκοντι, πολλὰ κακὰ τάσχοντες ὑπὲ τῶν Μίλησιων ἀπολέμουν γὰρ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸν ἀποστασίαν· οὐ μὴν ἀκίρκτος ἦν οὐδὲ ἀντίμικτος δὲ πόλεμος, ἀλλ' ἐν τοσοῦ

έργοται ἐφοίτον εἰς Μίλητον ἐκ τοῦ Μυοῦντος αἱ γυναῖκες. ἦν δὲ Πύθης ἀνὴρ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐμφανῆς γυναῖκα μὲν ἔχων Ἰαπυγίαν θυγατέρα δὲ Πιερίαν. κ. τ. λ. —τῶν δὲ Νείλων παιδῶν ὁ δυνατότατος ἵνωμα Φρύγιος τῆς Πιερίας ἀρασθεῖς ἔνεοις τί ἀν αὐτῇ μάλιστα γένοτο παρ' αὐτοῦ κεχαριτωμένον· εἰπούσῃς δὲ ἑκεῖνης, εἰ διατράξαιο μοι τὸ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν βαθίζειν, συνεῖς οὖν ὁ Φρύγιος δεομένην φίλιας καὶ εἰρήνης τοῖς πολίταις κατέπαυσε τὸν πόλεμον κ. τ. λ.

The Ionians of Miletus were at first of a stern and hardy character, but afterwards degenerated into luxury: Athen. XII. p. 523. e. Μιλήσιοι ἔντον μὲν οὐκ ἐτρύφων ἐνίκων Σκύθας, ὡς φησιν "Εφορος;" καὶ τάς τε ἐφ' Ἐλλησπόντῳ πόλεις ἔκτισαν καὶ τὸ Εὔξεινον πόντον κατέφισαν πόλεις λαμπραῖς, καὶ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον ἔθεν. ὡς δὲ ὑπέχθησαν ἡσητῇ καὶ τρυφῇ, κατερρήνη τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνδρεῖον, φησὶν "Αριστοτέλης," καὶ παρομία τις ἐγενήθη ἐπ' αὐτῶν πάλαι ποτ' ἡσαὶ ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι. The description in Heraclides apud Athen. XIV. p. 625. b. refers to their early period, before they had become effeminate: ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὸ τῶν Μιλησίων ἡδονής, διαφαινούσων οἱ Ἱωνεῖς, ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν συμάτων εὐεξίαις βρενθύμωντος καὶ θυμῷ πλήρεις, δυσκατάλακτοι, φιλόνεκοι, οὐδὲν φιλάνθρωπον οὐδὲ ίλαρὸν ἐνδιδόντες, ἀστοργόταν καὶ σκληρότητα εἰς τοὺς ἡθεσιν ἐμφαίνοντες. After the decline of manners, there were fierce contests between the rich and the lower classes: Athen. XII. p. 523. f. "Ηρακλεῖδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν δευτέρᾳ περὶ δικαιουσύνης φησὶν, "Η Μιλησίων πόλις περιπέτακες ἀποχώραι διὰ τρυφὴν βίου καὶ πολιτικὰς ἔχθρας· οἱ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς οὐκ ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ βίζων ἀνεῖλαν τοὺς ἔχθρούς τοποιοῦντας γὰρ τὸν τὰς οὐσίας ἔχονταν καὶ τὸν δημοστὸν, οὓς ἑκεῖνος Γέρυθρος ἐκάλων, πρῶτον μὲν κρατήσας ὁ δῆμος" κ. τ. λ. To this period may be referred the narrative in Plutarch Q. Gr. p. 298. C. τίνες οἱ Αιγαῖαι παρὰ Μίλησοις; Τῶν περὶ Θάσας καὶ Δαμασίγορα πυράνων καταλυθέντων, ἐταρεῖσαν δύο τὴν πόλιν κατέσχον, διὸ η μὲν ἀκαλεῖτο Πλούτις [I. Πλούτις. conf. Wyttendb. Animadv. tom. II. p. 69] η δὲ Χειρουράχα. κρατήσαντες οὖν οἱ δυνατοί κ. τ. λ. If, as Ephorus I. c. observes, the settlements of Miletus were planted in the period of its activity and vigour, these qualities were retained to a late period. Some of those colonies were founded as late as the reign of Gyges: see the Tables B. C. 715. The naval dominion of the Milesians commenced in B. C. 750. Borysthenes was founded after B. C. 711, Cyzicus in B. C. 676; Lampsacus in 651, Istrus in 633, Sinopë in 629; Naucratis perhaps about the same time; Odessus after B. C. 594: see the Tables in B. C. 750, 630, 592. De Ste. Croix apud Barthelem. Anachars. tom. VII. p. 177. gives a catalogue of sixty-three Milesian colonies. In that list many are inserted improperly: as, for instance, Trapezus and Cotyora and Cerasus belong to Sinopë; Anchialë and Thynias to Apollonia; Heraclea Ponti to Megara. Ampé on the Tigris is not to be classed

Ephesus^x, Myus^y, Teos^z, Prienē^a, Lebedos, Colophon^b, Erythræ^c. Of the other four,

with the other settlements, since it was inhabited by Milesian captives placed there by *Darius Hystaspis*: Herodot. VI. 20. The colonies, however, of Miletus were numerous and powerful (see the Tables B. C. 750); and so many settlements established in the midst of warlike barbarians on the coasts of Thrace and Scythia and the Euxine are a sufficient proof that the Ionians of Miletus (although justly perhaps charged with luxury) were not only intelligent, but brave and enterprising, for many ages after the time of *Neleus* their founder. The proverb against the Milesians already quoted—πάλαι πειτ' ἡσαν—appears from Demo. περὶ ταραιμῶν apud Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1003. to be not older than the time of *Darius Hystaspis*.

^x Ephesus was occupied by *Androclus*: Strabo XIV. p. 633. ἄρκαι δὲ φησὶ Φερεκίδης "Αὐδροκλους τῆς τὸν Ἰόνων ἀποικιας ὑπέροχης τῆς Αἰολικῆς, οὐδὲ γῆσιν Κόδρου τοῦ βασιλέως 'Αθηνῶν" γενέσθαι τῶντος Ἐφεσου κτίστηρι διάπερ τὸ βασιλεῖον τῶν Ἰόνων ἐκεῖ συστῆναι φασι· καὶ ἔτι νῦν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους δινομάζονται βασιλεῖς, ἔχοντές τινας τιμὰς, πρεσβύτριας τε ἐν ἀγῷσι· καὶ πορφύραν ἐπίσημον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, σκήπτραν ἀντὶ σκῆπτρου, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐλευσίνας Δῆμητρος. Pausan. VII. 2. 4. "Αὐδροκλος δὲ Κόδρου (αὗτος γάρ δὴ διεδέδειτο Ἰόνων τῶν ἐξ Ἐφεσου πλευσάντων βασιλεὺς) Δέλεγεται μὲν καὶ Λιδοῖς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔχοντας ἔξεβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας [see above p. 34. h]—ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ Σάμον" Αὐδροκλος Σαμίονες, καὶ ἔσχατον Ἐφεσος χρόνον τινα Σάμον καὶ τὰς προτεχτεῖς οὖσας. Σαμίον δὲ ηὔη κατεληλυθόντων ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα Πριγεύσιν ημίνετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Κάρπας ἁ "Αὐδροκλος, καὶ ικανότος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔπειτεν ἐν τῇ μάρχῃ. Ἐφεσος δὲ ἀνελέμενοι τοῦ Αὐδρόκλου τὸν οἰκρόν ἔθαικαν τῆς σφετέρας ἔνθα δείκνυται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τὸ μῆρα κατὰ τὴν ὅδον τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ιεροῦ παρὰ τὸ Ολυμπιεῖον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τὰς Μαγητίδας ἐπιθημα δὲ τῷ μηνατὶ ἀνήρ ἐστιν ἀπλισμένος. He is called *Andronicus* in Syncell. p. 181. A. "Ἐφεσος ἐκτίσθη ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἥπερ Ἀνδροκλους. The worship of Diana at Ephesus was anciently founded by the Amazons, and adopted by the Ionian settlers: Pausan. VII. 2. 4. πολλῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρᾳ ἔτι· ή κατὰ Ἰωνας τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμιν τὴν Ἐφεσαν ἐστίν. οὐ μὴν πάντα γε τὰ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἐπίνθετο (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) Πύνδαρος, δὲς Ἀμαζόνας τὸ ιερὸν ἔφη τοῦτο ιδρυσασθαι στρατευμένας ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θησέα. αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος γυναικες ἔθυσαν μὲν καὶ τότε τῇ Ἐφεσᾳ θεῷ, ἀπε ἐπιστάμεναι τε ἐκ ταλαιοῦ τὸ ιερόν. Steph. Byz. "Ἐφεσος. πόλις Ἰωνίας ἐπιφανεστάτη καὶ λιμὴν ἐν κόλπῳ. Ήρδοτος δὲ Λιδίας αὐτήν φησιν [sc. in Lydia and not in Caria: I. 142. Berkilius ad Steph. has misunderstood the meaning]. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Σμύρνα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης τῆς Ἀμαζόνος ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Σάμορνa [conf. Hesych. Σάμορνa] καὶ Τραχεῖα [conf. Strab. XIV. p. 633] καὶ Ὀρτυγία καὶ Πτελέα—ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ μᾶς τῶν Ἀμα-

ζόνων ἦν καὶ βασίλισσαν καὶ προσπόλον Ἀρτέμιδος εἶναι φασιν· ἐσχηκέναι δὲ θυγατέρα Ἀμαζόνα, ἀφ' οἵς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 823. ὁ Διονύσιος (828)—ναὸν ἐκεῖ φησιν εἶναι, ὃν Ἀμαζόνες ἐποιήσαν ἐν πρέμνῳ, ὃ ἐστιν ἐν κορμῷ πτελέας—διὸ δὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες πολλοὺς ἔν τῷ Ἀσίᾳ κατέσχον τόπους ποτὲ δηλοῦσι· καὶ ιρμαῖ τινες Ἀμαζόνων ὄμονυμοι, καὶ μῆν καὶ τόλεις, οἷος ἡ Ἐφεσος αὐτη, η Ἄγαλα, η Μύρια, η Αἰολική Κύμη. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἐλαία τόπος πρὸς τὴν Νικομηδεῖαν κατὰ τὸν Ἀρριανὸν ἀπὸ Ἐλαίας Ἀμαζόνος, καὶ πρὸς τῷ πόντῳ δὲ Θίβια τόπος—καὶ ἡ Σμύρνα δὲ Ἀμαζόνων οὖσα καὶ αὐτὴ κατασχεῖν τὴν Ἐφεσον λέγεται, ἀφ' οἵς καὶ Σμύρνα τόπος Ἐφέσου. καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ἐφεσον Σμύρναν κληθῆναι ποτε λέγυσι. Strabo XIV. p. 633. τὸ παλαιὸν—Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Ἐφεσος· καὶ Καλλίνης που οὗτοι οὐνόμασεν αὐτὴν, Σμυρναῖος τοὺς Ἐφεσίους καλῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Δία λόγῳ κ. τ. λ. Σμύρνα δ' ἦν Ἀμαζόνη ἡ κατασχοῦσα τὴν Ἐφεσον· ἀφ' οἵς τούνομα—οἵς καὶ ἀπὸ Σισυρβῆς Σισυρβῖται τινες τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐλέγοντο· καὶ τόπος δέ τις τῆς Ἐφεσου Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖ Ἰππόναξ κ. τ. λ. On the Amazons see Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 405. Steph. Byz. Βεναμία mentions *Androclus* and the divisions of the Ephesian people: Βεναμία, βωνὴ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πέμπτη, οἵς οἱ βωνευταὶ Βένναι, οἵς Ἐφορος. διὰ τὸ Ἀυδρόκλος ὁ κτίσας Ἐφεσον οὗτος Πριμεῖς θυγῆτας ἐτέλευτης καὶ πολλοὶ Ἐφέσιοι ἐστασίασαν κατὰ τὸν Ἀυδρόκλου πατέρων, καὶ βωνόμενοι βωνίθεαν ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Τέως καὶ Καρίνης ἀποίκους [f. ἐποίκους] ἔλαθον, ἀφ' ὃν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δύο βωναὶ τῶν πέντε τὰς ἐπενυμιας ἔχουσιν· οἱ μὲν γάρ ἐν Βένη Βένναι, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ευανύμῳ τῆς Αττικῆς Εὐανύμαι, οἵς δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κατέλαβον Ἐφεσίους φασι. τοὺς δὲ ὑπέροχους ἐπήλυδας Τήνους καὶ Καριναίους ἀποκαλοῦσι. After the death of *Androclus*, then there were five tribes, Βένναι, Εὐανύμαι (a name derived from Attica), Εφέσαι, Τήναι, Καριναιοί. The names in Strabo I. c. Σμύρνα, Σισυρβα, Τραχεῖα, Λέπτρα, were not political divisions but quarters of the city. The ancient city stood in low grounds, and was rebuilt by *Lysimachus*: Strabo XIV. p. 640. τὴν δὲ πόλιν φύκου μὲν Κάρρες τε καὶ Λέπτες· ἐκβαλλόν δὲ ὁ Ἀυδρόκλος τοὺς πλείστους φύκους ἐκ τῶν συνελθόντων αἰτῷ περὶ τὸ Αθήναιον καὶ τὴν Τσέλαιον, μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν κατὰ Κροῖσον οὗτος φύκεῖτο· ὑπέροχος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς παρωρείου καταβάντες περὶ τὸ τοῦ ιεροῦ φύκησαν μέχρι Ἀλεξάνδρου. Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὴν νῦν πόλιν τειχίσας, ἀηδῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεβισταμένου, τηρήσας καταρράκτην ὅμβρου συνήργησε καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ τοὺς ρινύχους ἐνέφραξεν ὅπετε κατακλύσαι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ μετέστησαν ἀστρευοι. ἐκάλεσε δὲ Ἀρσινόη ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν πόλιν· ἐπεκράτησε μέντοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα. Steph. Byz. "Ἐφεσος.—ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐν κοίλῳ τίτηρ κατοικούσθεσα χειρῶνος κατεκλύσθη, καὶ μυρίων ἀποθανόντων Λυσίμαχος τὴν πόλιν μετέθηκεν ἔνθα νῦν. Conf. Eustath. ad Dionys. 828. Strab. XIV. p. 634. The privilege of asylum

granted to the temple, which remained in the time of Strabo, was gradually enlarged by *Alexander*, *Mithridates*, and *Antony*, but limited again by *Augustus*: Strabo XIV. p. 641.

⁷ *Cydrulus* occupied *Myus*: Strabo XIV. p. 633. Κυδρῆλος δὲ νόθες οὐδὲ Κόδρου Μυοῦντα κτίζει. Pausan. VII. 2. 7. εἰ δὲ Ἰωνές Μυοῦντα ἐπικισθάμενοι καὶ Πριήνην Κάρας μὲν καὶ οὗτοι τὰς πόλεις ἀφέλαντο· οἰκισταὶ δὲ Μυοῦντος μὲν Κυάρητος ἔγενετο ὁ Κόδρος. Either ΚΤΑΡΗΤΟΣ is a corruption of ΚΤΑΡΗΛΟΣ or the contrary. But which is the genuine form may be doubted: conf. Intt. ad Hesych. v. Κυάρη. *Myus* had decayed before the time of Strabo: Strab. XIV. p. 636. Μυοῦς μία τῶν Ιάδων τῶν δώδεκα, ἡ νῦν δὲ ἐλαγανδρία Μιλησίοις συμπεπλισται. Pausanias VII. 2. 7. relates the cause. The accumulations at the mouth of the river *Mæander* had produced stagnant waters, and these had affected the air: ἀπεχθόρησαν ἐξ Μίλητος Μινύσιοι τά τα ἄλλα ἀγάγυμα καὶ τὸν θεῖον φερόμενον τὰ ἀγάλματα· καὶ ἦ κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐν Μυοῦντι ἔτι μὴ Διονίσιον ταῦς λίθῳ λευκῷ. Vitruvius IV. 1. *Myunta quae olim ab aqua est devorata, cuius sacra et suffragium Milesius attribuerunt.* He seems to have placed this event too early, as he has in the same passage brought the admission of *Smyrna* too low. *Myus* was still a city in the time of *Themistocles* B. C. 465: Thucyd. I. 138. and existed in the time of *Philip* B. C. 201: Polyb. XVI. 24. 9. *Myus* was mentioned by *Apollodorus*: Steph. Byz. Μυοῦς πόλις Ἰωνίας, ὡς Φίλων, καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν αὐτοικοῦν.

⁸ Of *Teos*, Strabo XIV. p. 633. gives the following account: Τέων δὲ Ἀθάμας μὲν πρότερον, διόπερ Ἀλαραντίδα καλεῖ αὐτὴν Ἀνακρέων κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰωνίκην ἀποκίαν Ναῦκλος νόθες Κόδρου νόθες, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀτοκός καὶ Δάμασος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Γέρης ἐκ Βουωτῶν. Pausanias VII. 3. 3. with some variation: Τέων δὲ φύκου μὲν Ὁρχομένου Μινύαι σὺν Ἀθάματι ἐς αὐτὴν ἀδεόντες—ἀναμεμρυμένοι δὲ τῷ Ἐλληνικῷ καὶ ἀνταῦθα ἡσαν οἱ Κάρες. ἐσήγαγε δὲ Ἰωνας ἐς τὴν Τέων Ἀτοκός ἀπόχρονος Μελάνθου τέταρτος, ἢς τοῖς Ὁρχομένους οὐδὲ τοῖς Τήιοις περίτερον ἀβωλεῖντον οὐδέν. ἔτει δὲ οὐ τολλαῖς οὔτερον ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίου καὶ τοῦ Βουωτίου ἀφίκετο ἄνδρες ἥρωτος δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀττικοῦ Δάμασος, καὶ Νάεκλος Κόδρου παιδες, τοῦ δὲ Βουωτίου Γέρης Βουωτός· καὶ σφᾶς συναμφοτέρους δὲ τοῦ Ἀτοκούς καὶ οἱ Τήιοι συνέκους ἀδέκαντο. Both agree that there were two bands of settlers, and that *Damasus* and *Geres* were in the second. But Strabo places *Nauclius* or *Naoclus* in the first settlement, and *Arcus* in the second; Pausanias reverses this order. *Phanagoreia* was said to be founded by the *Teians*: Scymnus fragm. 153.

—— Φαναγόρειά τε

ἥ τηῖον λέγουσιν οἰκῆσαι ποτε.

In B. C. 543 they founded *Abdera*, about 108

years after the former settlement of the *Clazomenians*: see the tables B. C. 651. 564.

^a Prienē was planted by a son of *Neleus*: Strabo XIV. p. 633. Πριήνη δὲ Αἴπντος ὁ Νηλέως, εἴθ' ὕστερον Φιλάτας ἐκ Θηβῶν λαὸν ἀγαγόν. Pausan. VII. 2. 7. Πριήνης δὲ Ἰωτίου ἀναμεμρυμένοι Θηβαῖοι Φιλάταν τε τὸν ἀπόχρονον Πηνέλεων καὶ Αἴπντον [μιαλε οἷμ Αἴργατος: conf. Siebel. ad locum] Νειλέως παιδα ἔσχον οἰκιστάς. From the Theban settlers came the name Cadmeans: *Hesych.* Κάδμοι, οἱ Πριηρεῖς, ὡς Ἐλλάνικος: Strabo XIV. p. 636. λέγεται δὲ ὑπό τινων ἡ Πριήνη Κάδμη, ἀπειδὴ Φιλάτας ὁ ἐπικτίσας αὐτὴν Βοιώτος ὑπῆρχεν. Eustath. ad Dionys. 823. ἡ μὲν Πριήνη καὶ Κάδμη ποτὲ ἐκλήθη, ἣν οἱ Αἴπντος ὁ Νηλέως ἔκτισεν. We have already seen a war with the *Carians*, in which the *Prienians* were assisted by *Androclus* and the *Ephesians*: see note x.

^b According to *Mimnermus*, *Andræmon* is the founder of *Colophon*; but in *Pausanias* *Andræmon* occupies *Lebedos*, and *Damasichthon* and *Promethus*, sons of *Codrus*, are the founders of *Colophon*: Strabo XIV. p. 633. Ἀνδρόπομπος δὲ Λέβεδον, καταλαβόμενος τόπον τινὰ Ἀρτιν· Κολοφῶνα δὲ Ἀνδραιμὸν Πόλιος, ὡς φησι καὶ Μίμνερμος ἐν Ναννῷ. Idem p. 634. Μίμνερμος ἐν τῇ Ναννῷ φράζει μνησθεῖς τῆς Σμύρνης δτι περιμάχητος ἀει·

ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰπὸν Πύλον Νηλέον δστο λιπόντες

ἱμερτὴν Ἀστηνην ηποστίν ἀφικόμεθα.

δες δὲ ἄρα τὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες

ἔχομεθ ἀργαλέης οὐρίος ἡγεμόνες.

κείθεν δὲ Ἀστέντος ἀπορνίμενος ποταμοῦ

θεῶν βονῆγη Σμύρναν εἶδομεν Αἰολίδα.

Mimnermus here attests the Pylian original of *Colophon*, speaking in the person of the *Colophonians*, as *Tyrtæus* in the tables B. C. 683. 3. speaks in the person of the *Spartans*. For the occupation of *Smyrna* by the *Colophonians* see p. 105. w. Pausan. VII. 3. 1. 2. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ιερὸν τοῦ ἐν Κλάρῃ καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐκ παλαιοτάτου γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν [Strabo XIV. p. 642. ή Κολοφῶν, καὶ τὸ τρὸν αὐτῆς ἀλσος τοῦ Κλαρίου Ἀπέλλωνος ἐν δὲ καὶ μαντείον ἦν ποτε παλαιοῖν]. ἔχοντα δὲ ἔτι τὴν γῆν Καρῶν ἀφικέσθαι φασίν ἐς αὐτὴν πρότους τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ Κρῆτας, Ράκιον τ. τ. λ. —τῆς δὲ χώρας τὴν πολλὴν ἐνέμοιτο ἔτι οἱ Κάρες. —Μάθος δὲ ὁ Ράκιος καὶ Ματσοῦς καὶ τὸ παράποτα τοῦς Κάρας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. Ἰωνες δὲ ὄρκους ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κολοφῶνι Ἐλληνας συνεπόλετεντο οὐδὲν ἔχοντα πλέον. Βασιλείαν δὲ Ἰωναν ἡγεμόνες Δαμασίχθων λαμβάνει καὶ Πρόμυθος Κόδρον παιδες. —τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν Λέβεδον ἐνέμοιτο οἱ Κάρες, ἐς δὲ Ἀνδραιμὸν σφᾶς δὲ Κόδρον καὶ Ἰωνες ἀλιώνουσι. τῷ δὲ Ἀνδραιμὸν ὡς τάφος ἐκ Κολοφῶνος λόγτι ἐστὶν ἐν διοιστερῷ τῆς θεοῦ διαβάντι τὸν Καλάοντα ποταμὸν. In both accounts *Colophon* is founded by the *Ne-*

lidæ; and its connexion with Miletus in A. D. 18 in the reign of Tiberius is attested by Tacitus Ann. II. 54. *Germanicus—appellit Colopona ut Clarii Apollinis oraculo uteretur. Non femina illic, ut apud Delphos, sed certis e familiis et ferme Mileto accitus sacerdos audit,* &c. Colophon is said to have set the example of luxury to the Milesians: Athen. XII. p. 524. b. Κλέαρχος ἐν τετάρτῳ ζηλόσαντάς φησι τοὺς Μιλησίους τὴν Καλοφωνίαν τρψήν διαδύναι καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχθόνοις. Plutarch Lycurg. c. 4. describes the Ionians generally as luxurious already in the time of Lycurgus: ἀ Αικούργος ἐπ' Ἀσταῖαν ἔτεινοτε βιωλόμενος, ὃς λέγεται, ταῖς Κρητικαῖς διάταξις εὐτελέσιν ὄνταις καὶ αὐτηραῖς τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πολυτελεῖας καὶ τρυφᾶς παραβάλειν. That the Ionians had fallen into luxury and effeminacy so early may be doubted: that the Milesians at least continued to display very opposite qualities for a long period afterwards, we have seen above in note w. Colophon itself was once a powerful state: Strabo XIV. p. 643. ἀκτήσαντο δὲ τοτε καὶ γαυτικὴν ἀξιόλογην δύναμιν Καλοφωνίαν καὶ ιππικὴν κ. τ. λ. and was still a great city in B. C. 66: Cic. Manil. c. 12. *Cnidum aut Colophonem aut Samum nobilissimas urbes.* Lebedos in the time of Attalus had declined in population: Strabo XIV. p. 643. Δέβεδος—ἐν ταῦθα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διάνεστον τεχνιτῶν ἡ σύνοδος κ. τ. λ.—ἐν Τέφ δὲ ὄφου πρότερον τῇ ἐφέντῃ πόλει τῶν Ἰώνων ἐμπεσούσης δὲ στάσεως εἰς Ἐφεσὸν κατέφυγον. Απτάλου δὲ εἰς Μυόνησον αὐτοὺς καταστήσαντο μεταξὺ Τέω καὶ Λεβέδου, πρεσβεύονται Τήσιοι δειμενοὶ Ρωμαίων μητὶ περιδεῖν ἐπιτειχίζομένην σφίσις τὴν Μύόνησον. οἱ δὲ μετέστησαν εἰς Λέβεδον, δεξαμένων τὸν Λεβέδων ἀσμένεις διὰ τὴν κατέχουσαν αὐτοὺς ὀλγανωδίαν. From the mention of the Romans we may understand Attalus II. who began to reign B. C. 159. In B. C. 20 Lebedos had become a mere village, *Gabiūs desertior atque Fidenis vicus Hor. Ep. I. 11, 8.*

Cnopus founded Erythrae: Strabo XIV. p. 633. Ἐρυθρὰς δὲ Κνωτος^ς Pausan VII. 3, 4. Ἐρυθραῖς τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφικέσθαι σὺν Ἐρύθρῳ τῷ Παδάμανθος φασιν ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ οἰκισθῆναι τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸν Ἐρύθρον. ἔχοντα δὲ αὐτὴν ὅμιλον τοὺς Κρητοὺς Λυκίαν καὶ Καρέν τε καὶ Παμφύλων—Κλέστος (sic) ὁ Κόδρου αὐλίκεας ἐξ ἀπαντῶν τὸν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων ὅσους δὴ παρὰ ἐκδόταν ἐπεισήγαγεν Ἐρυθραῖος συνοικον. Steph. Byz. Ἐρυθρά. πόλις Ἰώνων. Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Κνωτότας ἀπὸ Κνωτοῦ. A narrative of his conquest of Erythrae is preserved by Polyænus VIII. 43. τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας ἐς τὴν Ἀσταῖαν ἀφικούμενης τοῖς Ἐρυθραῖς κατέχουσιν ἐπολέμει Κνωτος τοῦ Κοδριδῶν γένεσις. Hippias apud Athen. VI. p. 259. a. relates the death of *Cnopus* in a fragment which, as it preserves some early transactions of these times, deserves to be inserted: Ἰππίας ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ιστοριῶν διηγούμενος ὃς ἦ-

Κνωτοῦ βασιλεία ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου κολάκων κατελίθη φῆσι καὶ ταῦτα: “Κνωτῷ μαγτευομένῳ περὶ σωτηρίας ὃ θεὸς ἔ ἔρχοσι θύεν Ἐρυθρῷ δολίῳ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ’ ὄμησταντος ἀντοῖς Δελφοὺς οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καταλῦσαι βινδύμενοι, ἵνα διλγαρχίαν καταστήσωνται (ἥστα δὲ τοῖς ὄποις ὁρμήσεις ἔχει τὸν ἀντίφανον πρόσκυνες καὶ κόλακες), συμπλένοντες ὅντες τῷ Κνωτῷ, ὃς ἦδη πέρι τῆς γῆς ἤσαν, δήσαντες τὸν Κνωτὸν ἔβιναν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, καὶ καταχθύντες εἰς Χίον καὶ δύναμιν παρὰ τὸν ἐκεῖ τύπον πάντας λαβόντες Αμφίκλους καὶ Πελοπέτους γυκτὸς κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὰς Ἐρυθράς. κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κνωτοῦ σῶμα ἔκειθράσθη ταῖς Ἐρυθραῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τὴν ἥπην Λεόποδον καλεῖται. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς τοῦ Κνωτοῦ ποὺ Κλεανίκης περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κηδεῖται γυνομένης (ἥν δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ πανήγυρις ἀγοράμην Ἀρτέμιδος Στροφαῖ) ἔξαφῆς ἀκούνται σάλπιγγος βοῆς καὶ καταληφθέντος τοῦ ἄστεος ὑπὸ τὸν τὸν Ὁρτύγην πολλοὶ μὲν ἀναιρέονται τῷ Κνωτῷ φίλων καὶ ἡ Κλεανίκη μαθοῦσα φεύγει εἰς Καλοφῶνα. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὁρτύγην τύρανοι ἔχοντες τὴν ἐκ Χίου δύναμιν τοὺς ἐνισταμένους αὐτῶν τοῖς πράγμασι διέφθειρον, καὶ τοὺς νύμους καταλέσαντες τες αὐτοὶ διεῖπον τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἐντὸς τείχους οὐδένα δεχόμενοι τὸν δημοτὸν ἔχον δὲ πρὸ τὸν τύπον δικαστήριον κατασκευάσαντες τὰς κρίσεις ἀποικόντες, διλογρύγη μὲν ἀμτεχόμενοι περιβόλαια καὶ χιτῶνας ἀδεδυκότες περιπορφύρους κ. τ. λ.—ἥν Ιππότης ὁ Κνωτοῦ ἀδελφὸς μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπελθὼν ταῖς Ἐρυθραῖς ἐρητῆς οὐσης τὸν Ἐρυθραίον προσβοηθεύοντας ἐπῆλθε τοῖς τυράννοις, καὶ πολλοὺς αἰκισμένους τὸν περὶ αὐτοὺς Ὁρτύγην μὲν φεύγοντα συνεκέντησε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτους, τὰς δὲ γυναικας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα δεινῶς αἰκισμένους τὴν πατρίδα ἡλεύθεροστε.” Hippotes brother of Codrus was probably a son of Codrus; and from him might be descended the chiefs called Basiliades, who were at an early period put down by the people: Aristot. Rep. V. 6=5, 4. ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Βασιλιδῶν διλγαρχίας ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις χρόνοις καίτεροι καλῶς ἐπιμελομένοις τὸν ἐν τῇ πόλετελα, δύος διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ δλγων ἄρχεσθαι ἀγανακτῶν δῆμος μετέβαλε τὴν πολιτείαν. Schneider ad loc. aptly compares Suidas v. Πιθαγόρας Ἐφέσιος. καταλύσας δὲ ἐπιβούλης τὴν τῶν Βασιλιδῶν καλούμενην ἀρχὴν ἀνεψάθε τε τύρανος τικρότατες, καὶ τῷ μὲν δήμῳ καὶ τῷ πλήθει ἥν τε καὶ ἔδοκε κεχαρισμένος, κ. τ. λ.—ἥν δὲ πρὸ Κύρου τοῦ Πέρσου. ὃς φησι Βάτον. A class or family then, named Basiliades governed both at Ephesus and at Erythrae, perhaps in both cities descended from the Codridæ, and were in both deposed by the people. Hellanicus apud Harp. v. Ἐρυθραῖος appears to make Neleus the founder of Erythrae: Ἐρυθρά μία τῶν ὑπὸ Νηλέως τοῦ Κόδρου κτισθεῖσῶν, δις φησι Ἐλλάνικος ἐν Ἀτθίσιν. But he may only mean that Neleus was the leader of the Ionic migration, of which the settlement at Erythrae formed a part; as in Suidas v. Ἰωνία Ἰωνίας πόλεις ιβ' ἀς ἐρεικίζει Νηλεὺς ὁ Κόδρου. Erythrae is de-

Clazomenæ^d was founded by the Ionians from Colophon; Phocæa^e by Phocians under Athenian leaders; Samos^f by Ionians from Epidaurus. Chios^g according to Ion of Chios

rived by Strabo IX. p. 404. from the Boeotian Erythræ: τῶν δὲ Ἐρυθρῶν τούτων ἀποκαὶ αἱ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ Ἐρυθρᾶι, which perhaps means no more than that Erythræans from this town on the borders of Attica joined the migration led by Neleus. Erythræ is mentioned in B. C. 70 by Cicero in *Verr. I.* 19. and is still πόλις Ἰωνικὴ in the time of Strabo XIV. p. 644.

^d The Colophonians planted themselves first under mount Ída, then at Scuppia, and lastly at Clazomenæ: Pausan. VII. 3, 5. Κλαζομενίας δὲ καὶ Φωκαῖσι, τῷ μὲν ἡ Ἰωνικὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθεῖν, εἰκὸντο αἱ πόλεις. Ιάνου δὲ ἀφικομένων μοῦρα ἔξι αὐτῶν πλανητέρην μετεπέμψατο ἥγεμόν ταρὰ Κολοφωνίαν Πάραφορ [Κλαζομενάς δὲ Πάραφος Strabo XIV. p. 633], καὶ πόλιν κτίσαντες ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῃ τὴν μὲν ὡς μετὰ πολὺ ἐκλείστουσι, ἐσανίστες δὲ ἡ Ἰωνικὴ Σκύτειον τῆς Κολοφωνίας ἔκτισαν [Steph. Byz. Σκύρια πολίχνιον Κλαζομενίων, ἀς "Ἐφόρος ἐν τρίτῳ". ἀπειδήστες δὲ ἐκονισταὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Κολοφωνίας, οὕτω γῆν τε ἔσχον ἢ καὶ τοῦ ἔτι ἔχοντας καὶ κατεκενάσαντο ἐν τῇ ἡπειρῷ Κλαζομενάς πόλιν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἕτην διέβησαν κατὰ τὸ Περσῶν δέος. Strabo XIV. p. 645. marks both positions: Χύτροις ἐστι τόπος ἐν φρότερον Ἰδρυτον Κλαζομενάς εἴθ' ἡ νῦν πόλις νησία ἔχοντα προκειμεναδικτὸν γεωργοῦμενα. The Clazomenians were a mixed race: Pausan. Ibid. τούτων τῶν Κλαζομενίων τὸ πολὺ εἰκὸν Ἰωνικὸν Κλεονταῖον δὲ ἔσται καὶ ἐκ Φλεύρωντος, δοῦι Δωρίων ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατειλθόντων κατέλιπτον τὰς πόλεις.

^e Phocæa was founded by the Phocians who accompanied Philogenes and Damon, Athenians, and was not admitted into the Ionian confederacy till it had received from Teos and Erythræ kings of the race of the Codridæ: Pausan. VII. 3, 5. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖς γένος μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν εἰσιν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Παρασσῷ καλουμένης—Φωκίδος οἱ Φιλογένεις καὶ Δάμωνοι ἄριοι τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν [Φωκαῖαν οἱ μετὰ Φιλογένεις Αθηναῖς Strabo XIV. p. 633]. τὴν χώραν δὲ οὐ πολέμηρ κατὰ δὲ ὁμολογίαν λαμβάνουσι παρὰ Κυμαῖον. Ιάνου δὲ οὐ δεχομένων σφᾶς ἐς Πανιόνιον πρὶν ἡ τοῦ γένους βασιλέας τῶν Κορδῶν λάβωσιν, οὕτω παρὰ Ἐρυθρᾶλον ἐκ Τέων τε οἵτην [καὶ ἐκ Τέων Δεοτῆνην Porson.] καὶ Πέρικλον λαμβάνουσι καὶ Ἀβαρτον. The Phocian origin of the Phocæans was preserved in the name "Αβαρτος". Hesych. Ἀβαρτεῖς. Φωκέων φυλῆ. Idem Ἀβαρτος, τόδις Φωκέων. But Abarnis is also a promontory at Lampsacus: Xenoph. Hellen. II. 1, 29. τὸν Ἀβαρνία τὴν Δαμιφάκων ἄκραν. Schol. Apollon. I. 932. Ἀβαρνία: ἡ Ἀβαρνίς πόλις τῆς Δαμιφάκου. Theophrastus apud Athen. II. p. 62. b. περὶ Δαμιφάκου ἐν τῇ Ἀβαρνίᾳ, [sic Schneider. ad Theophrast. tom. III. p. 39. ad Xenoph. I. c]. Steph. Byz. Ἀβαρτος.—Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Ἀσίᾳ περιηγήσει Δαμιφάκου ἄκρην εἶναι φησιν. Ἐφόρος δὲ ἐν τῷ

πέμπτῃ λέγει κληθῆναι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Φωκίδι Ἀβαρνίδος ἵππο Φωκέων [l. cum Berkelio Φωκαίων] τῶν Λάμψακον κτίσαντων. The interpreters of Hesychius correct Φωκάεων in both passages. But the only word which seems to require correction is Φωκέων in Stephanus. The name "Αβαρτος" was in Phocis the original country of the Phocæans; who carried that name with them to their colony of Lampsacus. For Lampsacus see the tables B.C. 651. The Phocæans founded Alalia in B.C. 564, Amisus in 563, Heraclea on the Pontus in 559, Massilia in 544. See the tables B.C. 564, 563, 559.

^f Samos was occupied by Procles, who found there a Lelegian population: Pausan. VII. 4, 2. Ἀσίος δὲ Ἀμφιποτόλεμον Σάμους ἐποίησεν ἐποίησεν ἐποίησεν ἀς Φοίνικις ἐποίησεν τῆς Οἰνέως γένοντο Ἀστυπάλαια καὶ Εύρητη, Ποσειδόνος δὲ καὶ Ἀστυπαλαῖς εἶναι παῖδες Ἀγκαῖον, βασιλεύειν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν καλουμένον Δελέγων κ. τ. λ.—Ἀσίος μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐδήλωσεν· τότε δὲ οἱ τὴν ὑῆσον οἰκουμένης ἀνάγκη πλέον ἐδέκαντο ἡ εὐνοϊκή συνίκητος Ἰωνικής ἥγεμονας δὲ ἢ τοῖς Ἰωνιοῖς Προκλῆς ὁ Πιτυρέως αὐτές τε Ἐπιταύριος καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίος τὸ πολὺ ὅγαν οἱ ὑπὸ Δημήτρου καὶ Ἀργείων ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας ἐξεπεπλέκεσσαν [see above p. 110. i]: τούτῳ τῷ Προκλεῖ γένος ἡ ἀπὸ Ἰωνικῶν τοῦ Εοῖθου. Procles himself (whose father Pityleus had been thus expelled by the Dorians) probably settled at Samos before the migration of Neleus. His son Leogorus was invaded by Androclus and the Ionians of Ephesus: Pausan. Ibid. Ἀνδροκλος καὶ Ἐφέσιοι στρατεύεσσιν ἐπὶ Λευγόρον τὸν Προκλέους βασιλεύεσσαν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐν Σάμῳ, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου Σάμους· αἰτίαν δὲ ἐπέφερον μετὰ Καρῶν σφᾶς ἐπιβούλευεν Ἰωνικής. Σαμιῶν δὲ τῶν φεγύόντων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκῃ νῆσον ἔκπιπτον, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῆς ἐνοικήσεως Σαμοθράκην τὴν νῆσον καλοῦσσιν ἀπὸ Δαρδανίας· οἱ δὲ ὅμιοι Λευγόροι περὶ Ἄγαιαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπειρῷ τῇ πέραν βαλόμενοι τείχος δέκα ἔπεισι ὑπερον διαβάντες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τούς τε Ἐφεσίους ἐκβάλλοντος καὶ ἀνεσθάντο τὴν νῆσον. Strabo XIV. p. 633. Σάμων δὲ Τεμβρίων, εἴθ' ὑπερον Προκλῆς. In Etymol. Ἀστυπαλαῖα Τεμβρίον and Procles are associated together: Ἀστυπαλαῖα: μοῖρα τῆς Σάμου οὕτω καλουμένη· ὅτι Πατροκλῆς καὶ Τεμβρίων ἀποκλαστεῖσαν εἰς Σάμων πρὸς τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Κάρες κοινωνία θέμενοι φύκοντας παρὰ τὸν Σχήσιον ποταμόν, καὶ εἰς δύο φυλὰς τὴν πόλιν διένειμαν κ. τ. λ. οὕτω Θεμισταγύρας ἐν τῇ χρυσῇ βίβλῳ.

^g Pausan. VII. 4, 6. Ἰωνικής—ἴστιν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τοιάδε εἰρημένα· Ποσειδόνας ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἔρημαν οὖσαν ἀφικέσθαι κ. τ. λ.—ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ καὶ Οἰνοτίωνας ἐς τὴν Χίον κατάραι ναυσὶν ἐκ Κρήτης, ἔπειθαι δέ οἱ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Τάλον καὶ Εβάνθην καὶ Μέλαναν καὶ Σάλαγην τε καὶ Ἀθάμαντα. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ Κάρες ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐπὶ

was occupied by *Xenopion* from Crete. Afterwards *Amphiclus* from Eubœa reigned; whose great grandson *Hector* added Chios to the Ionic league. Besides these establishments in the twelve Ionian states^h, many islands in the Ægean sea were also occupied by the *Codridæ* or by other Athenian leadersⁱ.

Philochorus, Eratosthenes, Aristarchus, and Apollodorus, all concur in placing the Ionic migration 140 years after the Trojan war, or 60 years after the return of the *Heraclidæ*^k.

τῆς Οἰονίανος βασιλεῖας καὶ Ἀβαντες ἐξ Εύβοιας. Οἰονίαν δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἔλαβεν ὑστερος Ἀμφικλος τὴν ἀρχήν ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐξ Ἰστιαίας δ' Ἀμφικλος τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατὰ μάγτευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν. Ἐκτωρ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀμφικλου τετάρτη γενεῇ (βασιλεῖαν γὰρ ἔσχε καὶ αὐτος) ἐπολέμησεν Ἀβάντων καὶ Καρῶν τοῖς οἰκεῖοις ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοὺς δὲ ἀπέλθειν ἡγάγκασεν ὑποστάνδον. γενομένη δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆς πολέμου Χίοις, ἀφικέσθαι τηρικάπτα ἐξ ρώμην "Ἐκτωρ ὡς σφᾶς καὶ Ἰωνίας δίος συνένειν ἐς Πανιόνιον" τρίποδα δὲ ἀθλὸν ἤσθεντι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ φασὶ τοῦ Ἰώνων. τοσαῦτα εἰρηκότα ἐξ Χίους Ἰωνία εἰρισκού· οὐ μέγτι ἐκεῖνον γε εἴρηκε, καθ' ἥτιαν αὐτῶν Χίοι τελῶντις ἐξ Ἰωνίας. Strabo XIV. p. 633. Χίον δὲ Ἐγέρτιος σύμμικτον ἐπαγγέμενος πλῆθος. A war between Chios and Erythrae is mentioned by Herodotus I. 18. which occurred before the reign of *Alyattes*: καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖς Χίοις τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδύνεικαν. Plutarch. *Mul. Virt.* p. 244. E. relates the cause of this war: *Hippocles* king of Chios was slain by his subjects. This produced the establishment of a colony at Leuconia, which belonged to the Erythraeans: ὑστερον δὲ πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς Ἐρυθραίους αὐτοῖς γενομένου, μέγιστον Ἰώνων δυναμένους, τότε κάκινων ἐπὶ τῷ Δεικνυίᾳ στρατευσάστον ἀντέχειν μὴ δυνάμενοι συνεχόρρησαν ἐξελθεῖν ὑποστάνδον. κ. τ. λ. Conf. Polyæn. VIII. 66. We have already seen p. 118. c. that in the time of *Cnopus* founder of Erythrae *Amphiclus* and *Polytecnius* were tyrants of Chios.

^h The twelve states are named in *Ælian*. V. H. VIII. 5. Suid. v. *Ionia*, and in Herodotus I. 142. who remarks four distinctions of dialect. Miletus, Myus, and Priene had the same dialect: κατὰ ταῦτα διαλεγόμεναι. Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa, differed in dialect from the rest but agreed with each other. The third dialect was that of the Chians and Erythraeans, and the fourth that of the Samians. Velleius I. 4. in his enumeration omits Teos. Vitruvius IV. 1. adds a thirteenth state, which he calls Melite. For Smyrna, a thirteenth state, added before B. C. 688, see p. 105. w.

ⁱ Herodotus VII. 95. observes of the islanders generally, who were under the Persians, τηστῶται, καὶ τοῦτο Πελαστικὸν ὄντος. ὑστερον δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀρχοντα καὶ αἱ διάδεκα πόλεις Ἰωνεῖς αἱ ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων. Of Ceos and Naxos he says VIII.

46. Κεῖος—ἔθνος ἐν τῇ Ιωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων—Νάξιοι δέ εἰσι. Ἰωνεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. VIII. 48. Σίφνοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφοι. Ἰωνεῖς ἔντες δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων. Isocrates and Plutarch have been already quoted upon this subject at p. 39. g. The occupiers of the *Cyclades* are named in Schol. ad Dionys. Perieg. 525. τὰς Κυκλαδὰς ἐπάρχοντας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἡγήσαντο τῶν μὲν εἰς Κέων Θεριδάμας, εἰς δὲ Σίφνον Ἀλκίνωρ, εἰς δὲ Ἀμυροῦν Νάξιοι, εἰς δὲ Ἄνδρον Κίναυσος καὶ Εύρυλοχος, εἰς δὲ Κύθνον Κέστωρ καὶ Κεφαλῆνος, εἰς δὲ Πάρον Κλίτιος καὶ Μέλας, εἰς δὲ Δῆλον Ἀγτίχοος, εἰς δὲ Σέριφον Ἐτέοκλος, εἰς δὲ Νάξον Ἀρχέτιμος καὶ Τεῦκλος, εἰς δὲ Ρηγαῖαν Δῆλον, εἰς δὲ Σύρον Ἰππομέδων, εἰς δὲ Μύκονον Ἰππικλος. *Ιππικλος* in the Scholiast is *Ιππικλῆς* son of *Neleus*, who occupied Myconus: Zenob. Adag. V. 17. already quoted. In the leaders of the other settlements there is a variation. *Neleus* himself by another account occupied Naxos in his passage to Asia: see above p. 114. w. We may reconcile the account of *Ælian* by supposing that *Archetimus* and *Teucus* were left there by *Neleus*. *Hegetor* son of *Neleus* was sent to the islands, and subdued many: see p. 115. and *Hegetor* does not appear in the Scholiast. Velleius I. 4, 3. speaks generally: *Iones—profecti Athenis—multas in Ægeo atque Icario occupavere insulas, Samum, Chium, Andrum, Tenum, Parum, Delum, aliasque ignobiles.*

^k Eratosthenes apud Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 336. B. Apollodorus apud Euseb. Chron. I. p. 139. whence we may correct the text of Tatian p. 108. οἱ περὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον "Ομηρον φασὶν ἡκμακέναι μετὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικιαν ἔτεσιν ἐκατὸν ὅπερ γένετο ἀν ὑστερον τῶν Ἰωνικῶν διακοσίων πεντήκοντα. Eusebius Praep. X. p. 492. B. rightly has ἔτεσι διακοσίοις τεσσαράκοντα. That Philochorus and Aristarchus computed the same interval appears from Tatian p. 108. Conf. Euseb. p. 492. A. "Ομηρον φασὶν ἡκμακέναι οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικιαν, ἢ ἔτεσι μετὰ ἐκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἰωνικῶν [see above p. 107. b]. Φιλόχορος δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικιαν [ἀποικιαν ἔτεσι μὲν Euseb.], ἢ εἰς ἄρχοντας Ἀθηναῖς Ἀρξίτου, τῶν Ἰωνικῶν ὑστερον ἔτεσι ἐκατὸν ὕδεκάκοντα. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 326. D. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ομήρου γένεσιν κατὰ μὲν Φιλόχορον ἐκατὸν ὕδεκάκοντα ἔτη γίνεται, ὑστερον τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχιλοχείων ὑπομνήμασι κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικιαν φησὶ φέρεσθαι αὐτόν, ἢ ἐγένετο μετὰ ἐκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη τῶν Τρωϊκῶν. Philo-

The term of fifty-eight years ascribed to the two Attic reigns of *Melanthus* and *Codrus* sufficiently agrees with this period of sixty years; although the chronologers are inconsistent with the historical accounts in comparing the Attic kings with the return of the *Heraclidae* and with the Ionic migration; since they make the reign of *Melanthus* to begin before the Dorian conquest, and carry down the Ionic migration twenty-eight or thirty-three years below the death of *Codrus*¹. But as *Melanthus* came to Athens in consequence of the Dorian con-

lochorus, as we learn from Eusebius (where the text of Tatian is deficient), computed $180 - 40 = 140$ years from the fall of Troy to the Ionic migration. The concurrence of Philochorus in this date appears to shew that some tradition of this period of sixty years had been preserved, as of the eighty years which preceded it. All, however, did not agree in reckoning 140 years for the interval. The Parian marble allows only 132 years from the Trojan era to the migration; since the fall of Troy is placed No. 25 in the year 945, and the migration No. 28 in the year 813. Eusebius Chron. II. p. 305. reckons 145 years. Philostratus Heroic. p. 194. computes 127: *τρία καὶ ἑκάτην επὶ τοῖς ἑκατόνταροι*.

¹ The reigns of the Attic kings to *Menestheus* have been exhibited at p. 59. The following reigns are thus given: Euseb. Chron. I. p. 134. *Castoris de Athenarum regno*.—*Regnum delapsum est ad Melanthum Andropompi Pyliensem atque ad ejus filium Codrum, quorum amborum dominatio annos occupat LII*. That this is an error for *LVIII* appears from the detail of Castor himself, and from Euseb. p. 301. *Demophon Thesei annis 33, sub quo res Ulyxis et Orestis, itemque Aeneas Anchise regnat Lavini*. *Oxynites Demophonitis annis 12, sub quo Amazones fenum Ephesi inflammaverunt. Aphidas Oxynite anno 1. Thymates frater Aphidantis annis 8. Melanthus Andropompi Pyliensis annis 37, sub quo Heraclidae descenderunt et Peloponnesus subacta est. Codrus Melanthi annis 21, sub quo Iones amissa Achaia Athenas configerunt. Athenarum principes quoad vivent. Medon Codri dominatus est annis 9 (20 in marg.). Acastus Medontis annis 36, cuius etate migratio Ionica fuit, in qua Homerum quoque fuisse traditum est*. Eusebius himself in the Canon p. 298—305. agrees in these numbers:

anno	
836	<i>Demophon</i>.....33
869	<i>Oxynites</i>.....12
881	<i>Aphidas</i>.....1
882	<i>Thymates</i>.....8
890	<i>Melanthus</i>.....37
927	<i>Codrus</i>.....21
<hr/> 112	
948	<i>Medon</i>.....20
968	<i>Acastus</i>.....36
980	<i>Acasti 13^o Ionica Migratio (145)</i> .

Syncellus p. 172. D. Μενεσθέως ἔτη λγ'—τῶτου τῷ λγ' ἔτει 'Ιλιου ἥλω. p. 173. A. Δημοφῶν ἔτη κύ—ἔτι τούτου τὰ τερὶ Ὀδυσσέα καὶ Ὀρέστην. Αἰνεῖας τε ἐβασίλευε Λαζηνού.—Οἴδνης ἔτη ι'—Αφείδας ἔτος ἵν. p. 178. A. Θυμοίτης ἔτη θ', Αφείδαντος ἀδελφός—Μέλανθος Ἀνδροπόμπος Πύλιος ἔτη λξ'—Κόδρος Μελάνθου ἔτη κα'—τούτοις ἡ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθεδος εἰς Πελοπόννησον γέγονεν.—Μέδων Κόδρου ἔτη κ'—Ακαστος Μέδοντος ἔτη λ'. ἐπὶ Ἀκάστου 'Ιώνων ἀποικία' καὶ 'Ομῆρος Ιστορεῖται γεγονόνται παρ' Ἑλλησιν, ὃς τινές οἱ δὲ διήγει πρότερον, καὶ ἄλλοι ὕστερον. According to these numbers Castor and Eusebius have 112 years for the whole period from the Trojan era to the death of *Codrus* and 58 for the two reigns. Syncellus transfers ten years from *Demophon* to *Menestheus*, and makes the whole period 101 years, but the two reigns 58. The Chronicle quoted above at p. 60. h. gives, as we have seen, 58 years to *Codrus* and *Melanthus*, but enlarges the whole period to 117 years. The first year of *Melanthus*, then, is placed by the Latin Chronicle 60 years after the fall of Troy, by Castor and Eusebius 55, and by Syncellus 44. And the epoch of the Dorian conquest, in the 80th year from the Trojan era, falls upon the 21st year of *Melanthus* by the first computation, upon his 26th year by the second, and upon his 37th and last year by the third; and accordingly Castor refers that event to the reign of *Melanthus*, and Syncellus places it in the reign of *Codrus*. For the same reason (because they had carried the reign of *Melanthus* too high) they have brought down the Ionic migration to the reign of *Acastus*. For 60 years reckoned from the 27th of *Melanthus* would be accomplished in the 8th year of *Acastus*; reckoned, with Syncellus, from the first of *Codrus*, they will terminate in the 19th of *Acastus*. Eusebius in the Armenian copy, as we have seen, makes the 13th of *Acastus* and the 145th year from the fall of Troy the epoch of the migration. In the version of Hieronymus it is placed in the eighth of *Acastus* and the 140th year. This error of the ancient chronologers in the time of *Melanthus* at Athens has been repeated by many modern writers. In Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. li. Blair, Potter Antiq. vol. I. p. 14. Hales vol. I. p. 229. Dodwell de Cycl. p. 683—694. and in Du Fresnoy Tablettes tom. I. p. 430. he begins to reign in the fifty-sixth year after the Trojan era. Larcher

quest, it is evident that the first year of his reign was subsequent to that epoch. And if the two reigns were fifty-eight years, it is also manifest that the period of sixty years was com-

Herodot. tom. VII. p. 584. has corrected the error, and has placed the accession of *Melanthus* after the return of the *Heracleidae*.

The Parian marble No. 24 (25), having fixed the taking of Troy to the year 945, describes the Ionic migration thus N°. 27 (28): *ἀφ' ὅλης οὐρανού πάντα τοις θεοῖς καὶ αἰγαίῳ θεῷ στέφανον τελετήν τελεσθεῖσαν τοις θεοῖς*. The lacunae are variously supplied. In the date there is no difficulty. It is supplied by Chandler and Boeckh: *[H] HHHΔΙΙΙ*, or 813 years; which gives $945 - 813 = 132$ for the interval. In the name *Μενεσθέως* is an error, acknowledged by Selden and Palmerius Exercit. p. 699. *In rege error fædissimus nostrum marmor inquinavit, quem notavit Seldenus;* and by Dodwell Diss. p. 698. and Mr. Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 315, 316. who concurs with Selden and Dodwell in substituting *Μέδωνας*. The marble, then, is supposed to express 132 years from the fall of Troy to the thirteenth of *Medon*; but, as Eusebius gives only 125 years for the same period, Dodwell Diss. p. 697, 698. adopts five years from Excerpt. Barbar. already quoted p. 60. h. Mr. Boeckh p. 331. agrees with him: *Dodwellus videt rem aliquatenus expediri posse, ubi numerus annorum singulis regnis tributus ex Barbaro potissimum ascrietur; quocum nostro magis convenire quam cum Eusebiano canone colligas vel ex intervallis annorum Troje captæ et Olymp. I.* He reduces the period on the marble to 131 years (p. 332), places with Dodwell p. 698. the reign of *Melanthus* at the 61st year after the fall of Troy, and determines that the marble allowed only sixty years between that era and the Dorian conquest, because the reign of *Melanthus* followed this last event: *Melanthon consentiebant omnes esse ex Messenia ab Heraclidis pulsum et Atticæ regem creatum; et a Troja capta usque ad finem Thymætæ sunt anni 60. Patet igitur nostrum annis 60 post Ilii excidium redditum Heraclidarum collocasse;* following Dodwell p. 698. who had observed, *Redierunt Heraclida anno a Troja excidio non 80, ut volebat Eratosthenes, sed 60, ut Strabo qui has rationes secutus est, si Chron. Mar. audiamus.* Mr. Boeckh concludes that those who referred the Ionic migration to the time of *Acastus* referred not to its beginning but to its conclusion: *Rem qui in Acastum distulerunt non initium Ioniae conditæ sed stabilitam et quodammodo perfectam novam rem publicam spectabant.* But these conclusions are not quite

certain. In the first place the Parian marble differs both from Eusebius and from the Latin chronicle in the years of the Attic kings. The marble places the first year of *Cecrops* at the year 1318, the twenty-second of *Menestheus* at 945 (see above p. 60. h); and, if we assume with Mr. Boeckh and the other editors that the marble agreed with Eusebius in the date of *Æschylus*, of which we have no proof (see the tables B. C. 757), we shall have the twenty-first of *Æschylus* at the year 494. These positions give 374 years to the twenty-second of *Menestheus* inclusive, $944 - 493 = 451$ from that year of *Menestheus* to the twenty-first inclusive of *Æschylus*, and $374 + 451 = 825$ years for the whole period from the first of *Cecrops* to the twenty-first inclusive of *Æschylus*. Eusebius places the first of *Cecrops* anno 461, the twenty-second of *Menestheus* anno 834, the twenty-first of *Æschylus* anno 1259. His periods therefore are 374 years for the first interval, 425 for the second, and 799 for the whole interval. The marble agrees with Eusebius in the first period, but inserts in the second between the death of *Menestheus* and the accession of *Æschylus* twenty-six years which are not in Eusebius. But the Barbaro-Latin Chronicle also differs from the marble. This compiler reckons 384 years to the death of *Menestheus*. He allows only nineteen years to *Menestheus*. His detail of reigns gives 441 years from the accession of *Demopho* to the second of *Æschylus*; and this will make the period to the twenty-first of *Æschylus* $441 + 19 = 460$ years. This chronicle therefore exceeds the marble ten years in the first period and nine years in the second. Nor will these five years assumed from the chronicle by Dodwell bring them to a coincidence; for the reigns in that chronicle from the first of *Demopho* to the thirteenth of *Medon*, both inclusive, will only give 130 years; which is two years less than the term expressed by the marble. In the second place, we cannot affirm that the interval from the siege of Troy to the Dorian conquest was reckoned by the author of the marble to be sixty years because *Melanthus* began to reign in the sixty-first; for although it was the historical truth that his reign followed this epoch, yet we have seen that the chronologers paid no attention to this. In the last place it does not seem likely that the chronologers intended to express the completion of the Ionic migration in referring it to the time of *Acastus*. It is more probable, as we have seen already, that they carried down the migration to the

pleted in the first year of *Medon* son of *Codrus*^m. But, although this term of sixty years is perhaps an authentic period, marking the commencement of the Ionic migration under *Neleus*, yet the establishment of the Ionian cities was gradually accomplished, and was not the work of one year or of one expedition. Miletus and Ephesus were probably occupied early, since *Neleus* was seated at Miletus, and Ephesus preceded the Æolian settlers at Smyrnaⁿ. But Erythræ was founded after the other states^o; Clazomenæ after Colophon^p. Teos had two successive bands of settlers^q. Prienæ had also two bodies of settlers, and the first was led by a son of *Neleus*^r. We may conclude, then, that these settlements, added to those in the islands, occupied a space of many years.

VI.

DATES OF THE TROJAN WAR.

THE Ionic migration, commencing 140 years after the fall of Troy, is the lowest date to which we can descend. In proceeding upwards our highest point is the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, about July B. C. 776, the first date in Grecian chronology which can be fixed upon authentic evidence. It has already been remarked^a that the interval between these two epochs cannot be known. And yet upon the extent of that interval depends the position of the Trojan war and of all preceding epochs. If this interval cannot be ascertained, the dates of all the early events, from *Phoroneus* to the Ionian colonies, hang in uncertainty. We have observed^b that the date of Eratosthenes for the fall of Troy was founded upon conjecture^c, and was derived from him by later chronologers; that some of those who preceded him brought this epoch to a lower point, but that many carried it higher; and that the date at which he had arrived was a middle point between the longer and shorter computations of preceding writers^d. It is now proposed to illustrate what was there advanced, by exhibiting the testimonies a little more at large.

reign of *Acastus* because they had carried down the preceding epoch to the reign of *Melanthus*. With respect to the notice in the marble N°. 28, the truth appears to be, as Palmerius has seen *Exercit.* p. 699, that both the numbers and the name are erroneous; and that *Μενεσθέως τρεισκατεκάτω ἔτος*; in N°. 28 has been repeated by the copyist from *Μενεσθέως τρεισκατεκάτου ἔτος* in N°. 24, five lines before.

As the space of eighty years from the Trojan era to the Dorian conquest appears to be a genuine period, it is evident that at least the same space must have elapsed between the Trojan war and the accession of *Melanthus*. But in all the accounts of the Attic reigns, as we have seen in the preceding note, the years of *Demopho*, *Oxyntes*, *Aphidas*, and *Thymætes*, are insufficient to supply the interval. If then these reigns rest on any authority, we must suppose after *Thymætes* was deposed a considerable interregnum of at least twenty years, which led to the elevation of *Melanthus*. Larcher upon his own authority adds twenty-six years to the reigns

of *Demopho* and *Oxyntes*.

ⁿ See p. 105. w. *Androclus* the founder of Ephesus was supposed by Pherecydes to lead the expedition: *ἀξαι τοῦ στόλου* p. 116. x. which marks Ephesus for an early colony.

^o See p. 118. c. ^p p. 119. d.

^q p. 117. z. ^r p. 117. a.

^s F. H. II. p. IX. ^t F. H. II. p. III—VIII.

^c Mr. Boeckh agrees in this opinion *Inser. Gr. tom. II.* p. 328. observing very truly, *Has quidem anni definitiones non historicæ inniti fidei, sed incertis ætatum et similibus computationibus repertas esse, hodie quivis concedet facile.*

^d It was not intended in that passage F. H. II. p. VI. to affirm that Eratosthenes selected his date, 407 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, because it was a middle point; but that this date, which he had obtained (doubtless by computing the length of generations and of reigns), was in effect a middle point; being forty-seven and sixty-three years above some of the dates there exhibited, and eighty-seven and twenty-six years below others.

The chronology of Eratosthenes is thus delivered by Clemens ^e: 'Ερατοσθένης δὲ τοὺς χρόνους ἀδεί αναγράφει· ἀπὸ μὲν Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον ἔτη ὄγδοήκοντα· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίας κτίσιν ἔτη ἑξήκοντα· τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἑξῆς, μὲν τὴν ἐπιτροπίαν τὴν Δυκούργου ἔτη ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐννέα· ἐπὶ δὲ προηγούμενον ἔτος τῶν πρώτων ὀλυμπίων ἔτη ἑκατὸν ὅκτω· ἀφ' ἣς ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἔτη διακόσια ἐνενήκοντα ἑπτά· ἀφ' ἣς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ὅκτω, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἡτταν ἔτη εἴκοσι ἑπτά, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Δεύκτροις μάχην ἔτη τριάκοντα τέσσαρα· μεβ' ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ἔτη τριάκοντα πέντε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρου μεταλλαγὴν ἔτη δώδεκα ^f. The four first terms in this series give 407 years from the Trojan era to the first Olympiad; and this number is verified by Censorinus ^g. Dodwell supposes that number to give B. C. 1184 for the Trojan era of Eratosthenes; and in this date Mr. Boeckh ^h concurs. Dodwell ⁱ argues that the 407 years were exclusive of the year before the first Olympiad, that this was the 408th, and the year of the first Olympiad itself the 409th; and that the Trojan era was consequently B. C. 1184 ^k. But the numbers are rather $407 + 776 = 1183$. The computation of Eratosthenes includes the last term of it, and the year before the first Olympiad is one of the 407. The first Olympiad was celebrated in the 408th, and what he intended to express by the number 407 was all the time which had elapsed before the celebration of the games. This appears in the first place from the term of 108 years preceding the first Olympiad. These 108 years were twenty-seven Olympiads, which Eratosthenes computed from *Iphitus* and *Lycurgus* to the Olympiad of *Coræbus*^l. Now as the 28th Olympiad (that is, the first registered Olympiad) was reckoned to commence in July B. C. 776, the first commenced in July B. C. 884. But if the preceding periods had been at B. C. 1184, 1104, 1044, the next would be at B. C. 885 ^m; and the twenty-seven Olympiads would have contained 109 years. In the next place, this appears from the following term in the series: *From Ol. 1. to the expedition of Xerxes 297 years*. The year B. C. 777 (the year before Ol. 1. 1) is not reckoned in this term of the series. If therefore it were excluded from the preceding, it would be omitted altogether. Again, it cannot be doubted that by these five periods collectively Eratosthenes intended to express all the interval from the fall of Troy to the passage of *Xerxes*. But these numbers give 704 years. And $704 + B. C. 479 = 1183$. For the sixth period is, *From the passage of Xerxes to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war forty-eight years*. Of these forty-eight years the first is Ol. 75. 2, since the last is Ol. 87. 1, at the close of which the war began. Hence it appears that he reckoned Ol. 75. 1, B. C. 479 (in which the expedition of *Xerxes* ended) to the preceding period. The seventh period expresses *Thence to the end of the war twenty-seven*

^e Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 336.

^f This series of numbers will give the following ten periods:

1.....	80
2.....	60
3.....	159
4.....	108 (407)
5.....	297 (704)
6.....	48
7.....	27 (779)
8.....	34
9.....	35
10.....	12

^g Censorin. c. 21. Eratosthenes CCCCVII. See F. H. III. p. 490.

^h Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 328. *Itaque hodie vulgo secundum Eratostenem—Trojae excidium a. Chr. 1184 tribuitur ex Petavii calculis.*

ⁱ Apparat. ad Chron. Dionys. tom. IV. p. 2427. Recensentur ad annum qui Olympia prima præcessit anni 407. Erit ergo annus ipse qui Olympia proxime præcessit a Troja 408; quo exente mox anni a Troja 409 initio prima celebrata fuerint Olympia.

^k He reckons $408 + 776 = 1184$.

^l See F. H. II. p. 410.

^m Namely $1044 - 159 = 885$.

years. The first year in this series is Ol. 87. 2, since the last is Ol. 93. 4; in the spring of which Olympic year the war ended. And the sum of these seven numbers 779 + B. C. 404 gives 1183 for the era. The eighth period has *To the battle of Leuctra thirty-four years*. These are Ol. 94. 1—102. 2 both inclusive. In all these periods the same mode of reckoning is pursued. The 279 years include the year in which the war of *Xerxes* ended: the forty-eight include the year in which the Peloponnesian war began: the twenty-seven include the year in which it terminated: the thirty-four include the year of the battle of Leuctra. Consequently the 407 years include the year which preceded the first Olympiad. The ninth period, *Hence to the death of Philip thirty-five years*, includes the year of the death of *Philip*, and expresses Ol. 102. 3—111. 1ⁿ. In the last, *Hence to the death of Alexander twelve years*, the twelve years are Ol. 111. 2—114. 1^o; at the close of which *Alexander* died. And the total amount of all these numbers, 860 + B. C. 323, will again give B. C. 1183 for the fall of Troy.

Apollodorus agreed with Eratosthenes. His dates are given by Eusebius from Porphyry^p: *Ex Porphyrii primo philosophicæ historiæ libro. A capto Ilio usque ad Heraclidarum in Peloponnesum descensum ait Apollodorus elapsos esse annos 80; tum a descensu ad Ioniam urbibus frequentatam annos 60; exinde ad Lycurgum annos 159: summam autem temporis a capto Ilio ad Ol. 1. annorum esse 407.* Diodorus, who follows Apollodorus^q, preserves the following dates. He reckons 779 years from the fall of Troy to the end of the Peloponnesian war, or to Ol. 93. 4 inclusive; and Ol. 94. 1 he accounts the 780th year^r. But these are the numbers of Eratosthenes, whose seven first periods to Ol. 93. 4 inclusive give, as we have seen, precisely the same amount, 779 years. Diodorus again affirms that the year before the archon *Demogenes*, or Ol. 115. 3, was the 866th from the fall of Troy^s. But this Olympic year, ending at Midsummer B. C. 317, six years after the death of *Alexander*, also corresponds with the date of Eratosthenes, and gives 866 + 317 = B. C. 1183 for the era. Diodorus indeed in another place^t appears to add a year to the account: ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἀκολούθως Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τίθεμεν ὅγδοήκοντα ἔτη πρὸς τὴν κάθοδον τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην διυμπιάδα δυσὶ λείποντα τῶν τριακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα, συλλογιζόμενοι τοὺς χρόνους ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ βασιλευσάντων. This account gives 408 years down to the first Olympiad, and B. C. 1184 for the era: and we have accordingly on a former occasion^v ascribed these numbers to Apollodorus. But as it is evident from Porphyry and from the two dates already quoted, which entirely coincide with Eratosthenes, that Apollodorus computed only 407 years, it is probable that this account is inaccurately stated by Diodorus; and that the 328 years were inclusive of the first Olympic year; that the true interval was 327 years, and that in the

ⁿ F. H. II. B. C. 336, 2.

^o F. H. II. B. C. 323, 2.

^p Euseb. Chron. I. p. 139.

^q Diod. I. 5.

^r Diod. XIV. 2. ἀναγράφαμεν τὰς ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀλέσεως πρᾶξες ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου—διελθόντες ἔτη ἑπτακόσια ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑνέα. Ibid. 3. ἀναρχίας οὖσης Ἀθῆναι [sc. Ol. 94. 1] ἔτος μὲν ἦν ὅγδοηκοστὸν πρὸς ταῖς ἑπτακοσίοις μετὰ τὴν Τροίας ἀλώσιν.

^s Diod. XIX. 1. 2. πρὸς τὸν ἐναυτὸν [sc. Ol. 115. 3] τὸν πρὸ τῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους τυραννίδος, εἰς ἓν ἀπὸ

Τροίας ἀλέσεως ἔτη συνάγεται ὑπτακόσια ἑβδομήκοντα ἔξ. — ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Δημογένεως [Ol. 115. 4] Ἀγαθοκλῆς τύραννος ἐγένετο.

^t I. 5.

^v F. H. II. p. III. and III. p. 105. where the last year of the *Chronica* of Apollodorus is made to commence in B. C. 145. But if the epoch of the fall of Troy was placed by Apollodorus rather in the spring of B. C. 1183, the period of 1040 years would be completed in spring B. C. 143; and the last year of this period would be Ol. 159. 1, commencing in B. C. 144.

328th the games in which *Coræbus* won were celebrated. The number 407 is expressed by Tatian, Clemens, and others^w.

Dionysius, however, placed the fall of Troy one year higher and in B. C. 1184. This has been proved by Dodwell from that passage of Dionysius^x in which the capture of the city is fixed to the 23rd *Thargelion*, seventeen days before the summer solstice, in an intercalary year, when the first day of the year following was carried down to the 21st day after the solstice. This, as Dodwell has shewn, has been obviously obtained by computing backwards the years of the Metonic cycle, and adapting to them the supposed date of the fall of Troy. But the year thus described could only be the eighth of a Metonic cycle^y; and, as the first year of the first cycle began June 27 B. C. 432, the first of a cycle would have begun June 27 (in reality July 2) B. C. 1192^z, and the eighth would have begun June 27 (July 2) B. C. 1185; which fixes the day assigned by Dionysius to *Thargelion* or June B. C. 1184. But this date is inconsistent with the account of Dionysius himself (as Dodwell has also shewn) in other passages, where he states from Cato that the 432nd year from the fall of Troy was the era of the foundation of Rome, and that Rome was founded in Ol. 7. 1.^a But if the 432nd year coincided with Ol. 7. 1, the 408th coincided with Ol. 1. 1; and 407 years only had elapsed before the first Olympic games; which agrees with Eratosthenes. The cause of this incon-

^w Tatian. Or. ad Græc. p. 141. τὰς δὲ ὀλυμπιάδας ἥστερον τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσιν ἀπεδείχαμεν γεγονός τετρακοσίου ἔττα. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 332. B. ἡ ὀλυμπιάδας ἡ πρώτη. ἡ καὶ ὥστέρα τῶν Ἰλιακῶν δεκανταταὶ ἔτεσι τετρακοσίους ἔττα. Suidas "Οὐρανος—ἔτέθη ἡ πρώτη ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ τὴν Τροίας ἀλιστον ἐνστάταις ὥστερον νῦν". sic mss. Par. apud Kuster. Excerpta apud Scal. p. 75. Corsin. F. A. tom. III. p. LXIII. Excerptorum auctor—a Solis, id est, Ilii devastatione usque ad Ol. 1. annos 407 enumerat.

^x See F. H. II. p. 332.

^y Dodwell. ad Dionys. tom. I. p. 158. tom. IV. p. 2417. 2426. *Cyclo Metonici sicut talem evicimus, qui efficiat ut annus ipse excidii Trojani idem cyclo fuerit unus &c.*

^z Four cycles being seventy-six years, forty will be 760; and 432 + 760 = B. C. 1192 for the first year of a cycle.

^a Dionys. Ant. I. p. 187. See the passage in F. H. III. p. XIX. t. Idem Ant. I. p. 179. ἔτει δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ τετρακοσιοστῷ μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν—κτῖζουσι Ῥώμην, ἔτους ἑνεστάτος πρώτων τῆς ἐβδόμης ὀλυμπιάδος. II. p. 238. ἐτειχίσθη ἡ πόλις ἐνσαντῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ τετρακοσιοστῷ μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης ὀλυμπιάδος. I. p. 192. Ῥωμίδου ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς ἐβδόμης ὀλυμπιάδος παρειληφέναι τὴν βασιλείαν. It will be observed that ἑνεστάτος will not here mean *proximus ei qui agitur*, but “the year “which was then current;” for the time described is the tenth month of Ol. 7. 1. Mr. Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 330. is of opinion that Dionysius by Ol. 7. 1. intends to mark the spring of Ol. 6. 4. as the era of the foundation: *Rome conditæ annum statuit in Ol. 7. 1 incidere;*

ipse vero quomodo Romana tempora cum Græcis comparanda sint addit se alibi docere: quo haud dubie hoc voluit significare, annum quidem illum Romanum incidere in Ol. 7. 1, sed cœpisse paulo prius. And p. 328. *Romam conditam statuit—mense Aprili sub exitum Ol. 6. 4.* But Dodwell ad Dionysium tom. IV. p. 2419—2423. has successfully argued against this position of Petavius. And that Dionysius did not place the foundation there may be proved from this passage I. p. 11. πέμπτῃ καὶ τετταράκοντα ἡδη πρὸς τοὺς ἐπτακοσίους ἔτεσιν ἔστιν εἰς ἡπάτους Κλαύδιου Νέρωνος τὸ δευτέρον ἡπάτευonta καὶ Πλούτα Καλπούρνιας, εἰ κατὰ τὴν ριζὴν ὀλυμπιάδα ἀπεδείχθησαν. These consuls began their consulship in the middle of Ol. 193. 1. whence it appears that he compared the Roman year with that Olympic year in which it commenced, and not with that in which it ended. When he refers to the future Olympic year, he adds the term εἰς τούπιν VI. p. 1117. X. p. 2134. Moreover the year of these consuls is U.C. 745 in Dionysius, but 747 in the reckoning of Varro; a proof, as Dodwell rightly concludes, that the computation of Cato and Dionysius was two years below the reckoning of Varro. But the Varronian era of Rome is known to be spring B. C. 753. The Catonian, then, began in spring B. C. 751, or the close of Ol. 7. 1. We may add that the era of Varro, April B. C. 753, is not referred to Ol. 6. 4, but to Ol. 6. 3 (see F. H. III. p. XIX. t); although his epoch fell *sub exitum anni Olymp. 6. 3.* And it seems the natural process that the date which is made the measure of other dates should include those dates, and commence before them.

sistency appears to be that Dionysius when he names the 432nd year expresses the era of Eratosthenes, and that when he describes the eighth year of a Metonic cycle he delivers a date determined by himself. Dodwell has traced in Solinus^b indications of the higher era, where the foundation of Rome in the seventh Olympiad is referred to the 433rd year after the fall of Troy. And the higher date is expressed by Eusebius, when he traces the time upwards from Ol. 1. to the capture of the city, and names 408 years as the computation of the Grecian chronographers^c. The capture of Troy was referred by many early authorities to the spring or the beginning of summer^d; and the 407 years assumed by Eratosthenes, or 408 years of

^b Solinus I. 27. *Collatis nostris et Graecorum temporibus invenimus incipiente Olympiade septima Romam conditam, anno post Ilium captum quadringentesimo tricesimo tertio. Quippe certamen Olympicum—Iphitus instauravit post excidium Trojae anno quadringentesimo octavo. Ita cum septima Olympiade cœptante Roma condita sit, inter exortum urbis et Trojam captam jure esse annos quadringentos et triginta tres constat.* Solinus has here expressed both computations, and the two accounts cannot stand together. The 408th year commencing with Ol. 1. 1 gives B. C. 1183. The 433rd year in Ol. 7. 1 ascends to the eighth year of the Metonic cycle, or June B. C. 1184.

^c Euseb. Praep. X. p. 484. A. ἀπὸ τῆς πράτης ὀλυμπίδος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀνέων χρόνος μέχρι τῆς Ἰλίου ἀδέσπει εἰρήσεις ἔτη συγκεφαλαιώμενα νῦν, ὡς αἱ παρὰ Ἐλλῆσι τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφαὶ περέχουσι. The writers to whom he refers might be Dionysius or those who agreed with Dionysius. Eusebius in his own computation errs two years in defect: Chron. I. p. 298. *Ab Ilio caplo ad primam Olympiadem anni sunt 405.* That these were his genuine numbers appears from his intervals: *Anno 835 Ilium captum est. Anno 1240 Olympias I.*

^d The days and months to which the capture was ascribed are ably illustrated by Mr. Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 329. They are contained in the following testimonies: Plutarch. Camill. c. 19. τῇ ἐβδόμῃ φθίνοντος Θαργηλίδον—περὶ ἣ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ Ἰλιον ἀδέσπει, ὡς Ἔφερος καὶ Καλλισθένης καὶ Δαμάστης καὶ Φύλαρχος ιστορήκασι. Clem. Strom. I. p. 321. D. quoted by Eusebius Praep. X. 12. p. 498. B. κατὰ τὸ ὁκτωκαΐδετον ἔτος τῆς Ἀγαρέμωνος βασιλεᾶς Ἰλίου ἑάλω, Δημοφόντος τῷ Θησέως βασιλεύοντος Ἀθήνης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει, Θαργηλίδος μηνὸς δευτέρᾳ ἐτὶ δέκα, ὡς φησι Διονίσιος ὁ Ἀργεῖος. Ἄγιας δὲ καὶ Δερκύλος [Ἄγιος δὲ καὶ Κέρκυνος Euseb.] ἐτὶ τῇ τρίτῃ, μηνὸς Πανέμονος ὄγδοη φθίνοντος Ἐλλάνικος γὰρ διδεκάτη Θαργηλίδος μηνὸς (καὶ ταὶς τῶν τὰ Ἀττικὰ συγγραφαὶ μετόποις) πληθυσθῆς σελήνης. “Νῦξ μὲν ἔην,” φησὶν ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεπωκὼς, “μετάτη, λαμπρὰ δὲ τέτελλε σελάνα.” ἔτεροι Σκιροφορίδος τῇ αὐτῇ ἥμέρᾳ. Schol.

Eur. Hec. 892. Καλλισθένης ἐν θέ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν αὖτα γράφει: “ἔάλω μὲν ἡ Τροία Θαργηλίδος μηνὸς, ὡς μὲν ταὶς τῶν ιστορικῶν [sic Matthiæus], ν [I. 7] ιστα- μένου, ὡς δὲ ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα, ὄγδοη φθίνοντος. διο- ρίζει γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν ἀλισσων, φάσκων συμβῆναι τότε τὴν κατάληψιν ἥντικα Νῦξ μὲν ἡ μέση λαμπρὰ δὲ τέτελλε σελήνη [Tzetz. ad Lyc. 344. ὡς δὲ Δέσχης φησὶν: “ἥντικα “νῦξ μὲν ἔην,” κ. τ. λ.]. μετονύκτιος δὲ μόνον τῇ ὄγδοῃ φθίνοντος ἀνατείλεται.” —Λυσίμαχος δέ φησι Δη- μοφόντος Ἀθήνης βασιλεύοντος ἔτους τετάρτου [forte πτώστου] Θαργηλίδος ισταμένου διδεκάτη. Mar. Par. No. 24 (25). μηνὸς Θ.....νος ἰβδόμη φθίνοντος. Dionysius, as we have seen, fixed it to the twenty-third of Thargelion. Lastly, we may add Tzetzes Posthom. 770—779.

διδεκάτη μὲν ἔην μηνὸς Θαργηλίδον—

Καλλιστὸν δὲ λέρεια κλειναῖς ἡ ἡ Ἀθήναις,
εἰκρτράτου μεγάλου λυκάβαντος κείνη ἐν ἄρρι,
κείνη πικτή ὁ Δέσχιος Ἐλλάνικος ἀλεῖ,
σὺν τῷ καὶ Δαῦρι, Τροίην ἐλεῖν παναχαῖος.

On the mistake of Callisto priestess of Athens for Callisto priestess at Argos see Dodwell de Cycl. p. 809. That Tzetzes is no authority for the quantity of the name Ἐλλάνικος appears by his neglect of quantity on other occasions, as in the following examples: Posthom. 124 Πρίσμας. 387 Πριάμοι. 237 Δαρδαῖοι. 252 Αρρᾶβων. 293 Αρρᾶβοι. 358, 385 Τράππαι. 503 Ευριπίδει. 738 Λατίναι. 60 ἀμεβόσιοι. 381 καρπύλαι. 434 φα-λαγγηδοι. 552 ὄραται. 485 δεριηράτος. And this very name is Ἐλλάνικος in v. 14. No just argument, then, can be founded upon Tzetzes v. 778 for the derivation of this name from νῦν.

Among the authorities here quoted, Hellanicus and Damastes may be placed at B. C. 460, Ephorus at B. C. 360, Callisthenes B. C. 340, Duris of Samos B. C. 280, the author of the Parian Marble B. C. 264. All these preceded Eratosthenes. Phylarchus was contemporary, and may be placed with Eratosthenes himself at B. C. 230, about the forty-sixth year of Eratosthenes. It is possible that some tradition had been preserved of the season of the year in which Troy was taken, and that the attempt of the early writers to assign the month and the day was founded upon this tradition.

Dionysius, would terminate about two months before the Olympic games in which *Coræbus* won.

Many writers who preceded Eratosthenes had referred the era to a lower date. We have seen^e that Isocrates, Ephorus, and Democritus, placed the war of Troy from thirty-three to sixty-three years below his date. Phanias of Eresus was fifty-five years below him^f, Sosibius twelve^g. Callimachus reckoned only fifty-two years between *Iphitus* and *Coræbus*, where Eratosthenes computed 108; a difference of fifty-six years: whence we may reasonably infer that Callimachus placed the Return and consequently the Trojan era fifty-six years below the epoch of Eratosthenes^h. And this epoch seems to assign too large a space to the Spartan,

^e F. H. II. p. V.

^f Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 337. Λ. ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλεῖδον καθίδου ἐπὶ Εὐαίστεον ἀρχούτα [B.C. 33½], ἐφ' ὃ φασιν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι, ὡς μὲν Φανεῖς, ἔτη ἑπτακούσια δέκα πέντε, ὡς δὲ Ἐφόρος, ἑπτακούσια τριάκοντα πέντε, ὡς δὲ Τίμαιος καὶ Κλείταρχος, ὑπτακούσια εἴκοσι, ὡς δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης, ἑπτακούσια ἐβδομήκοντα τέσσαρα. The date ascribed to Eratosthenes will be 774+335=B.C. 1109 for the Return. But he placed that event, as we know from Clemens himself, in B.C. 1103; a difference of six years. It is therefore probable that τέσσαρα is an interpolation, and that Clemens included both extremes in the computation. The description ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐαίστεον ἀρχούτα—Ἐρατοσθένης ἑπτακόντια ἐβδομήκοντα might then express in current numbers the period of Eratosthenes. The Return was in the eightieth year after the fall of Troy, commencing in the middle of B.C. 1104. The archonship of *Euaínetos* Ol. 111. 2 was completed in the middle of B.C. 334. If, then, the year of the Return was B.C. 1104, the passage of *Alexander* into Asia might be said to be in the 770th year. In the date of Ephorus there is a variation of twenty years in the account of Diodorus, which has been considered in F. H. II. p. VI. The numbers of Diodorus are thus made to give B.C. 1090, and of Clemens B.C. 1070. But applying the same rule of computation as in the case of Eratosthenes, and including both extremes, we shall have B.C. 1089 in the account of Diodorus and B.C. 1069 in the account of Clemens. The term of 820 years ascribed to Timæus and Clitarchus, and terminating with Ol. 111. 2 inclusive, or the middle of B.C. 334, will place their epoch for the Return at B.C. 1154. The date of Phanias reckoned to the same point will be B.C. 1049, or fifty-five years below Eratosthenes.

^g See for the epoch of Sosibius F. H. II. p. 409. III. p. 508. w.

^h According to Eratosthenes the Olympiad of *Coræbus* was the twenty-eighth, but according to Callimachus only the fourteenth, from the institution by *Iphitus*. See the testimonies in F. H. II. p. 410. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 512. ob-

serves, “Perhaps this [i. e. the difference between Callimachus and Eratosthenes]” is to be explained by supposing that the Olympiad of *Coræbus* was the first of four years, whereas the former Olympiads had contained nine years; in which case we have $12 \times 9 + 4 = 108$. This explanation is not satisfactory. 1. Eratosthenes supposed the former Olympiads to contain four years, for he reckoned twenty-seven Olympiads in 108 years, and $27 \times 4 = 108$. 2. Pausanias V. 7. 4. attests that the earliest traditions made the interval four years: “Ἡρακλεῖ πρόσεστι τῷ Ἰδαιῷ δίξι τὸν τέτε ἄγρων διαθέναι πρώτῳ καὶ Ὁλύμπια ἵμα θέσθαι. διὰ πέμπτου ὅλη ἔτους αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο ἄγεσθαι ἦτι αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πέντε ἥσαν ἀριθμόν. In Pindar Ol. III. 25–38=14–23 the interval is four years in the time of *Hercules*: ‘Αμφιτρωνάδας—πενταετηρίδ’ ἀμᾶ θῆκε. And the alternate periods of fifty and forty-nine months appear to be of the earliest institution: Porphyrius apud Schol. Hom. Il. κ. 252. τῶν ὀλυμπίων ἐναλλάξ ἀγούμενον διὰ τὸ μῆνας καὶ μῆνας, οἱ ποιηταὶ πεντηκοντάμηνον φασι τὴν πανήγυριν. Schol. Pindar. Ol. III. 35. γίνεται δὲ ἄγρων τοτὲ μὲν διὰ τεσσαροκότα ἑνέκα μηνῶν τοτὲ δὲ διὰ πεντήκοτα: ὅθεν καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ μηνὶ τοτὲ δὲ τῷ Παρθενῷ, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις Μεσωρὶ ή Θέσῃ, ἑπτελεῖται. The mention of the Egyptian months might have been added about A.D. 200, when *Thoth* had fallen back to July and *Mesori* to June. Mr. Boeckh ad Pindar. p. 138. ingeniously, perhaps truly, traces a reference to this period of fifty months in the fable of *Endymion* and his fifty daughters (apud Pausan. V. 1): *Endymioni Luna peperit quinquaginta filias, quibus significantur quinquaginta illi menses lunares*. But if the *Idæi Dactyli* were reckoned to be five because the Olympic festival recurred every fifth year (for we must thus invert the fable), and the daughters of *Endymion* were fifty because it recurred every fifty months, this period of four years for the games must have been of the highest antiquity, and coeval with the games themselves. 3. The proposition of Mr. Muller is inaccurately expressed; for if Callimachus reckoned the former Olympiads to

Messenian, and Arcadian kings. At Sparta 540 years from B. C. 1103 to B. C. 560 give thirty-six years each to the reigns of the *Agidae* and thirty-eight to the *Proclidæ*ⁱ. In Messenia *Cresphontes*, who came with the Dorians in B. C. 1103, fell early. *Androcles* fell by a faction in B. C. 744. And yet in this period of 360 years are only eight generations, from *Cresphontes* to *Androcles* both inclusive, or forty-five years to each generation. *Euphaës*, the ninth from *Cresphontes*, died in B. C. 730; and the nine generations (to *Euphaës* inclusive) in 373 years will give more than forty-one years to each^k. In Arcadia *Cypselus* had eight successors in the same period. *Cypselus* himself was already in the throne before the Return; but even including him in the account, we have $40 \times 9 = 360$, or forty years each for the nine Arcadian reigns^l. In the same space of time there were ten generations among the *Heraclidæ* of Corinth. *Hippotes* lived at the Return B. C. 1103. *Telestes*, who was slain in B. C. 747, was the tenth (both inclusive) from *Hippotes*. Ten generations in 356 years, or $35\frac{1}{2}$ years to each generation^m: a proportion not much exceeding the usual amount. But in the line of

have contained nine years, then his thirteen Olympiads would be $13 \times 9 = 117$ years instead of 108. But as the cycle of eight years or ninety-nine months is here intended by Mr. Muller (vol. I. p. 281), this supposed Olympiad of Calimachus would not have contained nine years, but eight: and $13 \times 8 = 104$, so that in neither method of computation could it have been brought to a conformity with the 108 years of Eratosthenes.

ⁱ See F. H. II. p. 206.

^k See the Table at p. 100. For *Cresphontes* and his son *Aepyrtus* see above p. 111. k. The descendants of *Aepyrtus* are given by Pausanias IV. 3, 5. 6. Λίτιτος—εἰς τοσοῦτο προέβη τιμῆς ἡώς καὶ τὸς ἀπογόνους Αἰτντίδας ἀπὸ Ἡρακλειῶν κληθῆραι. Γλάυκρ δὲ τῷ Αἴτντον βασιλεύσαντι μετὰ Αἴτντον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔζηρκετε μιμήσασθαι τὸν πατέρα ἐν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεάτρας, εὐθεβείρι δὲ ἐις τὰλέων προέβη κ. τ. λ. Ἱσθμίος δὲ ὁ Γλάυκους καὶ Ιερὸν τῷ Γοργύρασφ καὶ Νικομάχῳ [sons of Machaon] τὸ ἐν Φαρᾶν ἐποίησεν. Ἰσθμίος δὲ γίνεται Διωτάδας, δε—τὸ ἐν Μοθύνῃ ἐπίνειον κατεσκευάσατο. Συβότας δὲ ὁ Διωτάδα τῷ τε ποταμῷ κατεστήσατο τῷ Παμελῷ κατὰ ἔτος ἔκαστην θεῖν τὸν βασιλεύοντα, καὶ Εύριτρ τῷ Μελανέως ἐναγγίζειν ἐν Οίχαλῃ πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν, ἀγμένης ἔτι ἐν Ἀυδανίᾳ. IV. 4. 1. ἐπὶ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα—ἔγενετο πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίους διαφορὰ πρῶτον κ. τ. λ. In his reign *Telclitus* was slain: Ibid. In the next generation the first Messenian war began: Ibid. §. 3. γενεὴ δὲ ὑστερον βασιλεύοντος ἐν Δακεδαιμονὶ Ἀλκαρένους τοῦ Τηδέκλου, τῆς δὲ σικλας τῆς ἐπέρας Θεοπόμπου—Μεσσηνίων δὲ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ Φίντα [τὸν Φίντα Sylburg.]—Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ Μεσσηνίους ἔζηρθε τὸ ἐις ἀλλήλους μήσος κ. τ. λ.. *Androcles* was slain by the party of *Antiochus*: Ibid. 5, 2. οἱ σὺν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ τε Ἀνδροκλίᾳ καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς λόγου μάνιστα ἀξίους ἀποκτείνοντο—μηροὶ δὲ οἱ τολλοῖς ὑστερον Ἀντιόχου τελευτήσαντος Εἰράνης ὁ Ἀντιόχου παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν. On his accession the war began Ol. 9. 2. This account will place the death of *Androcles*, the eighth from

Cresphontes, in B. C. 744. According to the correction of Sylburgius *Antiochus* was also a son of *Phintas*, and *Euphaës*, who died in the 13th year of the war: Pausan. IV. 10, 3. and was the last of the *Aepytidæ*: Pausan. IV. 10, 4. was the ninth from *Cresphontes*.

^l *Echmis*, the ninth from *Cypselus*, both inclusive, was living in B. C. 743 (see p. 92. v), 360 years after the epoch of Eratosthenes B. C. 1103.

^m For the death of *Telestes* in B. C. 747, and for the six generations from *Prumnis* to *Telestes* inclusive, see the Tables B. C. 744. The dates of Diodorus there recorded will place the accession of *Prumnis* at B. C. 959. This leaves 144 years B. C. 1103—960 for the three reigns or generations of *Aletes*, *Ixion*, and *Agelas*. Paus. II. 4, 3. Δωριεῖς στρατεύοντις ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἥγειτο δὲ Ἀλήτης Ἰπτέτου τοῦ Φύλαντος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους.—τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ὁ δῆμος ἔξεπεν ὑπὸ Δωριέων κρατηθεὶς μάχῃ. Ἀλήτης δὲ αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι βασιλεύοντος ἐις μὲν Βάρχην τὸν Πρωμανδός ἐπὶ γενεὰς τέντε. Diod. apud Syncellum p. 179. C = tom. IV. p. 14. οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι κατὰ τὴν διαιρεσιν ἔξαιρετο ποιοῦμενοι τὴν Κορινθίαν καὶ τὴν ταῦτης πλησιόχωρον διεπέραντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀλήτην, παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὴν προσιρητήν χάραν. ἐπιφανῆς δὲ ἀπὸρος γενόμενος καὶ τὴν Κόρινθον αὐξήσας ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπη λῆ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν ὁ πρεσβύτατος δεῖ τὸν ἐκγύνων ἐβασίλευεν μεχρὶ τῆς Κυψέλου τυραννίδος, ἣτις τῆς καθόδου τοῦ Ἡρακλειῶν ὑστερεῖ ἔτος νυκτὸς. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς διεδέκατο τὸν βασιλεῖαν Ἰειναὶ ἐπη λῆ. μετὸν ἦρκειν Ἀγέλας ἐπη λῆς. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Πρωμανδός κ. τ. λ. The same numbers are in the Armenian Eusebius I. p. 164, 165. Diodorus, who dated the Return B. C. 1104 and reckoned 447 years from that era to *Cypselus*, placed the reign of *Cypselus* about two years too high. See the Tables B. C. 625. The 447 years Diodorus thus distributes: 234 years to the *Bacchiadæ*, 70 years to *Prumnis* and *Bacchis* (see the Tables B. C. 744); leaving 143 years for the preceding period. But his amount for the reigns

Theras the generations are far beyond their ordinary length. In the fourth year of the first Messenian war the Lacedæmonians are commanded by *Euryleon* the fifth descendant of *Aegeus*, who was the grandson of *Theras*. From *Theras* therefore inclusive (the uncle of

from the 1st of *Aletes* to *Cypselus* expresses only 417 years: p. 180. A.B. and for the three first reigns only 113 years, leaving a deficiency of 30. These are supplied by Didymus apud Schol. Pindar. Ol. XIII. 17. Ἀλήτης ἤγαστο τῆς ἀποκλασίας τῶν Ἡρακλεῖδῶν, ὅτε οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι κατέσταν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡρακλεῖδων. ἦν γὰρ Ἰππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος τῶν Ἀγιόχου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. οὗτος ἐκράτησε Κορίνθον—Διδύμος δέ φησι τὸν Ἀλήτην μὴ οἰκιστὴν τῆς Κορίνθου γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ βασιλέα ἔτει τριακοστῷ μετὰ τὴν τῶν Δωριέων ἄφξιν. According to this account, combined with Diodorus, *Aletes*, who began to reign in the 30th year current, or 29 years complete, after the Return, was still living 67 years after that epoch. And this is confirmed by the narrative in Conon 26. apud Phot. Cod. 186. p. 437. that *Aletes* was born after the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, and that he conducted the expedition in which *Codrus* fell, 59 years after it: φάσμα Ἀπόλλωνος ὄνυμα Κάρον Δωριεῦσιν ἐπόμενον Ἰππότης τις τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀναιρεῖ, ὅτε κατέσταν εἰς Πελοπόννησον Ἡρακλεῖδαι [conf. Apollod. II. 8, 3. τῶντος βασιλών Ἰππότης ὁ Φύλαντος τοῦ Ἀγιόχου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀπέκτενεν]. Σενομᾶς apud Euseb. Præp. V. p. 210. D. διακοντίζει Κάρον Ἰππότης Φύλαντος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν κ. τ. λ. Pausan. III. 13, 3. τῶν τὸν Κάροντα ἀποκτείναντος Ἰππότου—Ιππότης ἔφυγε ἐπὶ τῷ φυγῇ. Conf. Schol. Theocrit. V. 83], καὶ λαμποῦ τούτους προτερόντος χρησμὸν λαβόντες ἥλασαν τὸν Ἰππότην τοῦ στρατοπέδου μάντις δὲ τὸ φάσμα τοῦ Δωριεῦσιν. Ἡρακλεῖδαι μὲν κάθοδος εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐγένετο· δὲ Ἰππότης ἀλέσμενος τίκτει ταῖδα, ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος Ἀλήτην καλέσας [conf. Etym. Magn. v. Ἀλήτης Ruhnk. ad Vell. I. 3, 3], ὃς ἀνδρωθεὶς καὶ μοιραν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ συλλέξας, καὶ Σισυφίδας ἐκβαθῶν Κορίνθου βασιλέας ἔντας καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷς Ἰωνας, ἀνεικίζει τὴν τόλμην καὶ ἔχει κατὰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτε καὶ χρησμὸν λαρύζαντος νικήσειν εἰ ἀπόσχοντο τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀθηναίων. καὶ τοῦ χρησμοῦ γνωσθέντος Ἀθηναῖς, τείθουσι Κέδρον ἐβομβικοτούτην ὅπα ἐκώντα δοῦναι ἕκατον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. According to one account *Aletes* was driven from Corinth and recovered it again: Hesych. Δίος Κέρινθος.—Ἀλήτην φασὶ φεύγοντα κατελθεῖν θυντόμενον εἰς Κορίνθον, καὶ βουκάλου τινὸς ἀπαντήσαντος αἰτεῖν τροφήν· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν τροφὴν μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν ἔργατα δὲ βαῖλον δοῦναι αὐτῷ, ὡς τὸν Διὸς ὄντα· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν—“δέχεται καὶ “βῖλον Ἀλήτης.” Conf. Zenob. III. 21. 22. In Schol. Pindar. Nem. VII. 158. no mention is made of the previous exile: Ἀλήτης περὶ τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ βασιλείας προσῆλθε τῷ μαντείῳ τῷ ἐν Δωδόνῃ, δέστι τοῦ Διός· καὶ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ τότε κρατήσειν ὅτε τις δῆ βῖλον γῆς· ἐπιθέσθαι δὲ ἡμέρᾳ πολυτεφάνῳ κ. τ. λ. The war in which he acquired Corinth is touched upon by Thucydides IV. 42. ὁ Σολύγιος λόρος—ἐφ’

ἐν Δωρίης τὸ πάλαι θρυβάτες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορινθίοις ἐποίειν, ὅποις Αἰδεῖσι. The traditions, then, concerning *Aletes* are consistent with the interval recorded by Didymus of 30 current years. But it may be conjectured from Strabo quoted in the Tables B. C. 744 that some accounts made the period from the death of *Bacchis* to the death of *Telestes* 34 years less than Diodorus. The omission of these years would bring down *Prumnis* to B. C. 925 and the Return to B. C. 1067. The period for the ten generations ending with *Telestes* B. C. 747 will in this case be 320 years, or 32 years to each; and the series of reigns adapted to the true accession of *Cypselus* will give the following positions:

	B.C.
Return of the Heraclidae ... (30)	29...1067
<i>Aletes</i> acquires Corinth	38...1038
<i>Ixion</i> and <i>Agelas</i>	75...1000
<i>Prumnis</i> and <i>Bacchis</i>	70... 925
<i>Bacchiadæ</i>	200... 855
<i>Cypselus</i>	655

A reduced epoch for the Return, which will be given below, will place the Return, and consequently *Aletes*, yet nineteen years lower; leaving 164 years B. C. 1019—856 for the first five Corinthian reigns: a more probable amount than the 183 years of Diodorus.

Eusebius, placing the first of *Aletes* at the eighty-second year after the fall of Troy, thus arranges the Corinthian reigns:

Anno	
917	<i>Aletes</i>
952	<i>Ixion</i>
989	<i>Agelas</i>
1026	<i>Prumnis</i>
1060	<i>Bacchis</i> (35)
1096	<i>Agelas</i>
1126	<i>Eudemus</i>
1151	<i>Aristomedes</i>
1186	<i>Agemon</i>
1202	<i>Alexander</i>
1227	<i>Telestes</i>
1239	<i>Automenes</i>
1240	<i>Principes annui</i> .
1359	<i>Cypselus</i> .

Leaving 119 years instead of ninety to the annual *prytaneis*. He had neglected the twenty-nine years' interval which preceded the reign of *Aletes*, and supplied them by adding that amount to the *prytaneis*; and, as *Cypselus* is placed two years too early (see the Tables B. C. 625), the effect of this double error is, that all the reigns are carried upwards thirty-one years too high.

Eurythenes and *Procles*) to this period are seven generations. Seven generations in 360 years, or fifty-one years to each ⁿ. The perpetual archons at Athens may be easily adapted to the epoch of Eratosthenes. His dates will give 290 years B. C. 1043—754 for 13 reigns, little more than 22 years to each ^o.

ⁿ Pausan. IV. 7, 3. τὸ μέσον εἶχεν Εύριδέν, τὰ μὲν παρόντα Λακεδαιμόνιος, τὰ δὲ ἀρχῆς δὲ ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ τὸ Θηβᾶν, Αἰγέων τοῦ Ολόκεντος τοῦ Θήρα τοῦ Αὐτεσίωνος ἀπόγονος πέμπτος. *Oelycus* son of *Theras* is named by Herodotus IV. 149, οὗνον τῷ νεφρίσκῳ τούτῳ Ολόκεντος ἐγένετο—Ολόκεντος δὲ γίνεται Αἴγεις, ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἴγειδαι καλεῖται, φυλὴ μεγάλῃ ἐν Σαράργῃ. Pausan. III. 15, 6. Ολόκεντος τοῦ Θήρα, καὶ Αἴγεων τῶν Ολόκεντος. *Theras* was the brother of *Argia* and the guardian of *Eurythenes* and *Procles*: see above p. 86. l. When his nephews grew up, unwilling to return to a private station, he led a colony to Callistē, from him called *Thera*; from whence afterwards proceeded the more celebrated settlement of Cyrenē: Herodot. IV. 147. Θήρας—έστελλε ἐξ ἀτοικίης ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίου;—αὐτῆσθίντος δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ παραλαβόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν, οὗτος δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινὸν τοιεύμενος ἄρχοσθαι ὑπὲν ἄλλων, ἐτεί τε ἐγείσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μενεῖν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀλλὰ ἀποτλεσθεῖν ἐξ τοῖς συγγενέας. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἱνδὶ Θήρη καλεομένη νῆσφ, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστη τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ, ἀπόγονος Μεμβλιάρεων τοῦ Ποικίλεων, ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος. Κάδμος γάρ δὲ Ἀγγήρος—καταλείπεις ἐν τῇ νῆσφ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοίνικων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐντοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλιάρων, ὅπου ἀνέματο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενέας, πρὶν δὲ Θήρας ἀλλεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίου, ὀπτὼν ἀνδρῶν. Strabo VIII. p. 347. Μινῶν τινὲς μετὰ Θήρα τοῦ Αὐτεσίωνος (ἥν δὲ οὐτος τοῦ Ποικίλους ἀπόγονος) πλεύσαντες, εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ Κυρηναίας καὶ τῆς Κρήτης νῆσον “Καλλίστην τὸ πάροθε, τὸ δὲ ὑπερτερον οὖνομα Θήρην,” ὡς φησι: Καλλίμαχος, ἔκπισαν τὸν μητρόπολιν τῆς Κυρήνης Θήραν. Schol. Apollon. IV. 1764. ἥν δὲ Θήρας ἀπὸ

Οἰδίποδος ἔχων τὸ γένος· Αὐτεσίωνος γάρ ἥν τοῦ Τιτανερενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Ποικίλους τοῦ Οἰδίποδος. συνηκολούθησαν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν τῷ Θήρᾳ καὶ Δήμαις κ. τ. λ. See above p. 96. s. Callimach. H. Apoll. 74.

ἐκ μέν σε Σπάρτης ἔκτον γένος Οἰδίποδας
ἥγανε Θηραίνης ἐξ ἀπόκτισιν—

The six generations are in the Scholiast ad l. but in a wrong order. This colony is also mentioned by Pausanias III. 15, 4. He places it in the generation before the Ionic migration: VII. 2, 2. γενεῷ μιᾷ πρότερον ἡ ἐξέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἰανεῖς, Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Μανίας τοὺς ἐκβιλθέντας ὑπὸ Πελαστοῦ [Πελαστοῦ with Palmerius: see above p. 96. s] ἐκ Δήμου Θήρας ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος Θηβαῖος ἥγανεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον κ. τ. λ. We may place the colony of *Theras* about 30 years after the return of the Heraclidae, which agrees with this date of Pausanias, about 110 years after the fall of Troy and 30 before the migration of *Neleus*. Pausanias III. 1, 7. again mentions this colony and names *Membliarus*: Μεμβλιάρον ἄνδρα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου Κάδμου ἐν τῇ νῆσφ κατέλιπεν. who is also mentioned Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 88. ὑπέμειναν ἐν Θήρᾳ μετὰ Μεμβλιάρεων τοῦ Κάδμου συνεξορμήσαντος Φοίνισται τινες γυναῖκες.

^o The years of the 13 perpetual archons are given with some variations by Castor apud Euseb. p. 137. by Eusebius in his Tables p. 304—320. by Syncellus, and by the Excerpta Latino-Barbara apud Scalig. p. 76. described above at p. 60. h. The variations are these:

	Castor.	Euseb. Chron.	Syncell.	Excerpt.	
				Anno	
1. <i>Medon</i>	(9)	20	948 ... 20	p. 178. D. 20	20
2. <i>Acastus</i>	36	968 ... 36 .....	..... 35 .....	..... 39	
3. <i>Archippus</i>	19	1004 ... 19	p. 185. A. 19 .....	..... 40	
4. <i>Thersippus</i>	41	1023 ... 41 .....	..... 40 .....	..... 23	
5. <i>Phorbas</i>	30	1064 ... 31 .....	..... 30 .....	..... 33	
6. <i>Megacles</i>	30	1095 ... 30 .....	..... 28 .....	..... 28	
7. <i>Diognetus</i>	28	1125 ... 28 .....	..... 28 .....	..... 28	
8. <i>Pherecles</i>	19	1153 ... 19 .....	..... 19 .....	..... 15	
9. <i>Ariphron</i>	20	1172 ... 20 .....	..... 20 .....	..... 30	
10. <i>Thespicus</i>	(7)	1192 ... 27	p. 195. C. 27 .....	..... 40	
11. <i>Agamemnon</i>	17	1219 ... 20 .....	..... 17 .....	..... 26	
12. <i>Æschylus</i>	23	1239 ... 23	p. 195. C. 14	(14)	
13. <i>Alcmaeon</i>	2	1262 ... 2	p. 211. C. 2 .....	..... 10	
	312	316	299 .....	..... 346	
To the 1st of <i>Æschylus</i>	287	291	283 .....	..... 322	

The epoch, however, of Eratosthenes for the Trojan war was at a lower point than the dates of many other writers. The Parian Marble placed that event 26 years, Herodotus about 80 years, Duris 150, above the date of Eratosthenes p. In the Life of Homer ascribed

Archippus is placed by Philochorus 180 years after Troy: see above p. 120. k. and reigned 35 years according to Tzetzes ad Hesiod. p. 14. Gaisf. δ ὁ "Ἀρέπτος ὀπτος μᾶς ἦν Ἀκάστου, ἄρξας Ἀθηναῖν ἔτη λε". *Acastus*, however, is placed by Euthymenes apud Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. A. 200 years after the Trojan era. *Phorbas* is mentioned by Pausanias VI. 19. 9. who records a war between Megara and Corinth in his time: ταῦτη Μεγαρεῖσιν ἡγάμαι τὴν νίκην Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος γενέσθαι Φόρβαντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βίου παντίς ἐνιαύσιας γὰρ οὐκ ἥσάν τα τότε Ἀθηναῖς αἱ ἄρχαι, οὐ μῆρος οὐδὲ ἵππο Ηλείων ἀνεγράφοντό τα τηριαῖτα αἱ ἀνυπιάδες, λέγονται δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι μετασχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους Μεγαρεῖσι τοῦ ἔργου. *Ariphron* had 31 years in Africanus: Syncell. I. c. ἔτη κ'. κατὰ δὲ Ἀφρικανὸν ἔτη λα'. *Thespies* in some authors had 40 years: Syncell. I. c. ἔτη κξ'. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους ἔτη μ'. which is the number assigned in Excerpt. Barbar. *Agamestor* had 27: Syncell. I. c. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους ἔτη κξ'. which again nearly agrees with the 26 years in Excerpt. Barbar. In the Excerpta Barbara the years of *Æschylus* are obliterated: *Thersippus ann. XXIII. Æschylus an..... Æschylus anno secundo prima Olympiada adducta est a Græcis.* He then numbers *Alcmaeon* 10, the decennial archons 70 years, and concludes, *cessavit regnum Athineorum in Olympiada vice-sima quarta.* This account leaves 93 years (Ol. 1. 1—24. 1 inclusive) from the 2nd of *Æschylus* inclusive to the end of the decennial archons: of which period 80 years are occupied by *Alcmaeon* and his successors. 13 years therefore remain for *Æschylus*, from his 2nd year inclusive. Hence we obtain 14 years for the reign of *Æschylus* according to this author, agreeing with the number in Syncellus. Corsini tom. III. p. LXII., exhibiting the chronology of this author, very inaccurately omits *Thersippus* (who had been transposed), and gives *Æschylus* 27 years: "facile 27." There were three modes of arranging the reigns of *Æschylus* and *Alcmaeon*. First, *Æschylus* had 14 + *Alcmaeon* 10 = 24 years, and the 23 years from Ol. 1. 1 to the first decennial archon were reckoned *Æschylus last* 13 + *Alcmaeon* 10. This was the reckoning of the Excerpta Barbaro-Latina. Secondly, *Æschylus* 23 + *Alcmaeon* 2 = 25; and the 23 years were *Æschylus last* 21 + *Alcmaeon* 2. This was the computation of Castor and Eusebius. The third method, as will be seen in the Tables B. C. 776, gives to *Æschylus* 23 + *Alcmaeon* 12 = 35; adding 10 years to the preceding period, and expressing

the 23 years by *Æschylus last* 11 + *Alcmaeon* 12. Syncellus has confounded all the three methods of reckoning. He gives 14 years to *Æschylus* with the first, two years to *Alcmaeon* with the second, and places the first Olympiad in the 13th of *Æschylus* with the third.

The first year of *Æschylus*, as will be seen in the Tables B. C. 776, was still current in July B. C. 777. The death of *Codrus* was 59 years after the return of the *Heraclidae*: see above p. 121. and this date, computed by the epoch of Eratosthenes, will place the death of *Codrus*, and consequently the accession of *Medon*, at B. C. 1044; which leaves an interval of only 267 years for the eleven Attic archons. The numbers, then, in the preceding lists exceed the truth (according to the received Trojan era) 16, 20, 24, and 55 years respectively; carrying back, as we have seen p. 121. l. the time of *Codrus* above its true position. These years for the Attic archons were probably fixed by those who assigned the Trojan era to a higher date than that of Eratosthenes. The Parian Marble places the Ionic migration, as we have seen p. 122. l. at B.C. 1077, and the 1st of *Æschylus* at B.C. 777 or 787: see the Tables B. C. 757. leaving 290 or 300 years between the death of *Codrus* and the 1st of *Æschylus*. The author therefore adopted in some reigns the longer computations, which are exhibited in Excerpt. Barbar., as Mr. Boeckh has argued Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 333. But we have no evidence that he placed B. C. 1077 at the 13th of *Medon*, and no authority for pronouncing how he arranged the detail of these reigns.

The period of 267 years distributed among the eleven reigns will give 24 years to each. If we reduce the period by deducting with Callimachus and Phanias 56 years, we have 211 for the interval, and an average for each reign of 19 years.

p See F. H. II. p. VI. for the date of Duris. The Parian Marble placed the fall of Troy 945 years before the summer solstice of B. C. 264: see p. 60. h. and F. H. III. p. 9. 11. which gives Thargelion of B. C. 1209 for the capture. The date of Herodotus cannot be determined to a single year, since it is obtained by computing periods in round numbers upwards from his own time; and, when neither the point from which we proceed nor the point to which we reckon can be precisely fixed, exactness is not to be expected. His date is made B. C. 1282 by Fréret,

to Herodotus the date assigned is B. C. 1270^q, 87 years above the epoch of Eratosthenes. The period ascribed by Thucydides to the Melians carries upward the capture of Troy beyond the received epoch. Thucydides^r records that Melos had been planted by the Lacedæmonians 700 years before B. C. 416, consequently in B. C. 1116. But this island was occupied in the third generation after the return of the *Heraclidæ*, in the reign of *Agis* son of

1270 by Reizius and Larcher, 1252 by Bouhier, all founding their calculations on the same passage : Herodot. II. 145. Διονίσῳ μὲν νῦν τῷ ἐκ Σεμένης τῆς Κάδου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ (ἔξηκοτα) ἔτεα καὶ χλίσα μάλιστα ἐτοί εἰ; ἐμέ· Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακότα ἔτεα. Πανὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηγελόπτης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἐρμέων λέγεται γένεσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἀλλούς ἔτεα ἔστι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, κατὰ τὰ ὄκτακόσια μάλιστα εἰς ἐμέ. *Pan* is the son of *Penelope* and *Hermes* in Lucian. D. D. tom. II. p. 77. Hygin. Fab. 224. p. 345. Plutarch. Def. Ὁρ. p. 419. E. Schol. Theocr. I. 123. οἱ μὲν Πηγελόπτης καὶ Ὀβουσίας, ἡ Ἐρμών, or *Penelope* and *Apollo* : Schol. Eur. Rhes. 36. ex Cod. Vat. ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Πηγελόπτης (τὸν Πάνα), δὲ καὶ Εὐφορίον, or *Penelope* and the suitors : Serv. ad Aen. II. 44. Ex *Penelope et procis omnibus natus,—quāquam alii hunc de Mercurio natum ferunt*. Schol. Theocr. VII. 109. ἐκ τῆς Πηγελόπτης συλλαβούσθης ἐκ τῶν μητρόπτερων—ἔτεοι δὲ λέγονται τὸν Ἐρμῆν εἰς τράγου μεταβληθέντα κ. τ. λ. Born according to Lucian before the marriage of *Ulysses*; but Herodotus supposes the birth of *Pan* during the absence of *Ulysses*, as Hemst. ad Lucian. l. c. explains. Consequently within 10 years of the fall of Troy ; and the capture may be placed about 809 years before the time of Herodotus. But if we reckon this period from his 30th year B. C. 454, we obtain 809 + 454 = B. C. 1263 for the Trojan era of Herodotus. If the number ἔξηκοτα is rightly substituted in Herodot. l. c. (conf. Wess. ad loc.), we shall have the following periods :

	B. C.
<i>Bacchus</i>	130
..... 1060	1514
<i>Hercules</i>	91
..... 900	1354
<i>Fall of Troy</i>	9
..... 809	1263
<i>Pan</i>	—
..... 800	1254

Two other passages in Herodotus confirm these dates : I. 7. Κανδαύλης—ἀπέγνως Ἀλκαιὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέος: "Ἄγρων γὰρ ὁ Νίνος τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαιοῦ πρώτος Ἡρακλειδένιος βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίου, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρου βασιλεὺς.—ἄρκατες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενέας ἀνδρῶν ἔτεα πέντε τε καὶ τεττακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἀδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν μέχρι Κανδαύλου τοῦ Μύρου. The kingdom of *Candaules* ended B. C. 716: see the Tables. The four generations from *Hercules* to *Ninus* inclusive will make 133 years. But 133 + 505 + 716 = B. C. 1354 for the time of *Hercules*. Idem II. 13. Μολὼν οὐκοῦ ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακότα τετελευτηκότι: ἵτε τῶν ἱέσιν ταῖτα ἐγώ ἔκουσα. If we

assign with Larcher the visit of Herodotus to Egypt to B. C. 460, his 24th year (before his journey into Greece in B. C. 456), we have less than B. C. 1360, or about B. C. 1355, for the death of *Mæris*. After *Mæris*, reigned *Sesostris*, *Pheron*, *Proteus*: Herodot. II. 102—111. 112. and *Proteus* was contemporary with the Trojan war : 112—120. But the Trojan era of Herodotus being B. C. 1263 will leave about 92 years for these three reigns. Reizius in *Præfat.* p. XXVI. without reason suspects error in this account of the time of *Mæris*; which is entirely consistent with the dates of Herodotus already examined. But we may wonder at the inconsistency of Herodotus with himself in placing *Hercules* at B. C. 1354; for he reckons three generations to a century : II. 142. γενεαὶ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἐκατὸν ἔτεα ἔστι. And enumerates 20 generations from *Hercules* to *Leonidas*: VII. 204. and 21 from *Hercules* to *Leotychides*: VIII. 131. if we retain *Eunomus* and insert *Soüs*, omitted in the present copies. But these 21 generations, according to his own rule of computation, will give 693 + 480 = B. C. 1173 for the ἀκμὴ of *Hercules*, or 181 years below the date assigned.

^q Auctor Vitæ Homeri c. 38. The author, having fixed the foundation of Smyrna at 168 years from the fall of Troy (see p. 105. t), thus proceeds : καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γίνεται Ὁμηρος. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ Ὁμηρος ἐγένετο ἔτεα ἔστιν ἔξακότα εἴκοσι δύο μέχρι τῆς Εἵρετος διαβάσεως.—τῶν δὲ Τρωϊκῶν ὅστερον γέγονεν Ὁμηρος ἔτεσιν ἐκατὸν ἔξηκοτα ὥκτω.

The dates obtained are these :

	y.	B. C.
Troy taken	130	1270
Lesbos occupied	20	168
Cymē founded	18	1120
Smyrna	622	1102
Expedition of Xerxes		480

This author agrees with Herodotus in the era of the Trojan war, but differs from him in the time of *Homer*, whom Herodotus in his genuine work places more than 400 years below the Trojan war. Compare Herodot. II. 53. II. 145.

^r Thucyd. V. 84. οἱ δὲ Μῆλοι Λακεδαιμονίου εἰσὶν ἀποικοι. Herodot. VIII. 48. Μῆλοι γένος ἔστες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονος. Thucyd. V. 112. πόλεις ἐπτακότια ἔτη γῆδη οἰκουμένης, referring to B. C. 416. See F. H. II. p. 74.

Eurysthenes^s; which will place the colony about 70 years after the Return, or 150 years after the fall of Troy. And $150 + 1116 = \text{B.C. } 1266$ for the Trojan era, which agrees with the date of Herodotus^t. A period of 1000 years from the capture of Troy was supposed by the Locrians of Opus to have terminated after the Phocian war, according to the account of Timaeus, giving, as already observed, B.C. 1346, nearly coinciding with the date of Duris^v.

^s Conon Narr. 36. Φιλόνομος δὲ Σπαρτιάτης πρόδος Δακεδαιμόνων Δωρεῖσι δόροι ἔχει Ἀμύκλας, καὶ συνειδέει ταῦτην ἐξ Ἰμβρου καὶ Λήμου. τρίτη δὲ γενεὴ σπασιδάσατες πρὸς Δωρέας μετανοσάσταις Ἀμυκλῶν, συμπαραλαβόντες δὲ καὶ τινας Σπαρτιατῶν, ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν Πόλιδος καὶ Δελφοῦ, ἔτλεν ἐσὶ τῇς Κρήτῃ. ἐν τῷ παράπλεῳ δὲ τοῦδε τοῦ στόλου Μῆλον Ἀπόδασμα [conf. Wyttēnb. ad Plutarchum p. 247. D. post Larcherum] οἰκεῖται. The fugitives from Lemnos who accompanied Pollis were the *Minyæ*, who had been driven thence by the *Tyrrheno-Pelasgi* about 100 years after the fall of Troy: see p. 96. n. Plutarch Mor. p. 247. A. B., who confounds the *Tyrrheno-Pelasgi* with the *Minyæ*, nevertheless in other particulars agrees with the narrative and the date of Conon: εἰς Ταίναρον κατάρατες ἔγενοτο χρήσιμοι Σπαρτιάταις περὶ τὸν Εἴλωτικὸν πόλεμον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολιτείας καὶ γέμων τυχόντες, οὐκ ἀξιόμενοι δὲ ἄρχεσσιν καὶ βουλῆς, ἐπόνοισαν ἔσχον ὡς ἐπὶ γεωτερισμῷ συνερχόμενοι κ. τ. λ.—ἐκ δὴ τούτων καταλαβομένων αὐτῶν τὰ Ταῦγετα καὶ τὸ Εἴλωτικὸν ἀφιστάντων καὶ προσδεχομένων, οἱ Σπαρτιάται εἰς πολὺν φίβον καταστάτες ἐπεκρυκεῖσαντο, καὶ διηλλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ κομίσασθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς τὰς γηναῖκας χρήματα δὲ καὶ ναῦν λαβόντας ἐκτελεύσαντο, καὶ γῆς τυχόντας ἀλλαχθεῖσαι καὶ πόλεις ἀποκούς Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ συγγενεῖς νομίζεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐφαττον οἱ Πελαστοὶ [in reality the *Minyæ*], Πόλιοι ἥγειναι καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ Κραταΐδα Δακεδαιμονίους λαβόντες καὶ μέρος μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν Μήλῳ κατοικησαν, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους οἱ περὶ Πόλιον ἔχοντες εἰς Κρήτην ἔτλευσαν. Polyænus VII. 49. copies the narrative and retains the mistake of Plutarch: Τυρρηνὸν οἱ Δῆμοι καὶ Ἰμβρὸν κατασχόντες—εἰς Ταίναρον κατασχόντες Σπαρτιάταις περὶ τὸν Εἴλωτικὸν πόλεμον συνερχόμενοι κ. τ. λ.—δεῖσαντες οἱ Δάκοντες ἐπεκρυκεῖσαντο—ἔδυκαν δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς, καὶ ὡς ἀποκούς Δακεδαιμονίων ἐξέπεμψαν. Οἱ Πόλιοι καὶ Δελφοὶ in Conon and Πόλιλοι καὶ ἀδελφοὶ in Plutarch, see Wyttēnb. ad Plutarch. p. 247. C. The war with the Helots was carried on in the reign of Agis: see F. H. II. p. 405. n. The *Minyæ*, then, might accompany Pollis about 70 years after the Return and about 50 after their expulsion from Lemnos, coinciding with the description τρίτη γενεὴ, in the time of the grandson of Aristodemus. According to Herodotus, however, IV. 145—148 (who is followed by Pausanias VII. 2), the fugitive *Minyæ* who had occupied Taygetus accompanied Theras in his earlier migration to Callistē, 40 years before the date assigned to Pollis. We may recon-

cile the two accounts by supposing that a part of the *Minyæ* followed *Theras* and a part remained behind till the time of the second migration, to Melos.

^t The opinion of Thucydides himself cannot be distinctly ascertained. In V. 112. he speaks in the person of the Melians. In VI. 2. he observes that, after the Trojan war, Σικελοὶ ἐξ Ἰταλίας διέβησαν εἰς Σικελίαν—ἔτη ἑγγὺς τριακόσια πρὶν Ἐλλήνας εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπέθεν. That is, 300 years before B.C. 735 = B.C. 1035. But he does not mark how long an interval from the fall of Troy had passed before their arrival.

^v See F. H. III. p. 490. x. The practice of sending two Locrian maidens annually to minister in the temple of Minerva at Ilium is noticed by Aelian apud Suid. v. τοιη. Αἰλιανός: “ὅτι Ἄπολλων φησὶ πρὸς Δακρόδην, μὴ ἀνὰ αὐτοῖς τὸ δεῖνόν λαθεῖν· “φῆσεν εἰ μὴ τέμποιν ἀνὰ τὰν ἔτος δύο παρθένους εἰς τὴν Ἰλιον τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς, Καστάνδρας ποιήν, ἵνα ἀνὰ διεσπησθεῖν· “τε τὴν θεόν.” Plutarch. S. N. V. 557. D. οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ Δακρόδης πέμπεται εἰς Τροίαν πέπαυται τὰς παρθένους,

αἵ καὶ ἀναμπέχοντο γυμναῖς τοσὶν, ἥπτε δοῦλαι,
ἥπται σειρέσκον Ἀθηνᾶς περὶ βαμμὸν
νυσφὶ κρηδέμνοις, καὶ εἰ βαρὺ γῆρας ικάνοι.

Polyb. XII. 5. τὰς ἐκατὸν οἰκλας—ἐξ ἀνέμελλον εἰς Δακρόδης κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν κλήρου τὰς ἀποσταλησομένας παρθένους εἰς Ἰλιον. Επειάς Tact. c. 31. p. 99. οἱ γοῦν περὶ Ἰλιον ἀνθρώποι εἰς τοσούτου χρόνου δαι τοῦτο διατεταγμένοι αὕτη δύνανται φυλάκαι μὴ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς Δακρίδας, καίτιν τοσοῦτόν ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ ἡ φυλακή. Strabo XIII. p. 600. affirms that this annual practice began after the time of Cyrus B.C. 559: λέγοντο δὲ οἱ νῦν Ἰλιεῖς καὶ τοῦτο, ὃς οὐδὲ τελέως συνέβαινεν ἡραντίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὴν ἀλλων ἵπο τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, οὐδὲ ἐξέλειφθεὶς αὐτούτοις. αἱ γοῦν Δακρίδες πάρενοι μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀρέβαμεναι ἐπέμποντο κατ' ἔτος. καὶ ταῦτα δ' οὐχὶ Ὁμηρικά κ. τ. λ.—τὰς δὲ Δακρίδας πεμφθῆναι Περσῶν ἥδη κρατούντων συνέβη. The period of 1000 years is mentioned by Iamblichus Vit. Pythag. c. 8. p. 88. τὸν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἀντιταξαμένων, ἐκατέρους δὲ ἑνὸς ἀκρασίας ταῖς δεινοτάταις περιπεσεῖσιν συμφοραῖς, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἀνάπλουν. καὶ μόνης τῆς ἀδικίας τὸν θεὸν δεκετῆ καὶ χίλιετη τάξαι τὴν τιμωρίαν, χρησματίζοντα τὴν τε τῆς Τροίας ἀλωσιν καὶ τὴν τὸν παρθένων ἀποστολὴν παρὰ τὸν Δακρόδην εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος ιερόν. Schol. Hom. Il. s'. 66. Ἀθηνᾶ—τοὺς Δακρίδας ἥράγκαστεν ἐσὶ χίλια ἔτη εἰς Ἰλιον ἐκ κλήρου παρθένους πέμπειν.

Timæus himself computed the time more largely than Eratosthenes, although his precise date for the Trojan war cannot be now ascertained ^w.

Larcher ^x has adopted as the basis of his chronology the higher date for the war of Troy, which he obtained from Herodotus. His volume on the chronology is perspicuously arranged and written, and contains many learned and ingenious observations. But he is too much prejudiced in favour of his own theories. His object is to justify the chronology of his author; and, in doing this, he appears to distinguish but little between a conjectural and an authenticated date. He treats them as equivalent, and having established an hypothesis, he insensibly forgets that it is an hypothesis, and draws conclusions from it as if it were a fact of acknowledged authority. The fall of Troy he fixes with Fréret at B. C. 1270, and the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus at B. C. 1190. He pronounces Eratosthenes to be mistaken, and asserts that the date B. C. 1190 for the Return is the only true and authentic epoch. Raoul-Rochette in his history of the Grecian colonies adopts the chronology of Larcher. This cardinal date B. C. 1270 for the fall of Troy Larcher founds upon four arguments; the epoch of Herodotus, the epoch of Thucydides, the epoch of the author of the Life of Homer, and the succession of the kings of Alba ^y.

ἡ ιστορία παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ ἐν αὐτίον καὶ παρὰ τῷ πυντῇ ἐν τῇ ψ. οἰδητέας παχύμερος; (In Odyss. v. 499—511. the shipwreck of *Ajax Locrus* is related, but no mention of *Cassandra*, as Strabo XIII. p. 600. has accurately remarked). Hieronymus apud Cassaubon. ad Æn. Tact. p. 244. mentions the 1000 years, and supposes, like the Scholiast, that the maidens were sent during the whole period: *Scribit Hieronymus I. adversus Jovian. Locrides virgines Ilium ex more fuisse missas per annos circiter mille.* The termination of the 1000 years is fixed by Timæus: Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 1141. φθόρα καὶ λύρας μετὰ τρίτων ἔτος ἐσχε τὴν Λοκρίδα διὰ τὴν εἰς Κασσάνδραν ἀθεμιτομένιαν τῶν Αἴαντος. ἔχρος δὲ ὁ θεός Πάδασκεοθανάτος Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἐπ' ἔτη χίλια, δύο παρθένους πέμποντας τοῖς κλύροις καὶ λαχήσι. περιπομένας δὲ αὐτὰς προπαταγῶντες οἱ Τρoες, εἰ κατέσχον, ἀνέρουν.—πρώτας δὲ τῶν Λοκρίδων παρθένων Περίβοια καὶ Κλεοπάτρα αφίκοντο.—χιλίων δὲ ἐτῶν παρεῖλθον μετὰ τὸ Φενικὸν πόλεμον, ἐπανσάντο τῆς τελείας θυσίας, δις φροντίδος δὲ Σικελός, μέμνηται δὲ τῆς ιστορίας καὶ δὲ Κυρραιός Καλλιμάχος. The annual offering, then, ceased at B. C. 346, or soon after. We know from Strabo that it commenced after B. C. 559. It lasted therefore not more than two centuries; and we may collect that the Locrians after the time of *Cyrus* were directed by an oracle to complete the term of 1000 years, computed from the capture of Troy, and that they believed this term to be accomplished in B. C. 346. Kuster ad Suid. v. πωνή, who observes, *Plutarchus auctor est morem paulo ante etatem suam desuisse*, interprets Plutarch too rigidly. Timæus himself, who recorded its cessation, was 340 years earlier than Plutarch; and the actual date, B. C. 346, was at the least 420

years before the ἀκμὴ of Plutarch.

^w See the testimonies in F. H. III. p. 490. ^x On the first of those testimonies we may add, that the numbers of Censorinus are evidently corrupt, and that they err in defect. On the second it may be remarked, that 46 years are the difference as the numbers now stand in Clemens. But it has been shewn p. 128. f. that the number ascribed to Eratosthenes should be probably corrected to 770; which leaves a difference of 50 years between Eratosthenes and Timæus. For the observations on the third testimony, “Corecyra was founded,” &c. the reader will substitute the following passage: “Corecyra was founded, according to one account, at the same time as Syracuse B. C. 734; according to another, in B. C. 708. These numbers, 708+600 or 734+600, give B. C. 1308 or 1334 for the Trojan era of Timæus, about 125 or 151 years above the date of Eratosthenes.” We are not informed what interval Timæus allowed between the Trojan war and the epoch of the Return; but if he was one of those of whom Clemens, quoted p. 107. b, speaks, who reckoned that interval 180 years, the seeming difference between the second and the third testimonies may be reconciled. For Timæus in that case would reckon 100 years more than Eratosthenes between the fall of Troy and the Return, and 50 years more between the Return and the Olympiad of Corebus; a total excess of 150 years. And 150+1183=1333, or 599 years above the epoch of Corecyra in B. C. 734.

^x Hérodote tom. VII. p. 352—404.

^y He examines Herodotus p. 358. the author of the Life p. 361. Thucydides p. 362. the kings

His argument from the kings of Alba is stated in this manner. In the line of Alban kings are 15 generations and a half, *Aeneas* and *Rhea Sylvia* being included. But $15\frac{1}{2}$ generations give 516 years. Rome was founded B. C. 754. Add 516, and you have B. C. 1270 for the era of Troy^z. This argument is nothing. For in the line of the kings of Alba there are only 14 generations, even including *Aeneas* himself. But *Aeneas* must be omitted, because he belonged to the preceding period. From the accession, then, of *Ascanius* in the 7th year after the capture to the death of *Amulius* in B. C. 755 are only 13 generations in Livy, Dionysius, and Eusebius. For *Ascanius* was succeeded by his brother. These 13 generations will give $33 \times 13 = 429$ years to the death of *Amulius* B. C. 755. Add the 7 years preceding, and we have $436 + 755 =$ B. C. 1191 for the epoch. Victor, however, if his text is entire, reckons only 7 generations in the same time; and $33 \times 7 = 231$ years. Add the 7 years, and $755 + 7 + 231 =$ B. C. 993 for the epoch. Ovid has 11 generations; and 11 generations will give 363 years. But $363 + 7 + 755 =$ B. C. 1125 for the fall of Troy^a. The largest computation, then, of these reigns would only carry the date 8 years higher than the epoch of Eratosthenes, and a more probable amount of the generations will place it 58 years lower.

The date B. C. 1270 is without sufficient reason assumed to be the date of Thucydides, because (as we have seen) he does not deliver the period of 700 years as his own opinion, but speaks in the person of the Melians, and records their tradition; and because we have no information what space Thucydides believed to have passed between the return of the Heraclidae and the occupation of Melos. The mode in which Herodotus has expressed the date is a proof that he had no clear information upon it. When he has the means of knowing, he

of Alba p. 364. He observes p. 377. L'époque d'Hérodote a été adoptée par Thucydides et par l'auteur de la vie d'Homère; d'ailleurs elle est confirmée par la suite des rois d'Albe. P. 403. L'époque donnée par Hérodote, Thucydides, l'auteur de la vie d'Homère, et la suite des rois d'Albe. Again p. 472. J'ai prouvé que Troie avoit été détruite A. C. 1270, par les témoignages d'Hérodote, de Thucydides, de l'auteur de l'ancienne vie d'Homère, et par la suite des rois d'Albe. J'ai fait voir la manière vicieuse dont s'y étoient pris, pour fixer cette époque, l'auteur de la chronique de Paros, Apollodore et Eratosthène, et par conséquent le peu de confiance que doivent inspirer ces écrivains. Il s'ensuit que les Héraclides sont rentrés dans le Péloponnèse, selon Hérodote, Thucydides, et l'auteur de la vie d'Homère, A. C. 1190, et que cette époque est la seule vraie, la seule authentique.

^z Tom. VII. p. 364. Les listes de Tite Live, Denys d'Halicarnasse, et Eusèbe, offrent quinze princes qui se sont succédés de père en fils, en y comprenant Enée.—Si vous ajoutez Rhéa—mère de Romulus, on aura quinze générations et demie, parce que les générations pour les femmes n'équivalent qu'à des demi-générations. Ces $15\frac{1}{2}$ donnent 516 ans. Rome a été fondée Ol. 6. 3. A. C. 754. Si l'on ajoute 516 à 754, on aura 1270 ans avant notre ère pour le temps où Enée s'em-

barqua après le sac de Troie.

^a Dionysius Ant. I. p. 162—175—179. gives 14 reigns and 13 generations from *Ascanius* to *Amulius* inclusive. The 14 reigns have 424 years, or $30\frac{1}{4}$ each, a sufficiently large allowance. Eusebius gives also Chron. II. p. 299—320. 13 generations and 14 reigns; and these 14 reigns have 423 years, being contained in the Eusebian years 842—1264. Livy I. 3. gives no years. Victor de Orig. Gentis Romanæ p. 255., after describing *Ascanius* and his brother *Silvius Postumus*, thus proceeds: *Igitur regnante Latino Silvio coloniae deductæ sunt Prænestæ, Tibur, &c. cæteraque oppida circumquaque. Post eum regnavit Tiberius Silvii filius: qui—depulsus in Albulum flumen deperit, mutandique nominis extitit causa, ut scribunt L. Cincius lib. I. Lutatius lib. III.* Post eum regnavit *Aremulus Silvius*, qui—fulmine ictus in Albanum lacum precipitatæ est, ut scriptum est Annal. lib. VI. et Epitomæ marum Pisonis II. Aufidius sane in epitomis et Domitius lib. I. non fulmine ictum sed terra motu prolapsum—tradunt. Post illum regnavit Aventinus Silvius.—Post eum *Silvius Procas*, rex Albanorum, duos filios Numitorem et *Amulium* aquis partibus hæredes instituit. Ovid Met. XIV. 609—623. reckons 13 reigns, but only 11 generations. These five accounts present the following variations:

assigns the years with exactness; as in the Median and Lydian and Persian reigns: but when he refers to the time of *Hercules*, or the epoch of Troy, or the age of *Homer*, he states the interval in round numbers from thence to his own time; which will not fix the date within 20 or 30 years. Upon these occasions, then, he speaks from no evidence, but delivers the popular opinion, which is no competent authority. Thus the Locrians believed that a thousand years had elapsed from the Trojan to the Phocian war; but this Locrian tradition is no sufficient evidence of the truth of that period. Plutarch records that the Pythian oracle was supposed to have subsisted 3000 years^b; but this again was a vague and fabulous period, existing only in the popular report, and resting on no certain computation. The date of Herodotus, then, so delivered, is open to inquiry, whether it is consistent with known facts of history recorded by himself or others.

We have seen already that the date of Herodotus is refuted by his own account of the Spartan kings^c. We have also seen that the date of Eratosthenes is not quite consistent with the probable duration of reigns^d. But if Eratosthenes makes the interval too long, how much more improbable is that chronology which enlarges a space already too great by the addition of 87 years! This addition gives to the period between the Return and the first Messenian war (B. C. 1190—743) 447 years; by which the Spartan reigns are extended to a length altogether without example^e. Larcher palliates this difficulty by supposing that the average length of generations at Sparta was 37 years instead of 33^f. This he infers from a passage

LIVIUS.	DIONYSIUS.	EUSEBIUS.	VICTOR.	OVIDIUS.
1. Ascanius	1. Ascanius .. 37 (38)	1. Ascanius 38	1. Ascanius	1. Ascanius } bro-
2. Silvius	2. Silvius.... 29	2. Silvius 29	2. Silvius	2. Silvius } thers
3. Aeneas	3. Aeneas .. 31	3. Latinus..... 31		
4. Latinus	4. Latinus .. 51	4. Aeneas Silvius .. 50	3. Latinus Silvius	3. Latinus
5. Alba	5. Albas ... 39	5. Alba 39		4. Alba
6. Atys	6. Capetus .. 26	6. Epistius Silvius (23) 26		5. Epitos
7. Capys	7. Capys ... 28	7. Capys 28		6. Capys
8. Capetus	8. Capetus .. 13	8. Carpentus..... 13		7. Capetus
9. Tiberinus	9. Tiberinus 8	9. Tiberinus 8	4. Tiberius	8. Tiberinus
10. Agrippa	10. Agrippa .. 41	10. Agrippa 41		9. Remulus } bro-
11. Romulus Silvius	11. Allades .. 19	11. Aremulus 19	5. Aremulus Silvius	10. Acrota } thers
12. Aventinus	12. Aventinus 37	12. Aventinus 37	6. Aventinus Silvius	11. Aventinus
13. Procas	13. Procas .. 23	13. Procas 21	7. Silvius Procas	12. Procas
14. Amulius	14. Amulius .. 42	14. Amulius 43	8. Amulius	13. Amulius.

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Although we were to admit a *lacuna* in the text of Victor between *Latinus* and *Tiberinus*, yet on the joint authority of this writer and of Ovid we may strike out the third king, *Aeneas*, and the ninth generation, *Agrippa*; who, if he reigned at all, was the brother and not the father of *Aremulus*.

^b Plutarch. Pyth. Or. p. 408. D. δεδιτες μη τρισχιλια ετων απεβάλγη δέξαν δ τόπος.

^c See above p. 132. p. Larcher himself tom. VII. p. 353. acknowledges the principle of Herodotus: *Il emploie presque toujours les générations comme une mesure de temps, et il nous avertit que trois générations font 100 ans. Quelquefois il accompagne ces générations de leur évaluation, qui est toujours exacte, suivant sa méthode et celle des anciens, d'en compter trois par siècle.* And yet the date assigned by Herodotus and adopted by

Larcher p. 575, B. C. 1384 for the birth of *Hercules*, gives 904 years for the 21 generations from *Hercules* to *Leonidas* both inclusive, or 43 years to each generation.

^d See above p. 129.

^e See F. H. II. p. 206. Clavier des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 176. remarks, *D'après M. Larcher, sur les quinze premiers rois de chaque branche, qui se sont presque tous succédés de père en fils, quatre auraient régné de 60 à 70 ans, sept de 50 à 60 ans; dix de 40 à 50 ans; quatre de 30 à 40 ans;* and truly observes, *Le système qu'il a adopté l'a forcé à allonger les règnes des rois de Lacédémone d'une manière vraiment incroyable.*

^f Hérod. tom. VII. p. 398. *Les générations étaient évaluées à 33 ans et quelque chose, et dans la suite à 30 ans. Mais les Lacédémoniens fai-*

of Aristotle; a supposition justly rejected by M^r. Muller^g and by Clavier^h, and refuted by some facts in Spartan historyⁱ. His own computation, however, will fail him. He places the birth of *Eurythenes* at B. C. 1178. But from the birth of *Eurythenes* to the death of *Cleomenes III.* in B. C. 220 are 24 generations both inclusive^k. Now $37 \times 24 = 888$; and $888 + 220 = 1108$, only five years higher than the epoch of Eratosthenes for the Return, and 70 years below the date of Larcher. But this difficulty arising out of the Lacedæmonian reigns is not the whole difficulty. The improbability of Larcher's chronology is much increased, when his dates are compared with the Arcadian and Messenian kings. His addition of 87 years to the period between the Return and the first Messenian war, making the interval 447 years to B. C. 743, and 460 to the death of *Euphaës* in B. C. 730, will give in these two contemporary dynasties about 50 years to every reign^l.

The chronology of Eratosthenes, founded on a careful comparison of circumstances, and approved by those to whom the same stores of information were open, is entitled to our respect. But we must remember that a conjectural date can never rise to the authority of evidence; that what is accepted as a substitute for testimony is not an equivalent: witnesses only can prove a date; and in the want of these the knowledge of it is plainly beyond our reach. If in the absence of a better light we seek for what is probable, we are not to forget the distinction between conjecture and proof; between what is probable and what is certain. The computation, then, of Eratosthenes for the war of Troy is open to inquiry, and if we find it adverse to the opinions of many preceding writers, who fixed a lower date, and adverse to the acknowledged length of generations in the most authentic dynasties, we are allowed to follow

soient une exception à la règle générale &c. Les générations étoient à Lacédémone de 37 ans, tandis qu'elles n'étoient anciennement que de 33 ans, et dans la suite de 30 ans, dans le reste de la Grèce.

^g Dorians vol. II. p. 300. y.

^h Hist. des Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 325. from whom it appears that this was borrowed by Larcher from Fréret, who had adopted the same expedient.

ⁱ Clavier tom. I. p. 326. supplies one from the 16 generations ending with *Cleomenes III.* which may be more exactly computed thus: *Cleomenes III.*, who died B. C. 220, was the 16th from *Alcmenes*, both inclusive, who reigned in B. C. 743. The interval is 523 years, which is less than 35 years to a generation; for $35 \times 15 = 525$. And another from the 15 which ended with *Agis IV.* which may also be more correctly stated thus: *Agis IV.* died about B. C. 240: see F. H. II. p. 216. He was not the 15th as Clavier supposes, but the 17th, both inclusive, from *Theopompos* (see F. H. II. p. 204), who reigned at B. C. 743. The interval here is 503 years; which is about 31 $\frac{1}{4}$ years to each generation; for $31 \times 16 = 496$. We may take another example. *Cleomenes III.* was the ninth (both inclusive) from *Cleombrotus* the younger brother of *Leontidas*. But from B. C. 480, when *Cleombrotus* flourished, to B. C. 220 are 260 years, giving

$32\frac{1}{2}$ to each generation: for $32 \times 8 = 256$. Again, *Agis IV.* was the ninth (both inclusive) from *Leotychides*, who reigned in B. C. 491. The interval, 251 years, gives $31\frac{1}{4}$ to each generation.

^k See F. H. II. p. 204.

^l See above p. 129. There are 9 Arcadian reigns in 447 years, or $49\frac{1}{2}$ to each; and 9 Messenian in 460, or 51 years to each. Larcher omits to notice these Arcadian and Messenian reigns. The kings and *prytanes* of Corinth and the perpetual archons of Athens were more easily managed, and these are examined in separate chapters. His method of adjusting the Corinthian reigns to his extended period is this. The seven generations are enlarged to ten (p. 522), and the 200 years of Strabo are assigned to the annual *prytanes* instead of the 90 years of Diodorus. See the Tables B. C. 744. He suppresses what was adverse to his theory on another occasion; affirming p. 379. that all the early writers followed the opinion of Herodotus: *On ignore, et l'on ignorera probablement toujours, en quel temps on commença à s'écarte de l'opinion d'Hérodote et de Thucydides. Le premier qui l'ait fait, du moins parmi ceux qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous, est l'auteur de la Chronique de Paros.* He neglects Democritus, Isocrates, and Ephorus, who all preceded the Parian Chronicle.

other guides, who give us a lower epoch. The following Table offers a summary view of the leading periods from *Phoroneus* to the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, and exhibits a double series of dates; the one proceeding from the date of Eratosthenes, the other from a date founded on the reduced calculations of Phanias and Callimachus, which strike out 56 years from the amount of Eratosthenes. Phanias, as we have seen^m, omitted 55 years between the Return and the registered Olympiads; for so we may understand the account: Callimachus, 56 years between the Olympiad of *Iphitus* and the Olympiad in which *Coræbus* wonⁿ. The first column of this Table exhibits the *current* years before and after the fall of Troy: in the second column of dates the *complete* intervals are expressed. But as the years of the era commence in *Thargelion*, or late in the spring, they are not conumery with the Julian years. Thus, according to Eratosthenes, the tenth year before the era commenced in *Thargelion* B.C. 1192, and in proceeding upwards we find it completed in *Thargelion* B.C. 1193; and the Trojan war might begin (in the tenth year current) early in spring of B.C. 1192. Again, the 17th year before the era being completed in *Thargelion* B.C. 1200, the accession of *Agamemnon* in the 18th year current might occur early in spring of B.C. 1200; but if the death of *Hyllus* is placed almost 20 years before the era, it is to be referred to the middle of B.C. 1203, since, in ascending upwards, the 20th year is completed in *Thargelion* of that year. On the dates after the fall of Troy we may remark, that if the first year from the era was completed in *Thargelion* B.C. 1182, the 299th was completed in *Thargelion* B.C. 884, and the Olympiad of *Iphitus*, about July following, was in the 300th year; the 407th year ended in *Thargelion* B.C. 776, and the games of *Coræbus*, in July following, were in the 408th. From the fall of Troy to the return of the *Heraclidæ* Eratosthenes reckoned the full term of 80 years; which terminate at *Thargelion* B.C. 1103. This interval, however, is here computed after Thucydides to be the 80th year current, or 79 years complete, and the Return is accordingly placed at B.C. 1104. This difference of a year affects the following epochs; for if the year of the Return is placed at *Thargelion* B.C. 1104, the year of the Ionic migration commences at *Thargelion* B.C. 1044; and the death of *Codrus*, 59 years after the Return, falls upon B.C. 1045. The 80 years complete of Eratosthenes will bring each of these epochs one year lower; the complete period to the Ionian colonies being $79 + 60 = 139$ in this Table, but $80 + 60 = 140$ in Eratosthenes.

		y.	B. C. Erat.	B. C. Callim.
(570) ^o	<i>Phoroneus</i> p. 19.	287	(1753)	(1697)
(283)	{ <i>Danaüs</i> p. 73.	33	(1466)	(1410)
	{ <i>Pelasgus V.</i> p. 13. 88.			
(250)	<i>Deucalion</i> p. 42.	50	(1433)	(1377)
(200)	{ <i>Erechtheus</i>	50	(1383)	(1327)
	{ <i>Dardanus</i> p. 88.			
(150)	<i>Azan, Aphidas, Elatus</i>	20	(1333)	(1277)
130	<i>Cadmus</i> p. 85.	30	1313	1257
(100)	<i>Pelops</i>	22	(1283)	(1227)
78	<i>Birth of Hercules</i>	36	1261	1205
(42)	<i>Argonauts</i>	12	(1225)	(1169)

^m See p. 128.

ⁿ The date of Callimachus for *Iphitus* is approved by Clavier Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 203. who considers it as not far from the truth.

^o These dates, distinguished from the rest by brackets, are proposed as mere conjectures, founded upon the probable length of generations.

		y.	B. C. Erat.	B. C. Callim.
30	First Theban war p. 51. h.	4	1213	1157
26	Death of <i>Hercules</i>	2	1209	1153
24	Death of <i>Eurystheus</i> p. 106. x.	4	1207	1151
20	Death of <i>Hyllus</i>	2 ^b . 9 ^m .	1203	1147
18	Accession of <i>Agamemnon</i>	2	1200	1144
16	Second Theban war p. 87. l.	6	1198	1142
10	Trojan expedition (9 ^o . 1 ^m)	9	1192	1136
—		—		
—	Troy taken	7	1183	1127
8	<i>Orestes</i> reigns at Argos in the 8th year	52	1176	1120
60	{ The <i>Thessali</i> occupy Thessaly	20	1124	1068
	{ The <i>Bœoti</i> return to Bœotia in the 60th year			
	{ Æolic migration under <i>Penthilus</i>			
80	Return of the <i>Heraclidæ</i> in the 80th year	29	1104	1048
109	<i>Aletes</i> reigns at Corinth p. 130. m.	1	1075	1019
110	Migration of <i>Theras</i>	21	1074	1018
131	Lesbos occupied 130 years after the era	8	1053	997
139	Death of <i>Codrus</i>	1	1045	989
140	Ionic migration 60 years after the Return	11	1044	988
151	Cymë founded 150 years after the era	18	1033	977
169	Smyrna, 168 years after the era p. 105. t.	131	1015	959
		299		
300	Olympiad of <i>Iphitus</i>	108	884	828
408	{ Olympiad of <i>Coræbus</i>	52		
352		—	776	776

VII.

IPHITUS—LYCURGUS.

THE time of *Iphitus* is connected with the time of *Lycurgus*. They are placed together by general consent^a. Eratosthenes places *Iphitus* at the regency of *Lycurgus*^b; that is, at the birth of *Charilaüs*; and the date he assigns is 108 years before the Olympiad in which *Coræbus* was victor^c. Callimachus places *Iphitus* 56 years below the date of Eratosthenes.

^a See F. H. II. p. 409. Add Athenæus XIV. p. 635. f. κατὰ Λικοῦργον τὸν νομοθέτη—ὅς ὑπὸ τῶν συμφόνων ἰστορεῖται μετὰ τοῦ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἡλείου τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμηθεῖσαν τὸν Ὀλυμπίων θέσιν διαθεῖναι. And Hermippus apud Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 23. who describes the cooperation of *Lycurgus* and *Iphitus* in the Olympic festival.

^b F. H. II. p. 409.

^c Clemens Al. Strom. I. p. 309. B. records a higher date: Λικοῦργος μετὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλλοσεως γεγωνὸς ἐπὶ πρὸ τοῦ Ὀλυμπιάδον ἐπετινέκατὸν τεττήκοτα νομοθετεῖ Λακεδαιμονίος. His regency was said

to be 18 years: Schol. Platon. Rep. X. p. 419. Bekk. τῆς Σπάρτης ἡρῆ καὶ Λικοῦργος αὐτὸς ἐπη ᾧ, ὅτε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔγραψεν ἐπιτραπείων τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν. These 18 years are also named by Suidas v. Λικοῦργος tom. II. p. 472. Kust. who also preserves another period of 42 years, by which some author had expressed the whole of his public life: ἐκράτησε τὸν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπη μῆβ, ὅτε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, ἐπιτραπείων τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπη ᾧ. This period of 42 years might extend from the birth of *Charilaüs* to the death of *Lycurgus*.

How he adjusted the preceding period we are not informed; but it does not follow that, because *Iphitus* was brought down to B.C. 828, the regency of *Lycurgus* must also be brought down to the same epoch. The public life of *Lycurgus* might occupy at least 30 years^d. It is made 42 years by the authorities in Suidas^e. We may assume 35 years as a probable amount. But it is not determined by any testimonies at what point of this period he concurred with *Iphitus* in founding or restoring the Olympic games. If, then, we fix the legislation of *Lycurgus*, in conformity with Thucydides^f, at about B.C. 817^g, and the regency about 35 years before at B.C. 852, we shall obtain the following periods:

	<i>y</i>	B.C.
80 Return of the <i>Heraclidæ</i>	60	1048
140 Ionic migration	136	988
276 Regency of <i>Lycurgus</i>	24	852
300 Olympiad of <i>Iphitus</i>	11	828
311 Legislation of <i>Lycurgus</i>	41	817
352 Olympiad of <i>Coræbus</i>	—	776

This arrangement will suppose *Lycurgus* to have concurred in the Olympic festival about the 24th year of *Charilaüs*, after his return to Sparta; and will leave 196 years for the Spartan reigns between the return of the *Heraclidæ* and the birth of *Charilaüs*.

Two errors had much perplexed the chronology of *Lycurgus*. The Olympiad of *Iphitus* was sometimes confounded with the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, and *Lycurgus* was referred to a single point of time; his regency and legislation being supposed coincident. An instance of the first error occurs in Plutarch^h and in Phlegonⁱ, who has the following account: ἐστέφετο μὲν οὐδὲς ἐπὶ πέντε δὲ λυμπιάδας. τῇ δὲ ἔκτῃ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μαντεύσασθαι εἰ στέμματα περιθῶσι τοῖς νικῶσι· καὶ πέμπουσι τὸν βασιλέα Ἰφίτον εἰς θεοῦ. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἦρ τάδε·

Ἴφίτε μῆλειον καρπὸν μὴ θῆς ἐπὶ νίκη,
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄγριον ἀμφιτίθει καρπάδη ἐλαιὸν
ὅς νῦν ἀμφέχεται λεπτοῖσιν ὑφάσματ' ἀράχνης.

παραγενόμενος οὖν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν—εὑρὼν ἐναὶ περιεχόμενον ἀραχνίοις περιωκοδόμησεν αὐτὸν, καὶ τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐκ τούτου ἐδόθη ὡς στέφανος. πρῶτος δὲ ἐστέφανόθη Δαῖκλῆς Μεσσήνος, ὃς τῇ ἐβδόμῃ δὲ λυμπιάδι στάδιον ἔνικα. This was the 7th registered Olympiad^k; and the 6th Olympiad in which *Iphitus*

^d F. H. II. p. 409.

^e See note ^c.

^f F. H. II. p. 408.

^g Eusebius Chron. II. p. 315. according to Hieronymus offers the following dates, where the Armenian copy is wanting: *Anno* 1195 *Telecli* 32^o ed. Scalig.=B.C. 821. *anno* 1197 ed. Mai. *Telecli* 34^o *Lycurgus leges*—componit. The year 1197 commenced in autumn B.C. 820, which will give B.C. 819 for this epoch. Cyril. adv. Julian. p. 12. A. has the same date in view: τρι-ακοσιοτῷ ἔγκοστῳ καὶ τεμπτῷ ἔτει τῆς Ἰλίου διάστεως Λικῦρρος Λακεδαιμονίου ἐπονθέτει, βασιλεύοντος Κορυνθίου μὲν Ἀγίμουνος Δατίκων δὲ Πρίκα Σιδοντον. This date compared with the epoch of *Eratosthenes* will give 1183—364=B.C. 819; but compared

with the dates of Eusebius, it falls two years lower; for the epoch of Eusebius for the fall of Troy $835 + 364 = 1199 = \text{B.C. } 817$. Whence we may conclude that Cyril found this notice at the year 1199 in his copy of Eusebius: and B.C. 817 for this epoch, in the 413th year before Ol. 93. 4. the end of the Peloponnesian war, will concur with the date of Thucydides, ἐτη μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ διληγρ πλεῖσ. We may remark that Cyril in this passage agrees better with Hieronymus than with the Armenian copy; for the year 1199 is the 2nd of *Procas* in Hieronymus, but the 36th of *Aventinus* according to the Armenian.

^h F. H. II. p. 409.

ⁱ De Olympiis p. 148.

^k See the Tables B. C. 752.

was king was in B. C. 756, twenty years after *Coræbus* won; although Phlegon¹ had himself placed *Iphitus* 108 years before *Coræbus*. Velleius^m and Solinusⁿ refer *Iphitus* to the time at which *Coræbus* won. Cicero^o observes, *Nam centum et octo annis postquam Lycurgus leges scribere instituit prima posita est Olympias: quam quidam nominis errore ab eodem Lycurgo constitutam putant.* This passage is an example of both the errors. He gives the date of Eratosthenes, but he has neglected to distinguish the regency from the legislation, and the Olympiad of *Iphitus* from the Olympiad of *Coræbus*. Hence he admits two *Lycurgi*, the legislator, whom he calls *superiorem Lycurgum* *P*, and a second, who instituted the Olympic games. Pausanias and Strabo leave the interval undefined between *Iphitus* and *Coræbus*^q. Many of the difficulties in these passages will be removed by the very probable opinion of Clavier^r, that there were more than one of the name of *Iphitus*. Clavier supposes three of the name. I should rather conclude that there were only two; *Iphitus* son of *Hæmon* or of

¹ De Olympiis p. 140.

^m Velleius I. 8. after mentioning *Hesiod* and the foundation of Capua, *ante annos fere DCCCXXX* [B. C. 793], proceeds: *Clarissimum deinde omnium ludicrum certamen—Olympiorum initium habuit, auctorem Iphitum Eleum. Is eos ludos mercatumque instituit ante annos quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires* [A. D. 37] *DCCCXXII. Hoc sacrum eodem loco instituisse fertur abhinc annos ferme MCCL Atreus, cum Pelopi patri funebres ludos ficeret.* He then places the foundation of Rome in the 23rd Olympic year [B. C. 753]—*post Trojam captam annis CCCCXXXVII.* These dates will give 1250—36=B. C. 1214 for the games of *Atreus*, 437+753=1190 for the Trojan era, and 823—36=B. C. 787 for the games of *Iphitus*, 403 years after the fall of Troy.

ⁿ Solin. 1. 28. *Certamen Olympicum—Iphitus Eleus instauravit post excidium Trojae anno quadragesimo octavo. Ergo ab Iphito numeratur Olympias prima.*

^o De Rep. II. 10. p. 145.

^p Brut. c. 10.

^q Pausan. V. 4. 4. "Ιφίτος, γένος μὲν ὁν ἀπὸ Ὀξείδων ἡλικίαν δὲ κατὰ Λυκοῦρου τὸν γράμματα Λακεδαιμονίας τούς νόμους, τὸν ἀγῶνα διεθήκει ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τανήγυριν τε Ὁλυμπιακὴν ἀθήνα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκεχειρίας κατεστίσατο, ἐκλιπόντα εἰς χρόνον ὅποσος δὴ οὗτος ἦν.—τῷ δὲ Ιφίτῳ, φθειρομένης τότε δὴ μάλιστα τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὑπὸ ἔμφυλων στάσεων καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου λοιμώδους, ἐπῆλθεν αἰτήσαι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν λόντιν τὸν κακὸν· καὶ οἱ προσταχθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς Πιθίας ὡς αὐτὸν τε Ιφίτον δέοι καὶ Ἡλεῖν τὸν Ὁλυμπιακὸν ἀγῶνα ἀναστασθαι. ἔτεσι δὲ Ἡλεῖν, Ιφίτος καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ θύειν.—τὸν δὲ Ιφίτον τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φησιν Αἴμονος παιδα ἔναι, Ἐλλήνων δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ Πραξενίδεν καὶ οὐχ Αἴμονος εἶναι φασι· τὸ δὲ Ἡλεῖν γράμματα ἀρχαῖα ἐς πατέρα δράμνυμον ἀνῆγε τὸν Ιφίτον. Idem VIII. 26, 4. ἡγίκα τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὁλυμπικὸν ἐκλιπόντα εἰς χρόνον πολὺν ἀνεσάσατο Ιφίτος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ὁλύμπια ἥγαγον, τότε

δρόμον σφίσιν ἄθλα ἐτίθη μόνον, καὶ δὲ Κόροιβος ἐνίκησε· καὶ ἔτις ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ μηματὶ ὡς Ὁλυμπιαστὸν δὲ Κόροιβος ἐνίκησεν ἀνθράπτων πρότερος, Strabo VIII. p. 354. Αἰτωλοὶ συγκατελθόντες τοὺς Ἡρακλεῖδας μετὰ Ὁξείδων, καὶ συνοικήσαντες Ἐπειοῖς—ηὔσταγ τὴν κοιληὴν Ἡλιοῦ.—Ολύμπια τὸν ἀκένοντα ἐγένετο· καὶ δὲ καὶ δὲ ἀργούν εὑρημά ἐστων ἀκένων ὁ Ὁλυμπιακὸς, καὶ τὰς Ὁλυμπιάδας τὰς πρώτας ἀκένων συντελέσιον. ἔσται γάρ δεῖ τὰ παλαιά. —ἔγγυτέρω δὲ τῆς πλοτεως ὅτι μέχρι τῆς ἔκτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὁλυμπιάδος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐν δὲ Κόροιβος ἐνίκησα στάδιον Ἡλεῖος τὴν προστασίαν εἶχον Ἡλεῖοι. p. 357. "Οξείδων κατελθεῖν ἀθροίσαντα στρατιὰν ἐξ Αἰτωλίας δὲ τοὺς κατέχοντας Ἐπειοὺς τὴν Ἡλιοῦ—καὶ κατασχεῖν τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς τὴν γῆν ἐκβιβαλόντας τοὺς Ἐπειούς παραλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ιερῶν τοῦ Ὁλυμπιαστοῦ ἢ εἶχον οἱ Ἀχαιοί, διά τε τὴν Οξείδων φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἡρακλεῖδας συνομολογηθῆναι ἡρδίων ἐκ πάντων μετ' ὅρκου τὴν Ἡλεῖαν ιεράν εἶναι τοῦ Διός—Ιφίτον τε θεῖναι τὸν Ὁλυμπιακὸν ἀγῶνα, ιερὸν ὄντον τὸν Ἡλεῖον. Mitford vol. I. p. 239. collects from these passages that "Pausanias evidently had no idea of an interval between "Iphitus and Coræbus;" and that "Strabo contradicts the supposition, and does not give the least countenance to the supposition that two or three centuries intervened between the return of the Heraclidae and the victory of Coræbus." There is no reason for this opinion; for Pausanias makes *Iphitus* contemporary with *Lycurgus*, and Strabo is reciting the account of Ephorus, who (as we know from other evidence) placed either 293 or 313 years between the Return and the victory of *Coræbus*. And we know from Strab. V. p. 229. that Strabo allowed 400 years between the foundation of Alba and of Rome: φασὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀσκάνιον Ἀλβανούς κτίσαι ἐν τῷ Ἀλβάνῳ ὄρει—ἕστερον δὲ τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι ἕστερεῖται τὰ περὶ Ἀμάλιον καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Νομάχτορα. which is precisely the date of Dionysius, and places the war of Troy at the date of Eratosthenes.

^r Des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 200.

Praxonides, contemporary with *Lycurgus*, who founded the festival in B.C. 828, and *Iphitus*, called son of *Iphitus* in the ancient Elean inscriptions, who was king in B.C. 756, and whom Phlegon does not distinguish from the former. In this case, the two *Iphiti*, the father and son, might occupy together about 76 years: the elder *Iphitus* was king in B.C. 828, the younger *Iphitus* in the time of *Coræbus* and of *Daicles* B.C. 776—752.

The second error we have observed in Cicero. Justin^s also places the legislation in the time of the regency, and we may suspect that the account of Pausanias^t, who places the legislation in the reign of *Agesilaüs*, is founded on a similar supposition. For *Charilaüs* reigned with *Archelaüs* son of *Agesilaüs*^u. The regency, then, rather than the legislation, might fall within the reign of *Agesilaüs*, in whose time *Charilaüs* was born.

Lycurgus is the uncle of *Charilaüs* in Aristotle^w, and in Ephorus^x, Dieuchidas, and most other writers^y. Simonides, though differing in the order of the kings, yet also made him the uncle of *Charilaüs*^z. The variation in Dionysius^a may be ascribed to error; that in Herodotus^b to corruption in the text.

^s Justin. III. 2. *Lycurgus cum fratri suo Polydecte Spartanorum regi successisset, Charilaos filio ejus regnum summa fide restituit.—Medio igitur tempore dum infans convalescit, tutelamque ejus administrat, non habentibus Spartanis leges instituit.* Herodotus indeed also implies I. 65. that the legislation occurred within the regency: ὃς γὰρ ἐπετέμνετο τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα. But even the authority of Herodotus is outweighed by that of Aristotle Rep. II. 7, 1.

^t Pausan. III. 2, 4. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ Λυκοῦργος Λακεδαιμονίου τοὺς νόμους δὲ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου βασιλείας.

^v Idem Ibid. Ἀγησιλάου δὲ ταῖς ἐγένετο Ἀρχέλαος· ἐπὶ τούτου Λακεδαιμονίου—ἡνδραποβίσαντο Αἴγυν—Χαρίλαος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐπέτρεψε οἰκίας βασιλεὺς συνεξεῖλε καὶ Ἀρχέλαος τὴν Αἴγυν. Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 5. συμβασιλεύσαντα τὸν Ἀρχέλαον κ. τ. λ.

^w Aristot. Rep. II. 7, 1=II. 10. φασὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον, ὅτε τὴν ἐπέτρεψε τὴν Χαρίλαον τοῦ βασιλεὺς καταδιπλῶς ἀπεδίησε, τότε τὸν πλεῖστον διατρήψας χρόνον περὶ τὴν Κρήτην. He alludes V. 10, 3=V. 12. to the change effected by the legislation of *Lycurgus* in the reign of *Charilaüs*: μεταβάλλει τυραννίς εἰς δημοκρατίαν, ὥστε ἡ Χαρίλαος δὲ Λακεδαιμονί. Aristotle in another place II. 6, 8. mentions two wars, an Argive and an Arcadian, which preceded the time of *Lycurgus*: ἀπέξενοντα πολὺν χρόνον πολεμούντες τὸν τε πόλεων Ἀργείων καὶ πάλιν τὸν πόλεων Ἀρκαδῶν [καὶ Μεσσηνίους]. The Argive and Arcadian wars may be traced in Pausanias. But as the Messenian war was in the time of the grandson of *Charilaüs*, whom Aristotle himself mentions, the words καὶ Μεσσηνίους seem to be an interpolation. Schneider ad II. 6, 8. observes, *Opinionem Aristotelis de tempore Lycurgeae legislationis clarissime hic locus declarat, quam Plutarchus Lyc. c. 1. ex alio ejusdem libro collegit, ubi Iphiti tempore vizisse dixerat.—Cum Aristotele sentit Pausanias V. 4, 4. Contra Apollodorus*

et Eratosthenes multo antiquiorem Lycurgum fecerunt, ut ibidem tradit Plutarchus. Nothing in this passage of Aristotle clearly indicates the time of *Lycurgus*. Schneider properly adds, referring to Plutarch, that Pausanias and Aristotle agree. But he should not have said (adopting the error of Plutarch) that Eratosthenes differed. Pausanias and Aristotle suppose *Iphitus* and the legislator contemporary. Eratosthenes thought the same, and fixed the date of both.

^x See F. H. II. p. 409.

^y Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 2. οἱ πλεῖστοι γενεαλογοῦσι: —Πατροκλέους μὲν τοῦ Ἀριστεδήμου γενέσθαι Σόον· Σόον δὲ Εὐρυτάνων· τούτου δὲ Πριτάνων· ἐκ τούτου δὲ Εὐνόμου· Εὐνόμου δὲ Πολυδέκην ἐπρότερα γυναικός, Λυκοῦργον δὲ νεώτερον ἐκ Διανάσσης, ὡς Διεντυχίδας ιστόρηκε, ἔκτον μὲν ἀπὸ Πατροκλέους ἐδέκατον δὲ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους. The same genealogy is given in Schol. Platon. Rep. X. p. 419. Bekk.

^z Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 2. Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς οὐκ Εὐνόμου λέγει τὸν Λυκοῦργον πατρὸς ἀλλὰ Πριτάνιδος. Schol. Platon. p. 419. ἦν δὲ κατὰ Σιμωνίδην Πριτάνιδος μὲν τοῦ Εὐνόμου δὲ ἀδελφός, καὶ θεῖος τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Χαρίλαου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος τῆς Σπάρτης. Suidas Λυκοῦργος tom. II. p. 472. ἦν θεῖος πρὸς πατρὸς Χαρίλαος τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σπάρτης, Εὐνόμου δὲ ἀδελφός. From these accounts it appears that the line of Spartan kings was stated with some variations, which are exhibited in the following parallel lists. The first represents the order of Simonides; the second, that of Herodotus VIII. 131.; the third, that of Eusebius, who gives a mutilated list Chron. I. p. 167.; and the fourth, that of Dieuchidas and οἱ πλεῖστοι apud Plutarch. Lyc. c. 2. of Pausanias III. 2, 3. 7, 2—5. IV. 4, 3. of Ephorus apud Strabon. X. p. 481. and Sosibius apud Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327., who all make *Charilaüs* the son of *Polydectes*.

1. SIMONID.

Apollodorus, according to Eusebius quoted on a former occasion^c, placed the legislation of *Lycurgus* within the reign of *Alcamenes*. But it now appears from a passage of Porphyry preserved in the Armenian Eusebius^d that he concurred with Eratosthenes in referring *Lycurgus* to B. C. 884, 108 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*. Mr. Muller^e, then, with reason suspects that Eusebius has committed an error. The notice in Eusebius, which refers

1. SIMONID.	2. HERODOT.	3. EUSEB.	4. PAUSAN. &c.
Procles	Procles	Procles	Procles
Sōüs	(Sōüs)	*	Sōüs
Eurypon	Eurypon	*	Eurypon
Prytanis	Prytanis	*	Prytanis
<i>Eunomus</i>	Polydectes	Prytanis	<i>Eunomus</i>
Charilaüs	<i>Eunomus</i>	<i>Eunomus</i>	Polydectes
Nicander	Charilaüs	Charilaüs	Charilaüs
Theopompus	Nicander	Nicander	Nicander
	Theopompus	Theopompus	Theopompus.

The list of Eusebius, as far as it is complete, agrees with the list of Simonides. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 151. observes, that “the name of “*Lycurgus* was not preserved in any register of “the kings,” on account of the variations in his genealogy; and that “hence we must infer that “these catalogues only contained the names of “the kings.” But the variations in the genealogy of *Lycurgus* are produced by the variations in the genealogy of the kings. *Lycurgus* in all these writers is the uncle of *Charilaüs*; but *Charilaüs* is the son of *Eunomus* by one account, and the son of *Polydectes* by another. The authorities for *Lycurgus* are at least equal to the authorities for the kings here exhibited.

Eunomus appears to be a fictitious name, and may be suspected, as the name *Philonomus* is suspicious to Mr. Lewis Phil. Mus. vol. II. p. 41. after Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 105. This name *Eunomus* was probably fabricated by the poets with reference to the legislation. The Lycurgean constitution was called *Eiνομία*: Diod. Vatican. p. 1. Plutarch. Lycurr. c. 5. The poem of *Tyrtaeus* which described it was called *Eiνομία*: Aristot. Rep. V. 6, 2. By a similar mode of speaking, *Charilaüs* was the son of *Eiνομος*, and *Lycurgus* the brother of *Eiνομος*. *Prytanis* was the grandfather of *Charilaüs*, as we know from Simonides. It is probable that *Polydectes* was his father, and that *Eunomus* was another name, or a poetical description, of *Polydectes*. But when *Polydectes* the real father of *Charilaüs* came to be inserted in the list in addition to *Eunomus*, this *Eunomus* became the grandfather of *Charilaüs*; and this interpolated generation threw back *Prytanis*, the real grandfather, one generation higher. This insertion of *Polydectes* under his real name was made after the time of Simonides, perhaps in the time of Ephorus. Hence

in Herodotus we may suspect that Πολυδέκτεος is interpolated, as Σόüs is omitted, by the transcriber; and that the genealogy stood in Herodotus as in Simonides, τοῦ Χαρίλαιου τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πρυτάνος.

a Dionys. Ant. II. p. 339. ἔστι τις καὶ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαβίνων ἐν ιστορίαις ἐπιχωρίοις λεγόμενος λόγος, ὃς Λακεδαιμόνιον ἐπαυξάνεταιν αὐτοῖς καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐπιτροπεύειν Εἴνομον τὸν ἀδελφόδον Λυκοῦργος ἔθετο τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν νόμον. The cause of the error seems to have been this. He found *Prytanis* the father of *Lycurgus* in some accounts, as in Simonides. He found *Eunomus* the grandson of *Prytanis* in others, as in the present text of Herodotus. Hence he called *Eunomus* the nephew of *Lycurgus*. Or possibly *Eunomus*, as a poetical name, was applied by some to *Charilaüs* himself, as it had been applied by others to his father *Polydectes*.

b Herodot. I. 65. ὃς δ' αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμονίοι λέγονται, Λυκοῦργον ἐπιτροπεύεται Λεωβότεων, ἀδελφόδον μὲν ἐντοῦ, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. Although the text stood thus in the time of Pausanias III. 2, 3., yet, from the notoriety of the fact that *Lycurgus* was ascribed to the other house, it is manifest that the passage is corrupted. The correction of Marsham, adopted by Wesselings, is the most easy and probable: ἐπιτροπεύεται ἀδελφόδον μὲν ἐντοῦ, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων Λεωβότεων. And yet, if Herodotus placed the regency, and consequently the birth of *Charilaüs*, within the reign of *Labotas*, he must have differed from those who made *Charilaüs νεανίσκος*—still a youth (Plutarch. Lycurr. c. 5)—in the time of *Archelaüs*.

c F. H. II. p. 409.

d Quoted above p. 125.

e Dor. vol. I. p. 151.

the legislation to the 8th or the 15th or the 18th year of *Alcamenes*^f, is probably derived from some other chronologer, and not from Apollodorus.

Homer is recorded by Ephorus, Apollodorus, and many writers, to have reached the time of *Lycurgus*: but he will not contribute to ascertain the time of *Lycurgus*, because the time of *Homer* himself is uncertain. If, however, the tradition that they were contemporary is true, the earliest account of the age of *Homer*, that of Herodotus, who places him 400 years before his own time, agrees precisely with the dates here assigned to *Lycurgus*. For 400 years before the ἀκμὴ of Herodotus will place the ἀκμὴ of *Homer* at B.C. 850 or 854. Apollodorus placed *Homer* 100 years after the Ionic migration. This date, which we may understand of the birth of *Homer*, Apollodorus naturally adapted to his own epochs, B.C. 1183 for the fall of Troy, and B.C. 1043 for the migration; which would place the birth of *Homer* by this reckoning at B.C. 943. But when the date of the Ionic migration is brought down to its more probable period B.C. 988, and adapted to that reduced epoch which we have obtained from Callimachus, this date of Apollodorus for the birth of *Homer* will also precisely agree with the time of *Homer* as fixed by Herodotus. For 988–100=B.C. 888 for the birth of *Homer*, just 404 years before the birth of Herodotus; and his ἀκμὴ, taken at 34 years of age, would coincide in this case also with the ἀκμὴ of *Lycurgus* at B.C. 854. If the dates of Eratosthenes or of Aristotle for *Homer* shall be preferred, who carry the poet upwards nearer to the Trojan times, *Homer* will be placed by these computations beyond the reach of the earliest date to which *Lycurgus* is assigned^g.

^f Euseb. Chron. II. apud Syncellum p. 185. C. ἐτὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ Ἀλκαμένους [sc. anno 1211 B.C. 805], apud Hieronymum anno 1218 [B.C. 798] *Alcamenis* 150, apud Armen. anno 1221 [B.C. 795] *Lycurgi leges Lacedaemoniae teste Apollodoro* 18^o

Alcamenis anno. It is to be observed that these are the dates for the reign of *Alcamenes* in Eusebius, who places the accession of *Polydorus* at Ol. 1. 2. anno 1241 B.C. 775. But this is inconsistent with the dates recorded by himself

lib. I. p. 166. and with the true time; for the last year of *Alcamenes* and the accession of *Polydorus* occurred 32 years later, in the beginning of the first Messenian war B.C. 743: Pausan. IV. 4, 3.

^g The various dates to which *Homer* is ascribed may be arranged in the following manner, each being computed downwards from the fall of Troy:

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|---------------|---|
| 24
cir. 78 | Philostrat. p. 194. See below at 160.
CRATES: Pseudo-Plutarch. p. 1070. Wytteneb. Tatian. p. 107. repeated by Euseb. Præp. X. 11. Chron. anno 915. and from thence by Syncellus p. 180. D. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. B. ἀντιτεθαῖς τοῖς βουληθῆ τῷ γραμματικῷ Κράτητι, καὶ λέγη περὶ τὴν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον "Οὐηρον γεγονέναι, μετὰ ἔτη ὄγδοον κατὰ τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως. The passages of Tatian and Plutarch have been given already at p. 107. b. Euseb. Chron. anno 915. Secundum quosdam Homerus ποίητα cognoscetur. Nonnulli apud Crateam eum ante Heraclidarum incursionem collocant. Ibid. anno 857. Hujus (sc. Orestis) ατατε quidam Homerum vixisse aiunt. Heyne ad Apollod. Fragm. p. 1086=410. supposes Clemens to draw from Tatian: Tatianus et ex eo Clemens. But an inspection of the two will shew that Clemens has many particulars which are not in Tatian. They drew from some common source; Clemens more largely; Tatian a more abridged account. Tatian, however, is the source of Eusebius, not only in Præp. X. 11. but in Chron. ad annum 915. and Eusebius in this last passage is the source of Syncellus p. 180. |
| 100 | ERATOSTHENES: Tatian. Ibid. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐρατοσθένη, (αὐτὸν ἡμερακέναι) μετὰ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως. Conf. Euseb. Præp. Chron. Ibid. Syncell. Ibid. Clem. Al. Ibid. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ μετὰ τὸ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως τὴν Ὁμέρου ἡλικίαν φέρει. Pseudo-Plutarch. p. 1071. ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις πεπίστευται μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γεγονέναι, οὐ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς θέσεως τῶν |

- 'Ολυμπίων, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ κατὰ Ολυμπιάδα χρόνος ἀριθμεῖται. The term οὐ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς θέσεως—would seem to be meant by the original writer for the Olympiad of *Iphitus*, although understood by the author of this life to express the Olympiad of *Coræbus*.
- 140 ARISTOTLE, ARISTARCHUS, CASTOR: Pseudo-Plutarch. Vit. Hom. I. p. 1059. Wyttensb. 'Αριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ ποιητικῆς εἰν "Ιφ φησὶ τῇ νήσῳ, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Νηλεὺς ὁ Κάδρος τῆς Ἰωνίκης ἀποικίας ἤγειτο, κόρην τινὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενουμένην ὑπὸ τίνος δαιμόνος—ἐγκύμονα κ. τ. λ. ληροτάτας ἀνδραποδίται καὶ ἀγαγόντας εἰς Σμύρναν ὄσταν ὑπὸ Λιδῶν τότε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Λιδῶν ὄντι φίλῳ τούνομο Μαΐνιον χαρίσασθαι, τὸν δὲ γῆμαι κ. τ. λ. For the date of Aristarchus in Tatian p. 108. Plutarch p. 1070. Clemens Al. p. 327. A. see above p. 107. b. 120. k. Conf. Euseb. Præp. X. 11. Chron. anno 915. Castor apud Eusebium p. 136. *Ionica migratio, in qua Homerum quoque fuisse traditum est.* Repeated by Eusebius p. 305. anno 980. and hence by Syncellus p. 178. D.
- 160 CASSIUS, PHILOSTRATUS: Gell. XVII. 21. *Vixisse annis post bellum Trojānum, ut Cassius in primo Annalium de Homero atque Hesiōdū scriptum reliquit, plus centum atque sexaginta annis.* Suidas "Ομηρος":—τινὲς δὲ μετὰ ρ̄ ἐνιαυτοὺς τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως τετέχθαι ιστοροῦσιν "Ομηρον. Philostratus Heroic. p. 194. records three dates, 24 years after the fall of Troy, 127 years, and 160 years; but himself prefers the third: γέγονε γὰρ παιγνῆς "Ομηρος καὶ ἦδεν, ὡς μὲν φασιν ἔνιοι, μετὰ τέτταρα καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτη τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, οἱ δὲ, μετὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τοὺς ἑκατὸν, ὅτε τὴν ἀποικίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἔστειλαν" οἱ δὲ ἑξῆκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐτη γεγονέναι μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν ἐπὶ "Ομηρὸν τέ φασι καὶ Ἡσίδεον.—καὶ ἀληθέστερα περὶ τῶν 'Ομηρον χρόνων ταῦτα.
- 165 CYRILLUS: adv. Julian. p. 11. D. ἑκατοστῷ ἑκηκοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως "Ομηρον καὶ Ἡσίδεον φασὶ γενέσθαι, βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίων Δαβότου κ. τ. λ. Repeated from Euseb. Chron. Anno 1001. *Nonnulli Homerum atque Hesiōdū his temporibus fuisse aiunt.* 835 + 164=999. at which year Cyril probably found this notice.
- 168 AUCTOR VITÆ HOMERI: see above p. 133. q.
- 180 PHILOCHORUS: see above p. 120. k. The date is repeated from Tatian by Eusebius Chron. anno 915. and from Eusebius by Syncellus p. 180. D. where Eusebius and Syncellus erroneously have ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωνίκης ἀποικίας. Eusebius more correctly in Præp. X. 11. p. 492. A.
- 200 EUTHYMENES and ARCHEMACHUS: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. A. Εἰθυμένης δὲ ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς συνακμάσαντα 'Ησιόδῳ ἐπὶ Ἀκάστου ἐν Χίῳ γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ διακοσιοτὸν ἔτος ὑστερὸν τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως· ταῦτης δέ ἔστι τῆς διέξης καὶ Ἀρχέμαχος ἐν Εὐθυϊκῶν τρίτῳ.
- 240 APOLLODORUS: Tatian. p. 108. Euseb. Præp. X. 11. See above p. 120. k. Repeated Euseb. Chron. anno 915. Syncell. p. 180. D. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. A. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ, μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν τῆς Ἰωνίκης ἀποικίας, Ἀγγησιλάου τοῦ Δορυσσαίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύοντος, ὥστε ἐπιβαλεῖν αὐτῷ Λυκοῦρον τὸν νομοθέτην ἐτη νέον ὄντα. Apollodorus with Eratosthenes placed *Lycurgus* 59 years below this date, or 299 years after the fall of Troy: see above p. 125. Cicero Tusc. V. 3. *Lycurgum, cuius temporibus Homerus etiam fuisse traditur.* Idem Brut. c. 10. *Homerus, cuius etsi incerta tempora, tamen annis multis fuit ante Romulum; siquidem non infra superiorem Lycurgum [see p. 141] fuit.* Idem Rep. II. 10. p. 146. *Homerum autem qui minimum dicunt Lycurgi etati triginta annis anteponunt fere.* If this is derived from Apollodorus, which is probable, Apollodorus must have fixed the birth of Homer at 240 years, and the ἀκμὴ of *Lycurgus* at 299; which would suppose *Lycurgus* about 30 years of age in 299, and 29 years younger than *Homer*, agreeing with this account of Cicero.
- 266 VELLEIUS: who seems to follow Apollodorus: I. 5. *Homerus ferme ante annos DCCCCL floruit, intra mille natus est.* But 950—35=B.C. 924 for the ἀκμὴ of *Homer*; and as Velleius placed the fall of Troy at B.C. 1190 (see above p. 142. m), then 1190—924=266 years after the fall of Troy for the ἀκμὴ, which might place the birth of *Homer* at about the year 240, the date of Apollodorus.
- 273 NEPOS: Gell. XVII. 21. *Vixisse ante Romanam conditam, ut Cornelius Nepos in primo Chronicorum de Homero dixit, annis circiter centum et sexaginta.* Nepos placed the foundation of Rome in Ol. 7. 2. the spring of B.C. 750, and followed Apollodorus and Eratosthenes: see F. H. III. p. XIX. He therefore placed the Trojan era at B.C. 1183. But 1183—750=433; and 433—160=273. This also may be founded on Apollodorus; for if the ἀκμὴ of *Homer* was at 273 years from the era, his birth might have been placed at 240 years.
- 275 PORPHYRY: Suid. v. "Ομηρος.—Πορφύριος ἐν τῇ φιλοσόφῳ ιστορίᾳ πρὸ ρ̄ φησίν [130 years before Ol. 1].—τινὲς δὲ μετὰ ρ̄ ἐνιαυτούς τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως τετέχθαι ιστοροῦσιν "Ομηρον, οἱ δὲ ἡγθεῖς Πορφύριος, μετὰ σοε'. We may suspect that Porphyry referred his ἀκμὴ to the year 275; which

is the opinion also of Mr. Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 334. This would agree with Nepos, and might be resolved into the date of Apollodorus.

302 The PARIAN MARBLE: The fall of Troy is placed 945 years before the epoch of the Marble: see No. 25. and Homer at 643 years: No. 30. $\delta\varphi'$ ὁ Ὀμηρος ὁ ποιητης ἐφάνη ἔτη ΙΗΙΗΔΔΔΔIII. But 945—643=302.

305 SOSIBIUS: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. C. Σωσίβιος ὁ Δάκων ἐν χρόνων ἀναγραφῇ κατὰ τὸ ὄγδοο ἔτος τῆς Χαρίλαου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου βασιλείας Ὁμηρον φέρει—ώς εἶναι ἐνεγκοντά που ἔτων πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ὄλυμπίων θέσεως Ὁμηρον. The 8th year of Charilaüs according to Sosibius, whose other dates agree with this calculation, was B. C. 866: see F. H. II. p. 409. His epoch for the fall of Troy was B. C. 1171: F. H. III. p. 509. But 1171—866=305 years for the interval, agreeing with the period allowed by the Marble.

(409) HERODOTUS: II. 53. Ἡσίδον γὰρ καὶ Ὁμηρον ἡλικίνη τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοντι. He reckoned the fall of Troy more than 800 years before his time: see p. 132. p. which leaves more than 400 for the interval. But compared with the date of Eratosthenes, the interval will be 1183—854=329: compared with the reduced epoch obtained from Callimachus and Phanias, it will give B. C. 1127—854=273 years after the fall of Troy for the ἀκμὴ of Homer.

500 THEOPOMPUS: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. B. Θεόπομπος μὲν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν μετὰ ἔτη πεντακόσια τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ στρατευσάντων γεγονέναι τὸν Ὁμηρον ἵσταρε. Tatian. p. 109. Euseb. Praep. X. 11. ἔτεροι δὲ κάτω τὸν χρόνον ἱπτύγανον, σὺν Ἀρχιλόχῳ γεγονέναι τὸν Ὁμηρον εἰπόντες ὃ δὲ Ἀρχιλόχος ἥκμασε περὶ δλυμπιάδα τρίτην καὶ εἰκοστήν, κατὰ Γύγην τὸν Λυδὸν, τὸν Ἰλιακῶν ὅπεραν ἔτεσι πεντακοσίοις. Euseb. Chron. anno 915. *Alii apud Archilochum 23ο Olympiade, post res Iliacas annis 500.* Conf. Syncell. p. 180. D. The date ascribed to Theopompus, Ol. 23=B C. 688—685, would make the Trojan war 685—500=1185 according to Theopompus. But the period of Theopompus seems to have been adapted to the era of Eratosthenes by the later chronologers. Euphorion apud Clem. Ibid. concurred in the same date, since he also referred Homer to the reign of Gyges and the 18th Olympiad.

The apparent varieties in these accounts are greater than the real. The dates of Velleius, Nepos, Porphyry, may be resolved into the date of Apollodorus, and the date of Apollodorus may be adjusted to that of Herodotus. Some of the other variations might be brought to a nearer agreement with each other, if we knew in all the cases whether the authors intended to express the birth or the ἀκμὴ of Homer. Thus the dates of Cassius, Philostratus, Cyril, the author of the life of Homer, and Philochorus, if interpreted of the ἀκμὴ, may be resolved into the date of Aristotle. But the inaccurate language of Clemens, Tatian, and Eusebius, and the ambiguous meaning of the term γέγονος, leave this point sometimes obscure. This term is often used to express *floruisse* or *vixisse*; as in Suidas v. Ἀριων. Ἀρισταρχος, and especially in v. Ἀριστίφενος. Σαπφώ. Πεισανδρος Νέστορος. Ἀναξαδρίδης. in Diodorus II. 32. κατὰ Εέρζην γεγονές τοις χρόνοις. in Clemens Strom. I. p. 309. B. Δράκων—γεγονός: where it is intended to express not the time of his birth, but the time of his legislation. And in the testimonies quoted above ἥκμασέναι in Tatian p. 107. is expressed in Clemens p. 327. B. by γεγονέναι as an equivalent term; and in Tatian just quoted σὺν Ἀρχιλόχῳ γεγονέναι, ὃ δὲ Ἀρχιλόχος ἥκμασε, γεγονέναι will mean *floruisse* or *vixisse*. And yet this word is just as often used to express *natum esse*. The ambiguity,

then, in this term γεγονός, added to the want of precision in the later writers, sometimes produces an uncertainty.

Aristarchus is made to place the ἀκμὴ of Homer at the Ionic migration; but as Aristotle placed the birth there, we may suspect that Aristarchus, if we had his meaning accurately reported, also placed the birth at that epoch. Whether the author of the life of Homer referred the birth or the ἀκμὴ to the year 168 is not clear. Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 332. understands him to speak of the nativity: Fabricius himself and others tom. I. p. 320. understand the same passage to mark the ἀκμὴ. Philochorus according to Tatian placed the ἀκμὴ at the year 180; according to Clemens he spoke of the birth of Homer at that date. We may reasonably, then, suspect that Apollodorus placed the birth at the year 240, especially when this interpretation of the date will explain the allusion of Cicero; although Tatian refers that date to the ἀκμὴ. And this conclusion is in some degree confirmed by a notice which Hieronymus has inserted in Euseb. Chron. anno 1101: *In Latina historia ad verbum hæc scripta reperimus. “Agrippa apud Latinos “regnante [annis 1102—1141 Hier.=B. C. 915 “—876] Homerus poëta in Græcia claruit, ut “testatur Apollodorus grammaticus, et Ephorus “[sic Scal. p. 62] historicus, ante urbem condi-*

"*tam annis* 124, *et, ut ait Corn. Nepos, ante*
"*Ol. 1. annis* 100." These numbers are con-
sistent: $753 + 124 = 877$, and $776 + 100 = 876$,
the last year of the reign of *Agrippa*. But they
do not represent the dates of either Apollodorus
or Nepos, as Scaliger p. 62. has shewn; since
they place the $\alpha\kappa\rho\eta$ of Homer 307 years below
the fall of Troy. But although the numbers are

inaccurate, yet we may reasonably infer from this account that Apollodorus and Nepos agreed, and that Apollodorus placed *Homer* within the reign of *Agrippa*. Both these things would happen, if Apollodorus placed the birth at the year 240, and Nepos the $\alpha\kappa\rho\eta$ at 273, which would fall upon B.C. 910, the 6th year of *Agrippa*.

T A B L E S.

B. C. 776—559.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
776.	Ol. 1. <i>Coræbus Eleus.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. 30. p. 137. 32. p. 140. 33. p. 142. II. p. 319. Præp. X. p. 503. B. Syncell. p. 196. C. 197. C. Pausan. V. 8. 3. VIII. 26. 3. Athen. IX. p. 382. B. Strabo VIII. p. 355. Phlegon p. 140.	THE first Olympiad is placed by Censorinus c. 21. in the 1014th year before the consulship of <i>Ulpianus</i> and <i>Pontianus</i> A. D. 238=B. C. 776. Solinus 1, 29. attests that Ol. 207 fell within the consulship of <i>Gallus</i> and <i>Verannius</i> : <i>Cum C. Pompeius Gallus et Q. Verannius fuerint consules, consulatu eorum Olympias 207^a actis publicis annotata est.</i> But these were consuls U. C. Varr. 802 A. D. 49: conf. Tacit. Ann. XII. 5. Fast. apud Noris. p. 19. And if the 207th games were celebrated in July A. D. 49, 206 Olympiads or 824 years had elapsed, and the first games were celebrated in July B.C. 776. Eusebius places Ol. 1 in the 94th year before the first annual archon at Athens, and in the second year of <i>Æschylus</i> : Chron. II. p. 318. <i>Æschyli Atheniensium principis anno altero acta est prima Olympias qua vicit stadium Coræbus Eleus.</i> <i>Quinquennalem agonem Elei celebrant, quatuor annis in medio absolutis.</i> In the version of Hieronymus also <i>secundo anno Æschyli Atheniensium judicis.</i> The second year of <i>Æschylus</i> was therefore current in July B. C. 776, and he began to reign B. C. 778, and his 23rd year coincided with Ol. 6. 2. the 22nd Olympic year. The interval to the first annual archon is thus computed by Eusebius p. 318—324. <i>Æschylus</i> last 21 + <i>Alcmaeon</i> 2 + ten decennial archons 70=93 years. But some authorities placed Ol. 1 in the 12th year of <i>Æschylus</i> , and gave 12 years to <i>Alcmaeon</i> : Euseb. Chron. I. 30. p. 137. <i>Vigesimus nonus Æschylus Agamestoris annis XXIII. cuius anno duodecimo prima Olympias instituta est, qua vicit stadium Coræbus Eleus.</i> — <i>Post Æschylum imperat Athenis Alcmaeon annis II.</i> Lege XII. Græca Scaligeri p. 28. <i>αἰκοστὸς ἑνατος Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμήστορος ἐτη καὶ ἐφ' οὐ ἔτει διδεκάτῳ πρώτη Ὁλυμπίας ἡχθη ἦν ἐνίκα Κόρυβος Ἡλεῖος στάδιον.</i> — <i>τριακοστὸς δὲ μετὰ Αἰσχύλου Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύειν Ἀλκμαίων ἐτη ιβ'</i> . This computation placed the reign of <i>Æschylus</i> 10 years higher, his accession at B. C. 788, and his 23rd year at B. C. 765. And the 93 years were obtained thus: <i>Æschylus</i> last 11 + <i>Alcmaeon</i> 12 + decennial archons 70. Syncellus p. 195. C. expresses the higher date: <i>Αἰσχύλου τῷ ιβ' ἔτει πληρουμένῳ καὶ ἀρχομένῳ τῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἔτει—ἡ πρώτη δλυμπιάς ἡχθη.</i> Another computation has been already noticed at p. 132. o.

In both the copies of Eusebius the first Olympic games are placed within the Eusebian year 1240, which is made conumerary with the 2nd year of *Æschylus*. Accordingly that Eusebian year was completed in the autumn of B. C. 776; and 3 months of the first Olympic year belong to 1240 and 9 months to 1241. Hence a different mode of notation in the two copies. The Armenian marks the first Olympic year at the year in which it commenced; Hieronymus at the year in which it ended.

The first Olympic games B. C. 776 are placed at the 1st of *Ahaz* by Africanus apud Syncell. p. 197. C. ο δὲ Αφρικανὸς—κατὰ τὸ α΄ ἔτος Ἀχαῖ τὴν πρώτην δλυμπιάδα φύσκων ἡσχθαι ἐν τῷ τῷ τετάρτῳ λόγῳ τῶν ιστοριῶν αὐτοῦ τριῶν, ἐν οἷς ὁδὲ γράφει· “ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ πρώτην τὴν τεσ-“ σαρεσκαιδεκάτην [conf. F. H. II. p. 410] ἡνίκα καὶ Κόροιβος στάδιον ἐνίκα. “τότε ἰθασίλευτον Ἀχαζ ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλήμ ἔτος πρώτον.” είτα ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ φησί· “ἡν δὲ ἄρα τοῦ Ἀχαῖ βασιλείας ἔτος πρώτον, ω̄ συντρέχειν ἀπεδείξαμεν “τὴν πρώτην δλυμπιάδα.” Eusebius Chron. II. p. 318. places here the 49th of *Uzziah*, and misrepresents Africanus. Conf. Euseb. Chron. II. p. 319. Syncell. p. 197. B. Eusebius himself Præp. X. p. 503. B. where he probably gives the dates of Africanus, refers Ol. 1 to the

3. POETS, &c.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		reign of <i>Ahas</i> : Ἀχας ἔτη 15'. κατὰ τοῦτον ἡ πρώτη ὀλυμπίας ἡχθη. Syncellus p. 197. B. places the games at the 45th of <i>Uzziah</i> : ἀπὸ τοῦ μετέπου Ὁζια. But the 33rd of <i>Uzziah</i> in reality was current at the time of the first Olympic games in July B. C. 776. See Appendix c. 5.
775.	1, 2.	The 3rd year of <i>Æschylus</i> (the 13th by some accounts) and the Eusebian year 1241 extended according to the scheme of Eusebius from autumn B. C. 776 to autumn B. C. 775, and the second Olympic year from July B. C. 775 commenced within it. Hence this second Olympic year is referred in the Armenian copy to the 3rd of <i>Æschylus</i> and the year 1241. Conf. a. 776. F. H. III. p. 302. e. Hieronymus, after naming the first Olympic games at the year 1240, inserts, <i>Hinc decadentibus et succendentibus regnis novus ordo consurgit.</i> and places the first Olympic year at 1241. By this observation (which is not in the Armenian copy) he appears to mean that the years of <i>Abraham</i> and of each respective reign, which were heretofore reckoned from autumn to autumn, are in future reckoned from midsummer to midsummer, corresponding with the Olympic years. In that case Hieronymus strikes out three months from the 2nd year of <i>Æschylus</i> and from the year 1240, and computes the year 1241 (the 3rd of <i>Æschylus</i>) from July B. C. 776, making it conumerary with the first Olympic year.
774.	1, 3.	Euseb. Chron. Anno 1242 Ol. 1. 3. <i>In Italia Pandosia et Metapontus conditæ.</i> Placed at the same period by Syncellus p. 212. C. ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Πανδοσίᾳ καὶ Μεταπόντιον πόλεις ἐκτίσθησαν. An earlier origin is ascribed to Metapontum by Justin XX. 2. <i>Metapontini in templo Minervæ ferramenta quibus Epeus, a quo conditi sunt, equum Trojanum fabricavit ostentant.</i> Conf. Pseudo-Aristot. de Mirab. p. 1161. B. And by Velleius I. 1. * * <i>tempestate distractus a duce suo Nestore Metapontum condidit.</i>
772.	Ol. 2. <i>Antimachus Eleus.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 142.	
*		
768.	Ol. 3. <i>Androclitus Messenius.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. 33. p. 143.	
*		

3. POETS, &c.

Arctinus flourished: Cyril. adv. Julian. p. 12. B. περὶ διαμπιάδι Μιλήσιος ἐποποίος Ἀρκτῖνος λέγεται γεγονέαν. Euseb. Chron. Anno 1241 Ol. 1. 2. *Æschyli* 3^o [anno 1242 *Æschyli* 4^o Hier.] *Arctinus Milesius versicator florebat*. Hence Syncellus p. 212. C. Ἀρκτῖνος Μιλήσιος ἐποποίος ἡκμαζεν. Placed by Suidas at Ol. 9: Ἀρκτῖνος Τηλέω τοῦ Ναύτεω ἀπογόνου Μιλήσιος, ἐποποίος, μαθητὴς Ὁμήρου, ὡς λέγεται Κλαζομένιος Ἀρτέμιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ὁμήρου [conf. Tzetz. Chil. XIII. 641] γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν θ' διαμπιάδα μετὰ τετρακόσια ἑταῖ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν. 400 years after the Trojan era would give B.C. 783. See similar computations at B.C. 693. But Ol. 9=B.C. 743 would give 440 years for the interval. On this account we may perhaps substitute in Suidas γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν α' ὥ. The fiction that *Arctinus* was the disciple of *Homer* attests his high antiquity. The date, however, as it stands in Suidas, Ol. 9, is consistent with the accounts which place him at Ol. 1; and *Arctinus* might occupy 35 years B.C. 775—740. According to Phanias, he contended with *Lesches*: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 333. B. Φανείας πρὸς Τερπάνδρου τιθεὶς Λέσχην τὸν Λέσβιον Ἀρχιλόχου νεώτερον φέρει τὸν Τέρπανδρον διημιλλῆσθαι δὲ τὸν Λέσχην Ἀρκτίνῳ. *Lesches* is placed by Eusebius 118 years below this date, at Ol. 30. conf. a. 657. We shall not, however, with Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 69. and Dodwell de Cycl. p. 129., bring down *Arctinus* to the 30th Olympiad, but rather conclude that Phanias, who places *Lesches* before *Terpander* and in the time of *Arctinus*, followed a different account from that which Eusebius adopted, and assigned to *Lesches* a higher date. Welcker Frigm. Aleman. p. 7., quoting Clemens, observes, *Leschen certamine musico Arctinum superasse circa Ol. 18 auctor est Xanthus Lydus*. But this is neither affirmed by Xanthus, nor is it referred to Ol. 18. That passage of Clemens refers to another transaction, the foundation of Thasos. *Lesches*, then, according to the account of Phanias, might have flourished in Ol. 9 or 10, 80 years before the date of Eusebius, and 60 before the ἀκμὴ of *Terpander*. Two works of *Arctinus* are described by Proclus: Αἰθιοπίδος βιβλία ε' Ἀρκτίνου Μιλήσιου p. 477. Ἰλίου Πέρσιδος βιβλία β' Ἀρκτίνου Μιλήσιου p. 483. Eight lines of the Ἰλίου πέρσις are preserved Schol. Hom. Il. λ'. 515. Ἀρκτῖνος ἐν Ἰλίου πορθῆσει—φησίν. The *Æthiopis* without the name of the author is quoted Schol. Pindar. Isthm. IV. 58. ὁ τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γράψων. The Πέρσις, by Lysimachus apud Schol. Eur. Troad. 31. e cod. Vat. Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὸν Περσῆδα [leg. Πέρσιδα] πεποιηκότα φησι γράψιν οὐτως.

Θησείδαις δὲ πόρεν δῶρα κρέιν Ἀγαμέμνων
ἡδὲ Μενεσθῆ μεγαλήτορι ποιμενι λαῶν.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
765.	3, 4.	The 13th year of <i>Æschylus</i> ; coinciding with the Eusebian year 1251 from autumn B.C. 766 to autumn 765 (conf. a. 775); within which the 12th Olympic year Ol. 3. 4 commenced in July B.C. 765. According to another computation, the 23rd year of <i>Æschylus</i> . conf. a. 776.
764. *	Ol. 4. <i>Polycharus Messenius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. 33. p. 143. Pausan. IV. 4, 4.	Pausan. IV. 4, 4. Πολυχάρης Μεσσήνιος τά τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀφανῆς ἦν καὶ νίκην Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνηρμένος. τετάρτην δλυμπιάδα ἥγου Ἡλεῖοι, καὶ ἀγάνισμα ἦν σταδίου μόνον [conf. a. 724] ὅτε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐνίκησε. This <i>Polycharus</i> twenty years afterwards was the cause of the first Messenian war: Pausan. Ibid. Diod. tom. IV. p. 22.
761.	4, 4.	
760.	Ol. 5. <i>Æschines Eleus.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143.	
759.	5, 2.	[Euseb. Chron. Anno 1257 Ol. 5. 2. <i>Thebani</i> [bene Hieron. <i>Theraei</i>] <i>Cyrenem incolis frequentaverunt jubente oraculo. Coloniae dux fuit Battus, proprio nomine Aristoteles.</i> In Hieron. Anno 1259. Syncellus p. 212. C. Θηβαῖοι Κυρήνην ἀκισταν κατὰ χρησμόν· οἰκιστῆς δὲ αὐτῆς Βάττος ὁ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. Whence it would seem that Θηβαῖοι for Θηγαῖοι was the error of Eusebius himself. In the date there is a prochronism of 128 years. Eusebius gives the true date at B.C. 631.]
758.	5, 3.	<i>Telestes</i> king of Corinth, the 5th from <i>Bacchis</i> , reigns 12 years: conf. a. 744. According to the dates of Diodorus (quoted Ibid.) he recovers the kingdom 41 years after the death of his father <i>Aristodemus</i> .
757.	5, 4.	The 21st year of <i>Æschylus</i> is named by Mar. Par. №. 32. ἀφ' οὗ Ἀρχιτελεῖον δέκατος ἀπὸ Τημένου ἐκ Κορίνθου ἡγαγε τὴν ἀποικιλαν.....Συρακού..... — ...τος Ἀθηνῶν Αἰσχύλου ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ καὶ ἵνες. The 21st year of <i>Æschylus</i> in the Tables of Eusebius is placed anno 1259 Ol. 5. 4, and would commence by his computation in autumn B.C. 758. According to another reckoning (conf. a. 776) it is placed ten years higher. As the Marble does not agree with Eusebius in the preceding dates, we have no proof that it agreed with him in this. And since the

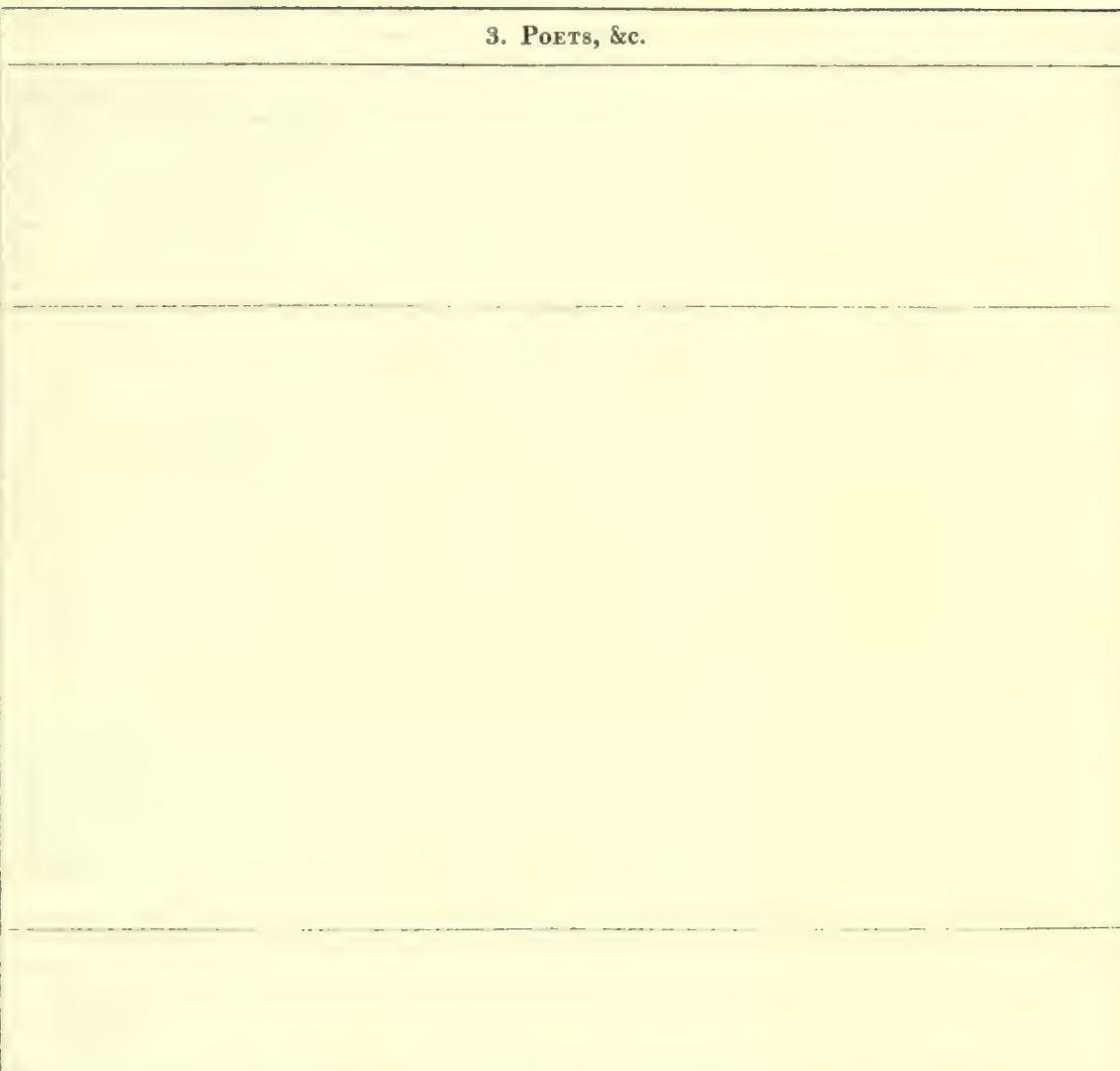
3. POETS, &c.

Cinæthon flourished: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1251 Ol. 3. 4. *Æschyli* 13^o *Cynæthon Lacedæmonius poëta, qui Telegoniam fecit, cognoscebatur.* Placed by Hieronymus anno 1259 *Æschyli* 21^o. Pausan. II. 3, 7. Κιναιθων ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἐγενεαλόγησε γάρ καὶ οὗτος ἔπεσι. Quoted also de *Penthilo* II. 18, 5. Schol. Hom. Il. γ'. 175. ὡς δὲ Κιναιθων, (Ἐλένης καὶ Μενελάου παῖδα) Νικόστρατον. Pausan. VIII. 53, 1. Κιναιθων ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὡς "Ραδάμανθυς μὲν Ἡφαίστου, "Ἡφαῖστος δὲ εἴη Τάλω, Τάλων δὲ εἶναι Κεγτὸς παῖδα. IV. 2, 1. ἐπελεξάμην τὰς τε Ἡοίας καλούμενας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυτάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὺς ὅποτα Κιναιθων καὶ Ἀσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν. From hence we learn that these ancient poems were still extant in A. D. 175. Κιναιθων ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ is quoted Schol. Apollon. I. 1357. The Ιλιάς μικρὰ was by some ascribed to *Cinæthon*: Schol. Eur. Troad. 822. e Cod. Vat. τὸν Γανυμῆδην καθ' Ουρρὸν Τεῷ; ὅντα παῖδα Λαομένοτος νῦν εἶπεν [see above p. 82. v], ἀκολουθίσεις τῷ τὴν μικρὰν Ιλιάδα πεποιηκότι: ὃν οἱ μὲν Θεστορίδην Φωκέα φασὶν [conf. Vit. Hom. c. 16], οἱ δὲ Κιναιθωνα Λακεδαιμόνιον, ὡς Μελάνικος: οἱ δὲ Διοδώρον Ἐρυθραῖον. φασὶ [l. φησὶ] δὲ οὔτως: "Αμπελον ἦν Κρονίδης ἔπορεν"—four lines, which are also extant in Schol. Eur. Or. 1376. where they are quoted from the κύκλος: καθάπερ ἐν κύκλῳ λέγει: "Αμπελον" κ. τ. λ.

Eumelus and *Arctinus* flourished: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1255 Ol. 4, 4. *Æschyli* 17^o *Eumelus poëta qui Bugoniam et Europiam fecit: item Arctinus qui Æthiopicam Iliique Captum, cognoscebatur.* Placed by Hieronymus five years higher: anno 1250 *Æschyli* 12^o. *Eumelus* is mentioned again by Eusebius at Ol. 9: conf. a. 744. He was contemporary with *Phintas* king of Messenia: Ibid. and reached the times of *Archias*: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 333. C. Εὔμηλος ὁ Κορίνθιος, πρεσβύτερος ὃν, ἐπιβεβληκέναι Ἀρχίᾳ τῷ Συρακούσας κτίσαντι. According to these testimonies *Eumelus* flourished about 30 years B. C. 761—731. For *Arctinus* conf. a. 775.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		Marble placed <i>Temenus</i> 26 years higher than the epoch of Eratosthenes (see p. 132), or at B. C. 1129, the nine generations = 300 years would better agree with the highest date for the reign of <i>Æschylus</i> ; which places his 21st year at B. C. 767. If the lacuna is rightly supplied by the editors with ἡτη ΗΗΗΗΙΑΙΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ, which places the 21st year at the date of Eusebius, this will leave 370 years for the 9 generations, and will place the era of Syracuse, according to the corrected Tables of Eusebius, 23 years above its true date. conf. a. 734.
756.	Ol. 6. <i>Æbotas Dymaeus</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. Pausan. VI. 3, 4. VII. 17, 3.	[Euseb. Chron. Anno 1260 Ol. 6. 1. <i>Æschyli</i> 22º. <i>In Ponto Trapezus conditur</i> . Recognised by Syncellus p. 212. C. ἐν Πόντῳ Τραπεζοῦς ἐκτίσθη. Hieron. omits Trapezus, but at Ol. 7. 3 inserts <i>Aradus insula condita</i> : <i>Cyzicus condita</i> . Cyzicus was planted by the Megarians in Ol. 26. conf. a. 675. But Cyzicus is a Milesian colony in Strabo XIV. p. 635. Μιλήσιοι συνάφισαν—ἐν τῇ Κυζικηνῶν νήσῳ Ἀρτάκην, Κύζικον. Schol. Apollon. I. 1077. cod. Par. Ἰάνονας φησὶν ἐπειδὴ Νηλεὺς ὁ Κέδρου εἰς Ἰωνίαν ἀποικίαν ἐστείλατο [εἰς Μίλητον ἀπ. ἰσ. ed.], ἐκ δὲ Μιλήτου Ἰωνικῆς πόλεως μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἀποικία εἰς Κύζικον ἀφίκετο. Plin. H. N. V. 32. <i>Oppidum Milesiorum Cyzicum</i> . We may therefore ascribe this first settlement to the Milesians, and a second establishment in B. C. 675, about 80 years after the first, to the Megarians. Trapezus, with Cotyora and Cerasus, was a colony of Sinopë: Xenoph. Anab. IV. 8, 22. <i>Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα</i> —ἐν τῷ Εὔξεινῳ πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίᾳ. Idem Ib. V. 5, 3. Κοτύωρα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἀποικίους. Ib. V. 3, 3. Κερασοῦντα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, Σινωπέων ἀποικον. Steph. Byz. Τραπεζοῦς—Σινωπέων ἀποικος. Arrian. Peripl. Eux. p. 113. <i>Τραπεζοῦντα—πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα</i> , ὡς λέγει ὁ Σενοφῶν ἐκεῖνος,—Σινωπέων ἀποικον. Diod. XIV. 31. Κοτύωρα—Σινωπέων ἀποικον. Arrian. I. c. p. 129. Κερασοῦς—Σινωπέων καὶ αὐτῇ ἀποικος. cf. Diod. XIV. 30. If this date for Trapezus is accurate, Sinopë itself, from whence Trapezus proceeded, must have been founded at least 130 years before the date assigned in Eusebius: conf. a. 629.]
*		
754.	6, 3.	Euseb. Chron. Anno 1262 Ol. 6. 3. <i>Alcmæon annis II</i> . The 1st of <i>Alcmæon</i> accordingly commences in autumn B. C. 755, where the last year of <i>Æschylus</i> terminates according to Eusebius. But by another computation the last year of <i>Æschylus</i> was B. C. 765, and the first of <i>Alcmæon</i> B. C. 764: conf. a. 776.
753.	6, 4.	The second year of <i>Alcmæon</i> in Eusebius, anno 1263; the 12th by another account: conf. a. 776. [Rome founded according to Varro: F. H. III. p. XIX. t. Velleius I. 8. <i>Sexta Olympiade, post duo et viginti annos quam prima constituta fuerat, Romulus—Roman urbem Parilibus in Palatio condidit</i> . The numbers which follow are corrupted; but this date, equivalent to the 23rd year current, expresses the date of Varro.]
752.	Ol. 7. <i>Daicles Messenius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. Dionys. Ant. I. p. 180. Phlegon p. 148. records the victory of <i>Daicles</i> , but by an error either	The first year of the first decennial archon was current in Ol. 7. 1 according to Eusebius. Anno 1264 Ol. 7. 1. <i>Athenis principatus quod vita maneret mutatur in decennalem, imperatque Charops Æschyli</i> . The year 1264 (the 1st of <i>Charops</i>) extends from autumn B. C. 753 to autumn B. C. 752, and the 25th Olympic year Ol. 7. 1 commences within it. In Hieronymus the 1st of <i>Charops</i> and the year 1264 cor-

3. POETS, &c.



Antimachus of Teos flourished: Plutarch. Romul. c. 12. ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν [*XI Kal. Mai.*] ἦτορ πόλιν δὲ Ρωμύλος ἔκτιζεν ἀτρεκῆ τριακάδα τυχεῖν λέγουσι, καὶ σύνοδον ἐκλειπτικὴν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι σελήνης πρὸς ἥλιον, ἣν εἰδέναι καὶ Ἀντιμάχου οἴονται τὸν Τῆιον ἐποποιὸν, ἕτερι τρίτῳ τῆς ἔκτης ὀλυμπιαδὸς συμπεσοῦσαν. This expresses the date of Varro, and we may observe that the era of Varro is referred to the third year, and not to the fourth, of Ol. 6; that is, to the Olympic year to which it belonged, and not to the Olympic year following: see p. 126. a. *Antimachus* is named by Clem. Strom. VI. p. 622. D. Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ Τῆιου εἰπόντος—“Ἐκ γὰρ δώρων πολλὰ κάκ’ ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται.”

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
	places him in the time of <i>Iphitus</i> who was contemporary with <i>Lycurgus</i> , or omits to distinguish between a first and a second <i>Iphitus</i> : see p. 141.	respond with Ol. 6. 4. But the notation of the Armenian copy better agrees with Dionysius Ant. I. p. 192. who makes the 1st of <i>Charops</i> still current in Ol. 7. 1. ἔτει πρώτη τῆς ἐβδόμης δλυμπιάδος, ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνης τῆς δεκαετίας Χάροπος ἔτος πρῶτον. Ibid. p. 180. κτίζουσι Ρώμην, ἔτους ἑνεστώτος πρώτου τῆς ἐβδόμης δλυμπιάδος ἦν ἐνīκα στάδιον Δαικλῆς Μεσσήνιος, ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνης Χάροπος ἔτος τῆς δεκαετίας πρῶτον. Eusebius, who assumes that the years of every reign in his Tables coincide with the year of <i>Abraham</i> annexed, seems to have placed the accession of <i>Charops</i> a few months too high, since <i>Charops</i> in Dionysius is still in his first year at the foundation of Rome in the tenth month of Ol. 7. 1.
751.	7, 2.	[Rome founded according to Cato: see p. 126. a. and F. H. III. p. XIX. t. Cato fixed it 432 years after the Trojan era of Eratosthenes. But we have shewn p. 124. that Eratosthenes placed the fall of Troy at <i>Thargelion</i> B. C. 1183; and from that date 432 years were completed in <i>Thargelion</i> B. C. 751. which determines the era of Cato to the spring of Ol. 7. 1. If, as some suppose, he had referred it to the spring of Ol. 6. 4, and of B. C. 752, the 431st year was not yet completed. Theophilus ad <i>Autolycum</i> III. 27., who appears to follow Cato, also names the 7th Olympiad and not the 6th: ἐκτισμένης τῆς Ρώμης ὑπὸ Ρωμύλου δλυμπιάδι ζ, πρὸ ι καὶ α' καλανδῶν Μαΐων. and Africanus apud Euseb. Chron. p. 143. Ol. VII <i>Romulus Romam condit.</i>]
750.	7, 3.	[Rome founded according to Polybius: F. H. III. p. XIX. t. This date is recorded by Cicero Rep. II. 10. p. 145. <i>Nam si, id quod Græcorum investigatur annalibus, Roma condita est secundo anno Olympiadis septimæ, in id saeculum Romuli cecidit ætas cum iam plena Græcia poëtarum et musicorum esset.</i> This treatise de <i>Republīca</i> was written B. C. 54: F. H. III. p. 191. But Cicero himself afterwards in B. C. 46, in the <i>Brutus</i> , adopted the era of Varro: F. H. III. p. 25.] The Milesian empire of the sea is placed at this date by Hieronymus: conf. a. 732. To this period, or a little after, may be referred many of the colonies of this state: Strabo XIV. p. 635. πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔργα τείχη· μέγιστου δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀποικιῶν· ὅτε γὰρ Εὔξεινος πόντος ὑπὸ τούτων συνάκισται τᾶς καὶ ἡ Προποντὶς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους τόποι. Ἀναξιμένης γοῦν δὲ Λαμψακῆνός οὕτω φησὶν, ὅτι καὶ Ἰκαρὸν τὴν νῆσον καὶ Λέρον Μιλήσιον συνάκιστα, καὶ περὶ Ἐλλήσποντον ἐν μὲν τῇ Χερδονίσῳ Λίμνῃς ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἀβύδον [conf. a. 715], Ἀρισταῖον [hinc apud Steph. Byz. Ἀρίστη, Eustath. ad Il. p. 894. apud Berkel. ad loc. πόλις τῆς Τρωάδος, Μιτυληναίων ἀποικος l. Μιλησίων ἀπ.], Παιανίον ἐν δὲ τῇ Κυζικηνῷ νήσῳ Ἀρτάκην [Αρτάκη, πόλις Φρυγίας, ἀποικος Μιλησίων Steph. Byz.], Κύζικον [conf. a. 756]. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῆς Τρωάδος Σκῆνῃ. Naucratis was a Milesian colony: Steph. Byz. Ναύκρατις. πόλις Αἰγύπτου, ἀπὸ Μιλησίων τότε θαλασσοχρατούτων. Στράβων ἐπτακαθέκατη. Conf. Suid. Ναύκρατις. Placed at this date by Hieronymus: conf. a. 732. in the reign of <i>Psammētichus</i> [B. C. 670—617] by Strabo XVII. p. 801: conf. a. 630. Among the distant colonies of Miletus referred to by Ephorus apud Athen. XII. p. 523. a. (see above p. 115. w) were <i>Tius</i> : Steph. Byz. Τίος, πόλις Παρθαγονίας τοῦ Πόντου, ἀπὸ Τίου ιερέως, τὸ γένος Μιλησίου, αἱς Φίλων. Arrian. Peripl. p. 126. εἰς Τίον πόλιν Ἐλληνίδα Ιωνικήν—Μιλησίων ἀποικον. Phasis: Steph. Byz. Φάσις. πόλις τῆς Ἀσίας—ἐκτίσθη δὲ ὑπὸ Μιλησίων. Di-

3. POETS, &c.

Hieronym. Anno 1266 *Charopis* 3° *Ol.* 7. 2 = 3 Arm. *Thales Milesius physicus philosophus agnoscitur*. In this notice (which is absent from the Armenian copy) Hieronymus has mistaken *Thaletas* the Cretan for *Thales of Miletus*. conf. Corsin. F. A. tom. III. p. 15. Augustine Civ. Dei XVIII. 24. follows Hieronymus in the same mistake: *Eodem Romulo regnante Thales Milesius fuisse perhibetur, unus e septem sapientibus*. The time, then, of *Thaletas* is given, whom some accounts placed at the 7th Olympiad. Other accounts assigned to him a still higher antiquity. He was accounted earlier than *Homer*: Suidas: Θαλῆτας, Κεῖται ἡ Ἰλλύριος [Ἐλύριος Meurs.], λυρίκος, γεγονὼς πρὸ Ὀμήρου. and contemporary with *Lycurgus*: Ephorus apud Strabon. X. p. 482. λέγεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ Κρητῶν ὡς καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀφίκοιτο Λυκοῦργος—ἐλθόντα δὲ πλησιάσαι Θάλητι μελυποιῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ νομοθετικῷ, κ. τ. λ. Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 4. ἔνα τῶν νομιζομένων ἐκεῖ σοφῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν χάριτι καὶ φιλίᾳ πείσας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, Θάλητα, ποιητὴν μὲν δοκοῦντα λυρικῶν μελῶν, κ. τ. λ. Demetrius Magnes apud Laërt. I. 38. Θαλῆς—ἀρχαῖος πάνυ, κατὰ Ἡσίδον καὶ Ὄμηρον καὶ Λυκοῦργον. Sextus Empir. p. 293. δὲ Σπαρτιάτης Λυκοῦργος, ὡς ἀν ζηλωτῆς Θάλητος τοῦ Κρητὸς γενόμενος. But Aristotle Rep. II. 9, 5. = II. 12. rejects this account: πειρῶνται τινες συνάγειν ὡς Ὄνομακρίτου μὲν γενομένου πρώτου δεινοῦ περὶ νομοθεσίαν, γυμνασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Κρήτῃ Λοκρὸν ὄντα καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντα κατὰ τέχνην μαντικήν· τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Θάλητα ἐταῖρον. Θάλητος δὲ ἀκροστὴν Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ζάλευκον, Ζαλεύκου δὲ Χαρώνδαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσιν ἀσκεπτότερον τῷ χρόνῳ λέγοντες. *Thaletas* in reality flourished fifty or sixty years later than the date of Hieronymus: conf. ann. 665. 644.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		oscurias: Arrian. p. 122. Διοσκουριάς—ἀποικος Μιλησίων. Apollonia on the Euxine: Strab. VII. p. 319. Ἀπολλωνία ἀποικος Μιλησίων. Odessus: conf. a. 592. Theodosia and Panticapaeum: F. H. II. p. 281. Cepi: Scymn. Fragm. 151. Κῆπος τ' ἀποικισθεῖσα διὰ Μιλησίων. Tyras: Scymn. 55. ὁμάνυμος δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ κεῖται πόλις Τύρας, ἀποικος γενομένη Μιλησίων. Olbia or Borysthenes: Steph. Byz. Βορυσθένης—πόλις Ἐλληνίς—Μιλησίων ἀποικία, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Βορυσθένην αὐτοὶ δὲ Ολβίαν. Scymn. Fragm. 60.—πρότερον Ολβία καλουμένη, Μετὰ ταῦθ' υφ' Ἐλλήνων πάλιν Βορυσθένης Κληθεῖσα· ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Μιλησίοι Κτίζουσι κατὰ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐπαρχίαν. Founded therefore after B. C. 711.
748.	Ol. 8. <i>Anticles Messenius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143.	<i>Phidon</i> tyrant of Argos celebrated the 8th Olympic games: Pausan. VI. 22, 2. Πισταῖοι ἐφειδικύσαντο αὐθαίρετον συμφορὰν ἀπεχθανόμενοι τε Ἡλείοις καὶ σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι τιθέναι τὸν Ὄλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀντὶ Ἡλείων οἱ γε Ὄλυμπιάδι μὲν τῇ ὄγδοῃ τὸν Ἀργείον ἐπηγάγοντο Φείδωνα τυράννων τῶν ἐν Ἐλλησι μάλιστα υβρίσαντα, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθεσαν ὁμοῦ τῷ Φείδωνι. Ephorus apud Strab. VIII. p. 358. agrees with this date, and places <i>Phidon</i> in the tenth generation from <i>Temenus</i> . The Parian Marble, however, No. 31. and many other authors referred to by Dexippus apud Syncell. p. 262. place <i>Phidon</i> three generations higher, and in the same generation with <i>Iphitus</i> and <i>Lycurgus</i> . But the lower date is the true date, because <i>Phidon</i> flourished after the Olympiads were begun to be registered, and after the Lacedæmonians had acquired the lead in Peloponnesus. See Appendix c. I.
747.	8, 2.	[Rome founded according to Fabius Pictor: F. H. III. p. XIX. t. Lydus de Mensibus c. 5. p. 5. Ρωμύλος κτίζει τὴν Ρώμην τῇ πρὸ δεκαμιᾶς καλανδῶν Μαΐου κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἑτοῖς τῆς ἔκτης [April B. C. 753], ἡ, ὡς ἔτεροι, κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον τῆς ὄγδοης [April B. C. 746]. The first is the era of Varro; the second seems intended for the date of Fabius. The era of Nabonassar is computed from Feb. 27 B. C. 747: F. H. III. p. XVII.]
746.	8, 3.	<i>Automenes</i> king of Corinth: conf. a. 744.
745.	8, 4.	The first annual <i>prytanis</i> at Corinth, 90 years before the reign of <i>Cypselus</i> : conf. a. 744.
744.	Ol. 9. <i>Xenocles Messenius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. <i>Xenodocus</i> Pausan. IV. 5, 4. conf. a. 743. 2.	The second annual <i>prytanis</i> at Corinth: Pausan. II. 4, 4. ἀπὸ Βάκχιδος οἱ Βάκχιδαι καλούμενοι (βασιλεύουσι) πέντε—γενέας ἐς Τελέστην τὸν Ἀριστοδήμου. καὶ Τελέστην μὲν κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀριεὺς καὶ Περάντας κτείνουσι, βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐγένετο, πρυτάνεις δὲ ἐκ Βάκχιδῶν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχοντες, ἐς ὁ Κύψελος τυραννήσας ὁ Ἡστιανός ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Βάκχιδας. The five generations are marked by Diodorus apud Euseb. p. 164. Syncellum p. 179. Προύμνης ἔτη λέ [B. C. 959—925] καὶ Βάκχις ὄμοιός τὸν ἵσον χρόνον [B. C. 924—890], γενόμενος ἐπιφανέστατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ διο καὶ συνέβη τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλεύσαντας οὐκ ἔτι Ἡρακλεῖδας ἀλλὰ Βάκχιδας προσαγορεύεσθαι. μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀγέλας μὲν ἔτη λέ [B. C. 889—860], Εύδημος δὲ ἔτη κέ [B. C. 859—835], Ἀριστομήδης [Ἀριστόδημος Eusebius cum Pausan.] ε' καὶ λ' [B. C. 834—800]. οὗτος δὲ τελευτήσας ἀπέλιπεν υἱὸν Τελέστην παιδα τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐ τὴν κατὰ γένος βασιλείαν ἀφείλατο θεῖος ὃν καὶ ἐπίτροπος Ἀγήμαν, ὃς ἥρξεν ἔτη ισ' [B. C. 799—784]. μετὰ τοῦτον κατέσχεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κέ'

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Eumelus is named again at Ol. 9 : Euseb. Chron. Anno 1272 Ol. 9. 1. *Charopis* 9^o *Eumelus Corinthius versificator florebat. Anno 1275 Ol. 9. 4.* *Aesimidis* 2^o *Sibylla Erythræa cognoscebatur.* In Hieronymus they are placed together at the year 1276. Cyrill. adv. Julian. p. 12. B. ἐνάτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι Θύμηλον [l. Εύμηλον] ἐποποίὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ Σίβυλλαν τὴν Ἐρυθραίαν. Pausan. IV. 4, 1. ἐπὶ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσήνιον τότε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δῆλον θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι. τὸ δέ σφισιν ἀσμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εύμηλος, εἰναὶ τε ᾧ ἀλγθῶς Εύμηλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα. Idem IV. 33, 3. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ ἔστιν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Εύμηλου τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησε γοῦν καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ προσοδίῳ τῷ ἐς Δῆλον.

τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτῳ καταθήμος ἐπίλετο μῖσα
— ἀ καβαρὰ καὶ ἀλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχουσα.

Idem V. 19, 2. τὰ ἐπιγράμματα τὰ ἐπ' αὐτὴν [arcam Cypseli] τάχα μέν που καὶ ἄλλος τις ἀν εἴη πεποιηκὼς, τῆς δὲ ὑπονοίας τὸ πολὺ ἐς Εύμηλον τὸν Κορίνθιον εἶχεν ἡμῖν, ἄλλων τε εἴνεκα καὶ τοῦ προσόδιου μάλιστα δὲ ἐποίησεν ἐς Δῆλον. The age of *Phintas* agrees with the time assigned to *Eumelus* in Ol. 9. See above p. 129. k. *Eumelus* was of the *Bacchiadæ*: Pausan. II. 1, 1. Εύμηλος ὁ Ἀμφιλύτου τῶν Βακχιαδῶν καλου-

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		[B. C. 783—759]. τοῦτον ἀνελῶν Τελέστης ὁ στερηθεὶς τῆς πατρῷας ἀρχῆς ἡρξεν ἔτη iβ' [B. C. 758—747]. τούτου δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν ἀναιρεθέντος Αὐτομένης μὲν ἡρξεν ἐνιαυτὸν [B. C. 746] οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους Βακχίδαι πλείους ὄντες διακοσίων κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ κοινῇ μὲν προειστήκεισαν τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντες, ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ ἕνα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἥροῦντο πρύτανιν, δε τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἶχε τάξιν, ἐπὶ ἔτη ζ', μέχρι τῆς Κυψέλου τυραννίδος, ὧφ' ἡς κατελύθησαν. The same numbers are in Euseb. p. 165. and in the list of reigns apud Syncell. p. 180. which ends with Αὐτομένης ἔτος ἔν. μεθ' οὓς ἐνιαύσιοι πρυτάνεις ἔτη ζ'. For the account in the Tables of Eusebius see above p. 130. m. <i>Cypselus</i> began to reign B.C. 655: conf. a. 625. which fixes the 90 years to B. C. 745—656, and determines the dates of the preceding reigns. The <i>Bacchiadæ</i> are noticed by Herodotus V. 92. ἦν δλιγαρχίη, καὶ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἐνεμον τὴν πόλιν. and by Strabo VIII. p. 378. οἱ Βακχιάδαι τυραννήσαντες, πλούσιοι καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ γένος λαμπροὶ, διαχώσια ἔτη σχεδόν τι κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχήν—τούτους τε Κύψελος καταλύσας αὐτὸς ἐτράννησε, καὶ μέχρι τριγονίας ὁ οίκος αὐτοῦ συνέμεινε. Larcher, who adds 87 years to the chronology of Eratosthenes, assigns these 200 years to the annual <i>prytanes</i> : Herodot. tom. VII. p. 522. <i>Diodore de Sicile en compte</i> 90; mais Strabon en met jusqu'à deux cens. M ^r . Muller Dor. tom. II. p. 519. also understands the 200 years of the annual <i>prytanes</i> : "Strabo's 200 <i>prytanes</i> have arisen from a confusion with the number "of males in the <i>Bacchiadæ</i> ." It is more probable, from comparing Pausanias l. c., that Strabo intended to express the whole government of the <i>Bacchiadæ</i> , kings as well as <i>prytanes</i> , and to mark the interval between <i>Bacchis</i> and <i>Cypselus</i> . That interval in Diodorus is 234 years: but Strabo adopting another computation (perhaps shortening the space between <i>Aristodemus</i> and <i>Telestes</i>) might reckon the period at 200 years. See above p. 130. m.
743.	9, 2.	First Messenian war: Pausan. IV. 5, 4. ταύτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι πράτην ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους ἔξοδον ἐποιήσαντο ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς ἐνάτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν Ξενόδοκος Μεσσηνίος ἐνίκα στάδιον. Ἀθήνησι δὲ οὐκ ἡσάν πω τότε οἱ τῷ κλήρῳ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχοντες τοὺς γάρ ἀπὸ Μελάνθου, καλούμενους δὲ Μεδοντίδας, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀφείλοντο ὁ δῆμος τῆς ἔξουσίας τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀντὶ βασιλείας μετέστησαν ἐς ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον, ὑστερον δὲ καὶ προθεσμιαν ἐτῶν δέκα ἐποιησαν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς. τότε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Ἀμφείας Αἰσιμίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἡρχεν ὁ Αἰσχύλου πέμπτον ἔτος. Eusebius Chron. II. p. 321. Anno 1274 Ol. 9. 3. <i>Æsimides</i> 10. <i>Lacedæmonii cum Messeniis bellum gerunt</i> . This Eusebian year commenced in autumn B. C. 743, and included nine months of Ol. 9. 2. The date of Eusebius, then, may agree with the date of Pausanias. Hieronymus places the war at the preceding year: Anno 1273 <i>Charopis</i> 10 ^o .
742.	9, 3. *	In the time of the decennial archons Pausanias differs from Dionysius and Eusebius. If the 5th year of <i>Æsimides</i> was current in Ol. 9. 2, his first was current in Ol. 8. 2, and the first of <i>Charops</i> was current in Ol. 5. 4 B. C. 757, five years higher than the date of Eusebius: conf. a. 723. From Eusebius p. 320. and Pausan. l. c. we learn that the two first decennial archons were both sons of the archon <i>Æschylus</i> .
		First year of <i>Æsimides</i> according to Eusebius: conf. a. 743.

3. POETS, &c.

μέναν, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφῇ (εἰ δὴ Εὔμηλου γε ἡ συγγραφή) Ἐφύραν Ὡκεανοῦ θυγατέρα κ. τ. λ. It is well explained by Groddeck and Siebelis ad loc. that this Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφή was a prose epitomē of the poem of *Eumelus*: *epitome prosaica a grammatico aliquo ex antiquo Eumeli carmine concinnata*. The prose epitomē seems quoted by Pausanias II. 2, 2 (ubi confer Lobbeck. Aglaopham. p. 284. f.). II. 3, 8. Clemens Al. Strom. VI. p. 629. A. the original poem of *Eumelus* by Theopompus apud Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 174. Θεόπομπος ὁ Χίος Εὔμηλου τῆς Κορίνθου ιστορικοῦ ποιητοῦ μέμνηται λέγοντος οὕτως*

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὲ Αἴγας καὶ Ἀλαεὺς ἔζεγένοντο κ. τ. λ.

Eight lines. Schol. Pindar. Ol. XIII. 74. gives the same lines: Εὔμηλός τις ποιητὴς ιστορικὸς εἰπών—but without naming Theopompus; and they are again referred to by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1024. Εὔμηλος ὁ ποιητὴς, οὗ τὰ ἔπη ἐν τοῖς ὄπισθεν εἰρήκειν. The poem is quoted Schol. Apollon. III. 1872. οὗτος καὶ οἱ ἔχης στίχοις εἰλημμένοι εἰσὶ παρ' Εὔμηλου, παρ' ᾧ Μήδεια πρὸς Ἰδμονα διαλέγεται. Either the poem or the epitomē by Schol. Eur. Med. 10. Perhaps the poem itself by Schol. Apollon. I. 146. Εὔμηλος ἐν Κορινθίασκοις. IV. 1212. Ἐφύρα ἡ Κόρινθος, ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ἐπιμηθέως θυγατρός. Εὔμηλος δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ὡκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος, γυναικὸς δὲ γενομένης Ἐπιμηθέως.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
740.	Ol. 10. <i>Dotades Messenius.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143.	
786.	Ol. 11. <i>Leochares Messenius.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143.	
735.	11, 2.	Naxos founded the year before Syracuse: Thucyd. VI. 3. Ἐλλήνων δὲ πρῶτοι Χαλκίδης, ἐξ Εύβοίας πλεύσαντες μετὰ Θουκλέους οἰκιστοῦ Νάξου ὥκισαν, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀρχηγέτου βαμὸν ὅστις νῦν ἔχει τῆς πόλεως ἐστιν ιδρυσαντο, ἐφ' ω, ὅταν ἐκ Σικελίας θεωροὶ πλέωσι, περῶτον θύουσι. Συρακούσας δὲ τοῦ ἔχομένου ἔτους Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὥκισε Σικελοὺς ἐξελάσας πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νῆσου, ἐν ᾧ νῦν οὐκέτι περικλυζομένη ἡ πόλις, ἡ ἐντός ἐστιν. Placed two years too high in Euseb. Chron. Anno 1280 Ol. 11. 1. In <i>Sicilia conditur Anaxus [i. Naxos].</i> In Hieron. at the year 1281. For Ephorus see F. H. II. p. 265. Add Scymnus 270—277. Naxos is marked as the first settlement by Diodorus XIV. 88:
734.	11, 3.	<i>Archias</i> founds Syracuse: Euseb. Armen. V. Anno 1282 Ol. 11. 3. <i>Æsimidis</i> 9 ^o . Arm. M. anno 1283 Ol. 11. 4. <i>Æsimidis</i> 10 ^o . <i>Syracusæ et Catina in Sicilia conduntur.</i> Hieron. Anno 1284 Clidici 1 ^o . Syracuse is at the right date; Catana four years too high. The higher date of the Venetian edition is much to be preferred. It will place the epoch of Syracuse in the summer of B. C. 734, the close of Ol. 11. 2. and the epoch of Catana (conf. a. 730) in the summer of B. C. 730, the beginning of Ol. 12. 3. The era of Syracuse is thus carried upwards one year higher than the date formerly obtained, and two complete years intervene between <i>Trotillus</i> and <i>Megara Hyblæa</i> : see F. H. II. p. 264. 265. <i>Chersicrates</i> the founder of Coreyra was the companion of <i>Archias</i> : Strabo VI. p. 262. See F. H. II. p. 265. The account of Strabo is confirmed by a narrative in which <i>Chersicrates</i> and <i>Archias</i> apud Plutarch. Amat. Narr. p. 772. 773. Schol. Apollon. IV. 1212. are both concerned in the same transaction, the death of <i>Actæon</i> . The Scholiast: οἱ Βαχχιάδαι νυκτὸς ἐπελύοντες ἐβούλοντο ἀποσπᾶν τὸν παῖδα Ἀκταίωνα. τῶν δὲ γονέων ἄντεχόντων, συνέβη διασπασθῆναι αὐτόν.—οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι—ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Βαχχιάδας. Χερσικράτης δὲ, εἰς τῶν Βαχχιάδων, ἔκτισε Κερκύραν. Plutarch: Ἀρχίας, γένους μὲν ὁν τῶν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει λαμπρότατος Κορινθίων—ἀπόγειν τὸν παῖδα ἐπειράτον ἀντιποιούμενον δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων—ἀνθελκόμενος δὲ Ἀκταίων διεφέρει.—μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ αὐχμὸς καὶ λοιμὸς κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ ἀκαλλαγῆς χρωμένων, ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖδε μῆνιν εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος—ταῦτα πυθόμενος Ἀρχίας (αὐτὸς γάρ θεωρὸς ἦν) εἰς μὲν τὴν Κορίνθον ἐκάνει οὐκ ἐπανῆλθε, πλεύσας δὲ εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακούσας ἔκτισε. Diodorus Excerpt. tom. IV. p. 24. mentions <i>Archias</i> and <i>Actæon</i> after the beginning of the Messenian war B. C. 743: whence Valesius justly infers that Diodorus agreed with Eusebius rather than with the Marble in the era of Syracuse. <i>Chersicrates</i> is named by Timaeus apud Schol. Apollon. IV. 1216. Χερσικράτη ἀπόγεον τῶν Βαχχιάδῶν, εἴτε ἐκπεσόντα τῆς Κορίνθου, εἴτε καὶ ἐκόντα, ἀπελθεῖν διὰ ἀτιμίαν [διὰ τὸ ἡτιμώσθαι Cod. Par.], καὶ κατακηκέναι τὴν νῆσον. These expressions of Timaeus seem to point at the affair of <i>Actæon</i> . The son

3. POETS, &c.

Callinus of Ephesus probably flourished as early as this date : conf. a. 712.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		<p>of <i>Melissus</i> and the expulsion of the <i>Bacchiadæ</i> are noticed by Alexander <i>Ætolus apud Parthen.</i> c. 14. θαλλήσει μέγαν νῦν ἀφ' οὐ μέγα χάρης Κορίνθῳ ἔσται καὶ βριαροῖς ἀλγεῖα Βακχιάδαις.</p> <p><i>Myscellus</i> was also contemporary with <i>Archias</i>: F. H. II. p. 265. h. and yet Crotona is placed 24 years, and Coreyra 26, below the date of Syracuse: conf. ann. 710. 708.</p>
732.	Ol. 12. <i>Oxythemis Coronæus</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143.	<p>Euseb. Chron. <i>Anno 1284 Ol. 12. 1. Clidicus annis 10.</i> According to Pausanias I. 3, 2. <i>Clidicus</i> was the son of <i>Æsimides</i>: τὸν ἄπὸ Μελάνθου βασιλεύσαντας ἐς Κλειδίκον τὸν Αἰσμιδίους. From hence it would seem that in <i>Clidicus</i> the lineal succession failed; and that <i>Hippomenes</i>, though one of the <i>Medontidae</i> (conf. a. 723), was not the son of <i>Clidicus</i>.</p> <p>Eusebius Chron. I. p. 168. having brought down the empire of the sea (from Diodorus) to the year 1137 = B. C. 880 (see above p. 23. s.) proceeds thus: 6°, <i>Cyprii annis 33.</i> 7°, <i>Phœnices annis 45.</i> 8°, <i>Ægyptii annis... 9°, Milesii annis [18]. 10°, [Cares] annis [61]. Hieronymus: Anno 1192 [B.C. 825] 7°, <i>Phœnices mare obtinuerunt. Anno 1230 [B. C. 787] Ægyptii post Phœnices mare obtinuerunt. Anno 1264 [B. C. 753] Mare obtinent Milesii construxeruntque urbem in Ægypto Naucratim.</i> These three notices are not in the Armenian copy of the Tables. But between the 5th period in Eusebius ending B. C. 880, and the 7th in Hieronymus commencing B. C. 825, is a space of 55 years. Eusebius p. 321. proceeds: <i>Anno 1286 Ol. 12. 3. Clidici 3°, decimo loco maria tenuerunt Cares annis 61.</i> Hieron. <i>anno 1284 Clidici 1°.</i> which better agrees with the termination of the 61 years in Ol. 27. 1. conf. a. 671. And if the 18 years of the Milesians ended in B. C. 732, they would commence in B. C. 750.</i></p>
730.	12, 3.	<p>Leontium and Catana are founded in the fifth year after Syracuse: Thucyd. VI. 3. Θουκῆς καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδῆς ἐκ Νάξου ὁρμηθέντες ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθεῖσας Λεοντίνους τε, πολέμω τὸν Σικελοὺς ἐξελάσαντες, οἰκίζουσι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Κατάνην οἰκιστὴν δὲ αὐτοὶ Καταναῖοι ἐποίησαντο Εὔαρχον. Syracuse being founded, by the corrected date of the Tables of Eusebius (conf. a. 734), in the close of Ol. 11. 2. nineteen years after the Varronian era of Rome, Catana, in the fifth year afterwards, is fixed to the beginning of Ol. 12. 3. the middle of B. C. 730. About the same time a settlement was attempted at Trotillus: F. H. II. p. 264.</p>
728.	Ol. 13. <i>Diocles Corinthius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. Aristot. Rep. II. 9, 7.	<p>Megara Hyblæa is founded: F. H. II. p. 264. Perhaps a year or two later: Ibid. But this date, B. C. 728, will leave two complete years between the establishment at Trotillus and the foundation of Megara.</p> <p>[Rome founded according to Cincius: F. H. III. p. XIX. t.]</p>
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724.	Ol. 14. <i>Dasmon Corinthius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I.	The διαυλος added at the Olympic games: Africanus apud Euseb. Chron. p. 142. <i>Solius stadii usus fuit usque ad 13^{am} Olymp.</i> p. 143.

3. POETS, &c.

Philolaüs the Corinthian flourished : Aristot. Rep. II. 9, 7 = II. 12. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Φιλόλαος ὁ Κορίνθιος νομοθέτης Θῆβαίοις. ἦν δὲ Φιλόλαος τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν Βακχιαδῶν, ἑραστὴς δὲ γενόμενος Διοκλέους τοῦ νικήσαντος Ὀλυμπίασιν [sc. in Ol. 13], ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὴν πόλιν ἔλιπε διαμισῆσας τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλκυόνης, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Θῆβας, κάκει τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν ἀμφότεροι. καὶ νῦν ἔτι δεικνύουσι τοὺς τάφους αὐτῶν ἄλληλοις μὲν εὔσυνόπτους ὅντας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων χώραν τοῦ μὲν συνόπτου τοῦ δ' οὐ συνόπτου, κ. τ. λ.—Ὥχησαν μὲν διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν παρὰ τοῖς Θῆβαιοις, νομοθέτης δ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο Φιλόλαος περὶ τ' ἄλλων τιῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδοκοΐας, οὓς καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι νόμους θετικούς· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἴδιως ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου νενομοθετημένον, ὥπερ ὁ ἀριθμὸς σύζηται τῶν κλήρων.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
	p. 143. Pausan. IV. 13, 5. Desmon Armen.	<i>Ol. 14. Additus est recursus, quem vicit Hypenus Eleus.</i> Pausan. V. 8, 3. ἐξ οὗ τὸ ξυνεχὲς ταῖς μνήμαις ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἔστι, δρόμου μὲν ἀθλα ἐτέθη πρώτον, καὶ Ἡλεῖος Κόροιβος ἐνίκα.—δλυμπιάδι δὲ ὑστερον τετάρτη καὶ δεκάτη προσετέθη σφίσι δίσυλος: "Τηγηνος δὲ ἀνὴρ Πισαῖος ἀνείλετο ἐπὶ τῷ διαύλῳ τὸν κόπινον, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς "Ακανθος.
723.	14, 2.	First Messenian war ended: Pausan. IV. 13, 5. ὃ δὲ πόλεμος ἥλαβεν οὗτος τέλος ἦτει πρώτω τῆς τετάρτης καὶ δεκάτης δλυμπιάδος, ἦν Δάσμων Κορίνθιος ἐνίκα στάδιον, Ἀθήνησι Μεδοντίδῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἔχόντων τὴν δεκάτην, καὶ ἔτους Ἰππομένει τετάρτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡνυσμένου. The war lasted 19 years, and was ended in the 20th: Tyrtaeus apud Strab. VI. p. 279. ἀμφὶ ταῦθ' ἐμάχοντ' ἐννεακαΐδεκ' ἔτη ναλεμένας αἱὲι ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες αἰχματαὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες· εἴκοστψ δὲ οἱ μὲν κατὰ πίστα ἔργα λιπόντες φεῦγον Ἰθωμαῖον ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.
		Conf. Pausan. IV. 13, 4. 15, 1. Isocrates Archidam. p. 127. e. marks the duration of this war: Μεσσηνίων ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς χώρας εἰκοσιν ἔτη πολιορκθέντων. Orosius I. 21. Per annos viginti bellantes. Diodorus XV. 66. τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον εἰκοσαετὴ φασὶ γενεσθαι. Theopompus king of Sparta concluded this war: Pausan. IV. 6, 2. Θεόπομπος ἦν καὶ ὁ πέρας ἐπιθεὶς τῷ πολέμῳ μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεῖαι τῶν Τυρταίου λέγοντα ἡμετέρην βασιλῆην θεσίσι φίλη Θεόπομπῳ, ὃν δια Μεσσήνην εἴλομεν εὐρύχορον.
		If the war began in Ol. 9. 2, in the autumn, or towards the close of B.C. 743, it would terminate in the beginning of B.C. 723, the middle of Ol. 14. 1.
		Pausanias, who supposed the fourth year of Hippomenes to have been completed in Ol. 14. 1, consequently reckoned his first year to have been completed in Ol. 13. 2 B.C. 727, five years earlier than the date of Eusebius, as he had placed Æsimides five years higher. Conf. a. 743.
722.	14, 3.	Euseb. Chron. Anno 1294 Ol. 14. 3. Hippomenes annis decem. commencing according to Eusebius in autumn B.C. 723. conf. a. 776.
721.	14, 4.	Sybaris founded, according to the combined accounts of Diodorus and Scymnus: conf. a. 710.
720.	Ol. 15. Orsippus Megarensis. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. See col. 2.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 143. <i>Ol. 15. Additus est dolichus.</i> <i>Nudi currebant, vinebatque Acanthus Laco.</i> Dionys. Ant. VII. p. 1485. ὁ πρώτος ἐπιχειρήσας ἀποδιῆναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ γυμνὸς δλυμπιάσι δραμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πεντεκαΐδεκάτης δλυμπιάδος "Ακανθος ὁ Λακεδαιμονίος ἦν. τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων δι' αἰσχύνης εἶχον ἀπαντες "Ελληνες ὅλα γυμνὰ φαίνεντιν ἐν ταῖς ἀγωνίαις τὰ σώματα. Hesych. ζώσατο.—κατὰ τοὺς Ομήρου χρόνους οὐδέπω γυμνοὶ ἡγωνίζοντο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς πεντεκαΐδεκάτης δλυμπιάδος. Other accounts ascribe this to Orsippus, who won the stadium in this Olympiad: Pausan. I. 44, 1. Κοροίβου τέθαπται πλησίον "Ορσιππος, ὃς περιεκωσμένων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ δὴ παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀθλητῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκα στάδιον δραμῶν γυμνός. φασὶ δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῦντα ὑστερον τὸν "Ορσιππον ἀποτεμέσθαι χώραν τῶν προσοίκων. δοκῶ δέ οι καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ περίζωμα ἐκόντι περιέρρυνται, γνόντι αἷς ἀνδρὸς περιέχωσμένου δραμεῖν ἥσαν ἐστιν ἀνὴρ γυμνός. Inscriptio apud Boeckh. №.

3. POETS, &c.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		<p>1050. tom. I. p. 553. Jacobs. Anthol. tom. XIII. p. 796. Conf. Schol. Thucyd. I. 6.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Ὀρφίππῳ Μεγαρῆς με δαιφρον τῇδ' ἀρίδηλον μνᾶμα θέσαν, φάμα δελφίδι πειθόμενοι· ὅς δὴ μακίστους μὲν δροὺς ἀπελύσατο πάτρα, πολλὰν δυσμενέων γάν ἀποτεμομένων, πράτος δ' Ἑλλάνων ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀπεφανώθη γυμνὸς, ζωνυμέναν τὸν πρὸ ἐνὶ σταδίῳ.</p> <p>Jacobs suspects the authenticity of this inscription; but its genuineness is well defended in the commentary of M^r. Boeckh p. 553—556. Eustathius ad Il. ψ'. p. 1324, 14. agrees in the date, but follows an inaccurate account that <i>Orsippus</i> failed: φέρεται ιστορία ὅτι μετὰ τὴν δ' ὁλυμπίᾳ συνέβη Ὅρσιππόν τινα ἐμποδισθέντα υπὸ τοῦ περιζώματος πεσεῖν καὶ τελευτῆσαι· ἡ, κατά τινας, νικηθῆναι. Θεοὶ ἔθεσπίσθη γυμνούς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀγωνίζεσθαι. Schol. Victor. in Iliad. ψ'. 683. agrees with Eustathius both in the date and the narrative: κατά τὴν δ' ὁλυμπίᾳ ἀφ' Ἰππομένους Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχοντος Ὄλυμπίασι στάδιον θεόντων ἐν περιζώματι συνέβη ἵνα αὐτῶν Ἔρσιππον ἐμποδισθέντα υπὸ τοῦ περιζώματος πεσεῖν καὶ τελευτῆσαι. Although some accounts (as that which Pausanias followed) might place <i>Hippomenes</i> at Ol. 13. 2, yet, since the more received date for <i>Hippomenes</i> was at Ol. 14. 3, we may correct the Scholiast from Eusebius, μετὰ τὴν δ' ὥλην. Schol. Ven. in this passage is corrupted: ὑστερον δὲ Ἀθήνησιν τιναν ἀγωνιζομένων, ἀρχοντος Ἰππομένους. 1. ὑστερον δέ τιναν ἀγωνιζομένων, Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχε. Ἰππομ. In other scholia upon Homer and in Etym. v. γυμνάσια the numbers are corrupted into τ' καὶ β' ὥλ. and λβ' ὥλ. and M^r. Boeckh l. c. justly rejects these numbers. The explanation, which Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 278. p. ascribes to Boeckh, of the apparently contradictory statements concerning <i>Acanthus</i> and <i>Orsippus</i>, had been already given by Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 23.</p> <p>Thasos founded, according to Dionysius: conf. a. 708.</p>
718.	15, 3.	<p>Euseb. Chron. Anno 1298 Ol. 15. 3. <i>Hippomenis</i> 5^o. <i>Argivorum et Lacedaemoniorum bellum in Thyrea</i>. Placed by Hieron. at 1296. Solinus 7, 9. <i>Anthia et Cardamyle</i>, ubi quondam fuere <i>Thyrae</i>, nunc locus dicitur, in quo anno septimo decimo regni Romuli inter Laconas et Argivos memorabile bellum fuit. The date of Solinus would place this war at Ol. 10. 4 B. C. 737. Referred by Pausan. III. 7, 4. to the end of the reign of <i>Theopompus</i>: Θεοπόμπου ἦτι ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γίνεται καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς Θυρεατίδος καλούμενός χώρας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀγών πρὸς Ἀργείους. Θεόπομπος δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ μετέσχε τοῦ ἔγου γέρα καὶ υπὸ λίπης τὸ πλέον. Ἀρχίδαμον γὰρ Θεοπόμπου ἔντος ἦτι ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρέον. This account is consistent with Eusebius. <i>Theopompus</i> in old age might be still living six years after the conclusion of the Messenian war.</p>
*		
716.	Ol. 16. <i>Pythagoras Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. Dionys. Ant. II. p. 360.	<p><i>Gyges</i> began to reign in Lydia. This dynasty reigned according to Herodotus 170 years, which terminated at B. C. 546. Hence we may refer their beginning to B. C. 716. Dionysius places it about two years higher, at B. C. 718: F. H. II. p. 6. 296. Herodotus I. 14. ascribes 38 years to <i>Gyges</i>: βασιλεύσαντος διῶν δέοντα τεστεράκοντα ἔτεα.</p> <p>Euseb. Chron. Anno 1300 Ol. 16. 1. <i>Hippomenis</i> 7^o. In Sicilia Chersonesus condita est. Placed by Hieron. at 1301. Syncellus p. 212. C., after naming the foundation of Naxos, adds, ἐν Σικελίᾳ Χερρό-</p>

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B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		νησος ἐκτίσθη. The town there founded was called Mylæ : Schol. Apollon. IV. 965 (quoted by Scal. ad Euseb. p. 77). Μύλας δὲ Χερόνησον Σικελίας. Hence Polyb. I. 9, 7. τῷ Μυλαῖῳ πεδίῳ περὶ τὸν Λογγανὸν ποταμόν. I. 23, 1. τὴν Μυλασίτην χώραν. Diod. XII. 54. τὸν πλησιοχώραν Σικελῶν τοῖς Μυλαῖοις. XIV. 87. οἱ Μεσσήνιοι—εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Μύλας ἐπελθόντες εἶλον τὴν πόλιν. Steph. Byz. Μυλαῖ. πόλις Σικελίας; Ἐκαταῖος Εὔρωπη.
715.	16, 2. *	The Milesians planted Abydos in the reign of Gyges: Strabo XIII. p. 590. Ἀβυδος δὲ Μιλησίων ἐστὶ κτίσμα, ἐπιτρέψαντος Γύγου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως· ἦν γάρ ὁπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ χωρία καὶ ἡ Τρωάς ἀπασα. Idem XIII. p. 587. Πράπος.—κτίσμα δ' οἱ μὲν Μιλησίων φασὶν, οἵπερ καὶ Ἀβυδον καὶ Προκόνησον συνάκισταν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, οἱ δὲ, Κυζικηνῶν.
712.	Ol. 17. <i>Polus Epidaurius.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	Euseb. Chron. Anno 1304 Ol. 17. 1. <i>Leocrates annis decem. conf. ann. 776. 722.</i> Astacus founded by the Megarians (<i>Astacon a Megarensibus conditam</i> Mela I. 19) in Ol. 17: F. H. III. p. 411. Placed at Ol. 18. 2 by Eusebius: <i>Anno 1309 Ol. 18. 2. Leocratis 6º. Nicomedia conditur, quæ prius Astacus appellabatur.</i> Astacus received the name of Nicomedia in B. C. 264, 448 years after its foundation: F. H. III. p. 412.
711.	17, 2.	The death of Sennacherib is fixed by the testimonies of Scripture to the beginning of B. C. 711. Upon his death the Medes revolted from the Assyrians; and we may place this revolt in the close of B. C. 711, the beginning of Ol. 17. 2, a little more than a year before the reign of Deioces commences according to the reckoning of Herodotus. conf. ann.

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Callinus was near the times of *Archilochus*, since it was a question which of the two preceded. Strabo XIV. p. 647. infers from circumstances that he was older than *Archilochus*: τὸ παλαιὸν συνέβη τοῖς Μάγνησιν ὑπὸ Τρηρῶν ἄρδην ἀναιρεθῆναι, Κιμμερικοῦ ἔθνους, εὔτυχήσαντος πολὺν χρόνον· τῷ δὲ ἔξης ἔτει Μιλησίους κατασχεῖν τὸν τόπον. Καλλίνος μὲν οὖν ὡς εὐτυχούντων ἔτι τῶν Μαγνήτων μέμνηται καὶ κατορθούντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους πολέμῳ. Ἀρχίλοχος δὲ ἦδη φαίνεται γνωσίζων τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῖς συμφοράν.

κλαίειν τὰ θάσσου [Θασίων Τυτώνη] οὐ τὰ Μαγνήτων κακά.

ἴει οὖν καὶ τὸ νεώτερον εἶναι τοῦ Καλλίνου τεκμαίρεσθαι πάρεστιν. Clemens Strom. I. p. 333. B. collects from the same fact that he was not much older: Ἀρχίλοχος—μέμνηται τῆς Μαγνήτων ἀπωλείας, προσφάτως γεγενημένης. Σιμωνίδης μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον φέρεται, Καλλίνος δὲ πρεσβύτερος οὐ μακρῷ· τῶν γὰρ Μαγνήτων ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίλοχος ἀπολωλότων, ὁ δὲ εὐημερουντων μέμνηται. The Magnesians were destroyed before the death of *Candaules*: Plin. H. N. XXXV. 8. *In confesso est Bularchi pictoris tabulam in qua erat Magnetum prælium a Candaule rege Lydiæ Heraclidarum novissimo, qui et Myrsilus vocatus est, repensam auro. Idem VII. 38. Candaules rex Bularchi picturam Magnetum exitii—repedit auro.* The death of *Candaules* is fixed by the accession of *Gyges* to B.C. 716; and the destruction of Magnesia, which was thus recorded by the painter, might have occurred twenty years before: which would place *Callinus* at B.C. 736. But he also survived the fate of Magnesia: Athen. XII. p. 525. c. ἀπώλοντο δὲ καὶ Μάγνητες οἱ πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ διὰ τὸ πλέον ἀνεθῆναι, ὡς φησι Καλλίνος ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος· ἐάλωσαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἐφεσίων. Although Athenaeus has erred in referring their destruction to the Ephesians, yet he attests that their fall was mentioned by *Callinus*. This poet might therefore flourish cir. B.C. 736—712, during a period of 25 years. *Callinus* also mentioned the capture of Sardis by the *Treres*: Strabo XIII. p. 627. φησὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης ἀλῶναι τὰς Σάρδεις ὑπὸ Κιμμερίων πρῶτον, εἰθ' ὑπὸ Τρηρῶν καὶ Δυκίων, ὅπερ καὶ Καλλίνος δηλοῦν, τὸν τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητήν· ὕστατα δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Κύρου καὶ Κρόισου γενέσθαι ἀλώσιν. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Καλλίνου τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν Κιμμερίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡσιονῆς γεγονέναι, καθ' ἣν αἱ Σάρδεις ἐάλωσαν, εἰκάζουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκηνῶν Ἰαστὶ λέγεσθαι Ἡσιονεῖς τοὺς Ἀσιονεῖς. But this capture preceded the destruction of Magnesia: Strabo XIV. p. 648. ἀλλης δέ τινος ἔφοδου τῶν Κιμμερίων μέμνηται πρεσβυτέρας [older than the fall of Magnesia] ὁ Καλλίνος, ἐπάν φη-

νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ Κιμμερίων στρατὸς ἔρχεται ὁβριμούργων.

ἐν γὰρ τὴν Σάρδεων ἀλωσιν δηλοῖ. But the date of this event is not known; since the Cimmerians occupied many parts of Western Asia during a long period of years: conf. a. 635; and *Callinus* here does not relate a transaction of his own time but a past event. This passage, then, will not contribute to fix the age of *Callinus*.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		709. 634. Append. c. 3. 4. According to Herodotus I. 95. the Assyrians had governed Upper Asia 520 years: 'Ασσυρίαν ἀρχόντων τῆς ἡδεῖς Ἀσίης ἔει' ἔτεος εἰκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτέων Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι· καὶ καὶ οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ασσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· καὶ ἀπώσαμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἡλισθερώθησαν. This account will give B. C. $710 + 520 =$ B. C. 1230 for the commencement of the Assyrian dominion. And Appian Praef. c. 9. concurs in the same date: 'Ασσυρίαν καὶ Μῆδων καὶ Περσῶν, τριῶν τῶνδε μεγίστων ἡγεμονιῶν, εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου συντιθεμένων, οὐτ' ἀν ὁ χρόνος ἐφίκαιο τῶν ἐνακοσίων ἔτῶν. But B. C. $331 + 900 = 1231$ coincides with the preceding computation. This term of 520 years is confirmed by Alexander Polyhistor, who names a period of 526 years apud Euseb. Chron. I. p. 18. which would place the beginning of the Assyrian empire at B. C. 1237. See Appendix c. 4.
710.	17, 3.	Crotona founded: Dionys. Ant. II. p. 361. τίσσαρσιν ὅλοις ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ἡ Νομᾶν ἀρχαὶ Ρωμαῖοι Μύσκελος αὐτήν ἔκτισεν ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τῆς ἐπτακαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος. Four years after Ol. 16. 3 B. C. $71\frac{1}{4}$: Dionys. p. 360. which will place the era of Crotona in the middle of Ol. 17. 3, the beginning of B. C. 709. Placed only two years lower by Eusebius: Anno 1308 Ol. 18. 1. Leocratis 5 ^o Crotona et Parion [conf. a. 708] et Sybaris conditæ sunt. But in Hieron. at the year 1314, seven or eight years too low. It was founded before Tarentum, for the settlers at Tarentum found the Achaeans already in the country: F. H. II. p. 410. u. To the testimonies concerning <i>Myscellus</i> quoted II. p. 265. h. add Diod. Vatican. p. 8. №. X. Sybaris flourished 210 years: Scymnus 360. <i>τὰ πάντα διαμεινάντας ἀπταιστος ἔτη δες ἐκατὸν ἐνεγκόντα πρὸς τοὺς εἴκοσι.</i>
		It was destroyed by the <i>Crotoniatae</i> 58 years before the archonship of <i>Lysicrates</i> B. C. 453: Diod. XI. 90. XII. 10. = B. C. 511 Ol. 67. 2 for the period of its fall: which would give B. C. 721 for its foundation, eleven years before the era of Crotona. That Sybaris was founded before Crotona is attested by Antiochus apud Strab. VII. p. 262. φησὶ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τοῦ θεοῦ φίσαντος [f. χρήσαντος] Ἀχαιοῖς Κρότωνα κτίζειν, ἀπελθεῖν Μύσκελλον κατασκεψόμενον τὸν τόπον· ιδόντα δὲ ἐκτισμένην ἥδη Σύβαριν κ. τ. λ. The era of Crotona is confirmed by these testimonies. Sybaris was founded B. C. 721, and Crotona after Sybaris: which agrees with the date of Dionysius. That Sybaris was destroyed in the time of <i>Pythagoras</i> is confirmed by Andron ἐν τῷ τρίποδι quoted by Porphyr. apud Euseb. Praep. X. p. 465. A. which agrees with the date of Diodorus, B. C. 511.
709.	17, 4.	The 53 years of <i>Deioces</i> commence at this date, within Ol. 17. 3 according to Herodotus, who reckoned 150 years from <i>Deioces</i> inclusive to the beginning of the reign of <i>Cyrus</i> : conf. a. 634.
708.	Ol. 18. <i>Tellis Sicyonius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144. <i>Tullus Arm.</i>	The foundation of Tarentum and Coreyra is placed here by Hieron. Anno 1309 Leocratis 6 ^o Ol. 18. 1. <i>Hi qui Partheniæ vocabantur Tarentum condiderunt, et Corinthii Corcyram.</i> This is wanting in the Armenian copy, where the date would have been either Anno 1308, or Olymp. 18. 2. conf. a. 776. As it is not likely that this notice should

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Archilochus participated in the colony to Thasos: Ωνομαῦς apud Euseb. Præp. VII. p. 256.

ἄγγειλον Πάρις, Τελεσκέλεες, δὲ σε κελεύω
νήσῳ ἐν Ἡερίῃ κτίζειν εἰδείελαιν ἀστυν.

[Steph. Byz. Θάστος. ὅτι καὶ Ἀερία ἡ Θάστος δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ δοθέντος πατρὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου·
“Ἄγγειλον” κ. τ. λ.] — καὶ ἔστι Θάστος μὲν ἡ Ἡερία νῆσος, ἥξουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν Πάριοι Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ ἐμοῦ

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		<p>have been added by Hieronymus, it was probably omitted by some error in the Armenian version: conf. a. 704.</p> <p>On the colony of Tarentum conf. F. H. II. p. 410. u. The present date, two years after Crotona and 16 after the Messenian war, is consistent with the accounts there quoted. Corcyra seems too far removed from the era of Syracuse: conf. a. 734. When <i>Chersicrates</i> arrived at Corcyra, he found the island preoccupied by the Eretrians; their expulsion led to the foundation of Methonë: Plutarch. Quæst. Gr. p. 293. A. Κέρχυραν τὴν νῆστον Ἐρετριεῖς κατέψκουν. Χερσικράτους δὲ [male Χαρικράτους] πλεύσαντος ἐκ Κορίνθου μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντος, ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς οἱ Ἐρετριεῖς ἀπέπλευσαν σκαπῇ. προαισθόμενοι δὲ οἱ πολῖται τῆς χώρας εἰργον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποβαίνειν ἐκάλουν σφενδονοῦντες. μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ μήτε πεῖσαι μήτε βιάσασθαι—ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐπλευσαν, καὶ κατασχόντες χωρίον—τὴν μὲν πόλιν ὀνόμασαν Μεθόνην.</p> <p>Thasos founded according to Xanthus: Clem. Al. p. 333. B. see col. 3. A Parian colony: Strabo X. p. 482. ὑπὸ δὲ Παρίων ἔκτισθη Θάσος καὶ Πάριον ἐν τῇ Πριποντίδι πόλις. The foundation of Parion is placed at this very year Ol. 18. 1. by Eusebius: conf. a. 710.</p> <p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 144. <i>Ol. 18. Addita est lucta, vicitque Eurybatus Laco. Additum etiam quinquartium, vicitque Lampis Laco.</i> Pausan. V. 8, 3. ἐπὶ τῆς ὁγδόνης καὶ δεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος πεντάblou καὶ πάλης ἀφίκοντο ἐς μυῆμην καὶ τοῦ μὲν Λάμπιδι ὑπῆρξεν Εὔρυβάτω δὲ ἡ νίκη τῆς πάλης, Δακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τούτοις.</p>
704.	Ol. 19. <i>Menus Megarensis.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	<p>Thucyd. I. 13. πρῶτοι Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίσαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τρίηρες πρῶτοι ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ναυπηγηθῆναι [conf. Diod. XIV. 42]. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίοις Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίοις ἥλθε. Placed by Eusebius in the version of Hieronymus 58 years too high: Anno 1255 <i>Æschyli 17º Athenis primum trieres navigavit, Ameinocleo cursum dirigente.</i> Syncellus p. 212. C. at the same date: Ἀθηναῖς πράτη ἐναυπηγήθη τριηρῆς ὑπὸ Ἀμηνοκλέους. On the erroneous version and the erroneous date of Hieronymus conf. Scal. Animadv. p. 72. Although this does not appear in the Armenian copy, yet we collect from Syncellus that it is from Eusebius himself. Pliny H. N. VII. 56—<i>Triremem Thucydides Aminoclem Corinthium</i>—erroneously understands Thucydides to ascribe the invention of the trireme to <i>Aminocles</i>.</p>
702.	19, 3. *	Euseb. Chron. Anno 1314 <i>Ol. 19. 3. Apsander annis decem.</i> He computes from the autumn of B. C. 703.
700.	Ol. 20. <i>Atheradas Laco.</i> * Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	
696.	Ol. 21. <i>Pantacles Atheniensis.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	
693.	21, 4.	

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νιοῦ φράσαντος ὅτι ἡ νῆσος αὕτη πρὶν Ἐγεία ἐκαλεῖτο. σὺ οὖν (δεινὸς γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν) οὐκ ἀνέξῃ οἵμαι αὐτοῦ—ὅς, εἰ μὴ σὸν μηνὸςαι αὐτῷ ἴθουλόθης, οὐκ ἀν ποτε ἥγγειλεν, οὐδὲ ἀν Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ οὐδὲς αὐτοῦ Παρίους ἔξενάγησεν, οὐδὲ ἄν οἱ Πάγιοι Θάσον φησαν. Hence Clemens Strom. I. p. 333. B. determines the time of *Archilochus* by the era of Thasos: Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς περὶ τὴν ὄκτωκαιδεκάτην ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς δὲ Διονύσιος, περὶ τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην, Θάσον ἐκτίσθαις ὡς εἶναι συμφανὲς τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον μετὰ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἥδη γνωρίζεσθαι ὀλυμπιάδα. Elian. V. H. X. 13. εἰ μή, φασιν, Ἀρχίλοχος τοιαύτην δόξαν υπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔξηνεγκεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιθόμεθα ἡμεῖς οὔτε ὅτι Ἐνιποῦς οὐδὲ ἦν τῆς δουλης, οὐδὲ ὅτι καταλιπὼν Πάρον διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν ἤλθεν εἰς Θάσον, οὐδὲ ὅτι ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐχθρὸς ἐγένετο, οὐδὲ μὴν ὅτι ὄμοιας τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ἔλεγε. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις—οὔτε ὅτι μοιχὸς ἦν ἥδειμεν ἀν εἰ μὴ παց' αὐτοῦ μαθόντες, οὔτε ὅτι λάγνος καὶ ὑβριστής· καὶ τὸ ἔτι τούτων αἰσχιστον, ὅτι τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέβαλεν. He is placed in the reign of Gyges by Herodotus I. 12. Γύγης, τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος, ἐν ίάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη [conf. Schweigh. ad loc.], by Proclus, and by Tatian: conf. a. 693: and see above p. 147. In the reign of Romulus by Cicero Tusc. I. 1. *Archilochus regnante Romulo*. Both these accounts may be reconciled. The colony to Thasos was in the 9th year of Gyges, and *Archilochus*, who assisted in that colony, would be born in the reign of *Romulus*, which ended according to Varro 8 years before.

Simonides of Amorgus flourished: Suidas: Σιμωνίδης Κρίνεω Ἀμοργῖνος, ιαμβογράφος—γέγονε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τετρακόσια καὶ ἑνενήκοντα ἔτη τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, ἔγραψεν ίάμβους πρώτος αὐτὸς κατά τινας. The same notice occurs in Suidas, attached by mistake to Σιμονίας Ρόδιος. ἦν δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σάμιος· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀπο-

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
692.	Ol. 22. <i>Pantacles Atheniensis II.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	Euseb. Chron. Anno 1324 Ol. 22. 1. <i>Eryxias annis decem.</i>
691.	22, 2.	Euseb. Chron. p. 324. Anno 1325 Ol. 22. 2. <i>Eryxiæ 2°. Glaucus Chius qui ferri glutinum excogitavit cognoscetatur.</i> Placed 15 years lower by Hieronymus: conf. a. 677. The works of <i>Glaucus</i> were celebrated in the time of <i>Alyattes</i> : Herodot. I. 25. Αλυάττης ἀνέθηκεν ἐκφυγὴν τὴν νοῦσον—ἔς Δελφους κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν, καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδῆρον κολλητὸν—Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίμα, ὃς μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδῆρον κάλλητιν ἔξειρε. Conf. Athen. V. p. 210. b. Pausan. X. 16, 1. Plutarch. Def. Or. p. 436. A.
690.	22, 3.	Foundation of Gela: Thucyd. VI. 4. Γέλαν δὲ Ἀντίφημος ἐκ Ρόδου καὶ Ἐντίμος ἐκ Κείτης [conf. Pausan. VIII. 46, 2. Schol. Pindar. Ol. II. 16] ἐποίκους ἀγαγόντες κοινὴ ἔκτισαν ἔτει πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ μετὰ Συρακουσῶν οἰκισμον. καὶ τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Γέλα ποταμοῦ τούνομα ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ χωρὶον, οὗ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ δὲ πρῶτον ἐτείχισθη, Λίνδιοι καλεῖται. νόμιμα δὲ Δωρικὰ ἐτέθη αὐτοῖς. Euseb. Armen. V. Anno 1326 Ol. 22. 3. <i>Eryxie 3°. In Sicilia Gela condita, et Phaselis in Pamphylia.</i> At the true date, Ol. 22. 3, the 45th year after Syracuse, which was in the close of Ol. 11. 2. Armen. M. separates the two cities: Anno 1328 Ol. 23. 1. <i>Gela</i> ; Anno 1330 Ol. 23. 3. <i>Phaselis</i> . Gela two years too low. Hieronymus places them together; Anno 1340, fourteen years too low. The cause of the name Λίνδιοι is explained by Herodotus VII. 153. κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ρόδου καὶ Ἀντίφημου. <i>Antiphemus</i> himself was of Lindus. Etymol. v. Γέλα names Ἀντίφημος ἢ Δεινομένης ὁ Ρόδιος. We may collect from Herodot. VII. 153. that

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κισμῷ τοῦ Ἀμοργοῦ ἐστάλη καὶ αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν ἀπὸ Σαμίων. ἔκτισε δὲ Ἀμοργὸν εἰς γ' πόλεις, Μινώαν, Αἴγιαλὸν, Ἀρχεσίμην. γέγονε δὲ μετὰ νέον ἔτη [read from the former passage νεόν] τῶν Τρωϊκῶν. ἔγραψε κατά τινας πρῶτος ιάμβους. The blunder of Suidas has misled Raoul-Rochette Col. Grecques tom. III. p. 151. and in part Eudocia p. 386. who has under Σιμίας ἔγραψε πρῶτος, κατά τινας, ιάμβους, which belonged to *Simonides of Amorgus*. *Simonides* was contemporary with *Archilochus*: Clem. Strom. I. p. 333. B. conf. a. 708. And *Archilochus* himself is placed 500 years after the Trojan war: Tatian p. 109. See above p. 147. These numbers, measured by the vulgar era, the epoch of Eratosthenes, give for *Archilochus* 1183—500=B. C. 683, and for *Simonides* 1183—490=B. C. 693. They are mentioned together again at Ol. 28. 4 by Eusebius (conf. a. 665), where Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 81. and Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 46. confound *Simonides of Amorgos* with *Simonides of Ceos*; although he is distinguished by Strabo X. p. 487. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀμοργὸς τὰν Σποράδων, ὃντεν ἦν Σιμωνίδης ὁ τῶν ιάμβων ποιητής. And by Stephanus v. Ἀμοργός. νῆσος—ἔχουσα πόλεις τρεῖς, Ἀρχεσίμην, Μινώαν, Αἴγιαλην,—ἀπὸ τῆς Μινώας ἦν Σιμωνίδης ὁ ιάμβοποιός, Ἀμοργῖνος λεγόμενος. And by Proclus apud Phot. Cod. 239. p. 984. ιάμβων δὲ ποιητὴς Ἀρχίλοχος τε ὁ Πάριος ἀριστος, καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁ Ἀμοργῖνος, ἦ, ἂς ἐνιοι, Σάμιος [confirming Suidas v. Σιμίας], καὶ Ἰππάναξ ὁ Ἐφέσιος· ὃν δὲ μὲν πρῶτος ἐπὶ Γύγου, ὃ δὲ ἐπ' Ἀνανίου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, Ἰππάναξ δὲ κατὰ Δαρεῖον ἥκμαζε. Sylburgius apud Gaisford. Hephaest. p. 380. for Ἀνανίου reads Ἀμύντου. But this would give the time of *Simonides of Ceos*, who flourished in the reign of Amyntas Ol. 57—69, and was later than *Hipponeax*; while Proclus describes *Simonides* who preceded *Hipponeax*. We must therefore for ΑΝΑΝΙΟΤ substitute ΑΡΓΑΙΟΤ. *Argaeus* reigns in Eusebius Ol. 24. 1—33. 3 B. C. 684—646, the period to which the ancient *Simonides* is ascribed.

Archilochus the contemporary of *Simonides* flourished about 45 years: conf. a. 687. *Simonides* is mentioned again at B. C. 665 and 662, the 28th or 29th Olympiad: conf. a. 665. He might flourish accordingly 32 years B. C. 693—662.

CIVIL CHRONOLOGY.

B.C.	I. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		<i>Dinomenes</i> was the ancestor of <i>Gelon</i> , and participated in the colony: τοῦ Γέλωνος πρόγονος, οἰκήτως ἐών Γέλης, ἣν ἐκ νῆσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ κειμένης ὁς κτιζομένης Γέλης κ. τ. λ.
688.	Ol. 23. <i>Icarius Hypereius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144. <i>Ikaros</i> Pausan. IV. 15, 1.	<i>Phaselis</i> was founded by <i>Lacius</i> brother of <i>Antiphemus</i> : Athen. VII. p. 297. f. Ἡρόπυθος ἐν Ὀροις Κολοφωνίων περὶ τῆς κτίσεως ιστορῶν τῆς Φασηλίδος φησιν ὅτι Λάκιος δὲ τὴν ἀποικίαν στείλας μισθὸν ἔμαχε τοῦ τόπου Κυλάβρα ποίμνη κ. τ. λ.—p. 298. a. Φιλοστέφανος—οὗτος γράφει: “Λάκιον τὸν Ἀργείον τῶν σὺν Μόψῳ ἀφικομένων, ὃν τινες μὲν Λίνδιον εἶναι λέγουσιν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀντιφήμου τοῦ Γέλων οἰκισαντος, εἰς τὴν Φασηλίδα ύπὸ Μόψου μετ' ἀνδρῶν πεμφθέντα,” κ. τ. λ. Steph. Byz. Γέλα. Ἀρισταίνετος ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν περὶ Φασηλίδα, ὅτι Λάκιος καὶ Ἀντίφημος ἀδελφοὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς Δελφοὺς μαντεύσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Πυθίαν οὐδὲ ἄν [οὐδὲ ἐν Salmas.] περὶ ἔκεινων λέγουσαν προστάσσει [Π. προστάσσειν] τὸν Λάκιον πρὸς ἀντολὰς ἡλίου πλεῖν. τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιφήμου γελάσαντος, τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν πάλιν, ἀφ' ἡλίου δυσμῶν [Π. ἢφ' ἡλίου cum Salmas. πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀπίστατα Etymol. v. Γέλα], καὶ ἣν ἀν πόλιν οἰκήσῃ [Π. Γέλων πόλιν ἄκιστε cum Salmas.].
687.	23, 2.	Africanus apud Euseb. Chron. p. 144. Ol. 23. <i>Additus est pugilatus, vicitque Onomastus Smyrnæus, qui et pugilatus leges tulit</i> . Pausan. V. 8, 3. τρίτη δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ εἰκοστῇ πυγμῆς ἀθλοὶ ἀπέδοσαν Ὀνόμαστος δὲ ἐνίκησεν ἐκ Σμύρνης συντελούσης ἥδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἰωνας. <i>Smyrna</i> was originally one of the twelve Ἰωνian states: see p. 105. w. apparently conquered by the Colophonians not long before the present date.
685.	23, 4.	The empire of the Medes is computed by Herodotus I. 130. to commence from this date, the 23rd year of their independence: Μῆδοι ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσησι διὰ τὴν (<i>Ἀστυάγεος</i>) πικρότητα, ἀργαντες τῆς ἀνω Ἀλυσοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν δύον δέοντα. The 128 years terminated at the reign of <i>Cyrus</i> B. C. 559; which places their beginning at B. C. 687. See Appendix c. 3.
		(Second Messenian war: Pausan. IV. 15. 1. ἀπέστησαν ἔτει τριακοστῷ καὶ ἐνάτῳ μετὰ τὴν Ἰθώμης ἀλωσιν, τετάρτῳ δὲ τῆς τρίτης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ εἰκοστῇ, ἣν <i>Ikaros</i> Υπερησιεὺς ἐνίκα στάδιον. Ἀθήνησι δὲ οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἥσαν ἥδη τότε ἀρχοντες, καὶ Τλησίας ἥρχεν. If the first war ended in the beginning of B. C. 723, the second might commence, according to the dates of Pausanias, in the autumn of B. C. 685. It is probable, however, that Pausanias has placed the second war about six years too high: see Appendix c. 2.)
		Pausanias placed the decennial archons five years higher than the dates of Eusebius: conf. ann. 743. 723. And consequently <i>Creon</i> , the first annual archon, is five years higher. The variations will be these:
		HIERONYM. EUSEBIUS. PAUSANIAS. DIONYSIUS. B.C. Ol. B.C. Ol. B.C. Ol. B.C. Ol. 75 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6. 4. 752. 7. 4. Charops 757. 5. 4. (Charops) 75 $\frac{1}{2}$ 7. 1. Charops 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ 9. 2. 742. 9. 4. Æsimides 747. 8. 2. Æsimides 73 $\frac{1}{2}$ 11. 4. 732. 11. 4. Clidicus 737. 10. 4. (Clidicus) 72 $\frac{1}{2}$ 14. 2. 722. 14. 4. Hippomenes 727. 13. 2. Hippomenes 71 $\frac{1}{2}$ 16. 4. 712. 17. 4. Leocrates 717. 15. 4. (Leocrates) 70 $\frac{1}{2}$ 19. 2. 702. 19. 4. Apsander 707. 18. 2. (Apsander) 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ 21. 4. 692. 21. 4. Eryxias 697. 20. 4. (Eryxias) 68 $\frac{1}{2}$ 24. 2. 682. 24. 2. Creon 687. 23. 2. (Creon) (68 $\frac{1}{2}$ 24. 2. Creon) 685. 23. 4. Tlesias 685. 23. 4. Tlesias

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Archilochus flourished: Cyrill. adv. Julian. p. 12. C. εἰκοστῇ τρίτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι φασὶ γενέσθαι Ἀρχίλοχον. Tatian concurs in this date, and Clemens, who places him μετὰ τὴν εἰκοστήν ὀλυμπιάδα. conf. a. 708. The reign of *Gyges*, in which *Archilochus* flourished, extended from Ol. 15. 4 to Ol. 25. 2 B. C. 716—679. The earliest notice of *Archilochus* is at B. C. 708, the latest at B. C. 665: conf. ann. He might have been eminent during a period of 45 years.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p><i>Creon</i> is placed at Ol. 24. 2 by a concurrence of testimonies: conf. a. 683. We know from Dionysius that the first year of <i>Charops</i> coincided with Ol. 7. 1: conf. a. 752. Consequently 69 years Ol. 7. 1—24. 1 inclusive are left for the decennial archons. Eusebius, who thought it necessary to give them the full term of 70 years, has brought <i>Creon</i> too low. Hieronymus, who also gives the complete period of 70 years, by his different method of notation has placed <i>Creon</i> at the right year, but carried back <i>Charops</i> one year too high. Pausanias compared with the actual dates is five years too high in the decennial archons, and four years too high in the time of <i>Creon</i>.</p>
684.	Ol. 24. <i>Cleoptolemus Laco.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	
683.	24. 2.	<p><i>Creon</i> first annual archon: Africanus apud Syncellum p. 212. B. ἀρχοντες ἐνιαυσιαιοις εὐρέθησαν [ἥριθησαν Routh] ἐξ εύπατριδῶν, ἐννέα τε ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὴ κατεστάθη· ή δὲ τῶν ἐνιαυσιαιων ἥρχθη—Κρέοντος πρώτου ἀρχοντος ἡγησαμένου ἐπὶ τῆς 18' ὀλυμπιάδος· οἱ δὲ, ἐπὶ κτί' ἀφ' οὗ ἐπὶ σὺν ὀλυμπιάδα ἀρχοντες θύμ' μέχρι Φιλίνου, καθ' ὃν ὑπάτευον Γράτος Σαβίνιανς Ρωμαῖοι καὶ Σελευκος—κατὰ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν, ὅπερ ἦν Ἀντωνίου τοῦ καὶ Αὐγύέτου [Αὔστετον Routh] Ρωμαῖοι βασιλέως ἔτος γ'. <i>Gratus</i> and <i>Seleucus</i> entered on their consulship Jan. 1. A. D. 221, in the middle of Ol. 249. 4, which commenced at midsummer A. D. 220, and of the third year of <i>Heliogabalus</i> (<i>Antoninus</i>), which commenced June 7. A.D. 220. <i>Philinus</i>, the 903rd archon, in whose year <i>Gratus</i> and <i>Seleucus</i> were consuls, and who was archon in the 3rd year of <i>Heliogabalus</i>, was consequently archon in Ol. 249. 4. But 683+220=903: and <i>Creon</i> the first archon commenced at midsummer B. C. 683, since <i>Philinus</i> the 903rd commenced at midsummer A. D. 220. And with this the Parian Marble N°. 33. agrees: ἀφ' οὗ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἥρι. εν .ε.ων ἔτ. ΗΗΗΗΔΔ.—420+B. C. 264=B. C. 684. But as the archons on the Marble are a year too high (see F. H. II. p. X), this date, when rectified, is equivalent to B. C. 683. Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 36. places <i>Creon</i> at Ol. 24. $\frac{1}{2}$ and supposes 903 archons to have preceded <i>Philinus</i>, whom he reckons the 904th and places at Ol. 250. 1. But this would fix that archon below the 3rd year of <i>Heliogabalus</i>, which expired in Ol. 249. 4; and Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 80. more justly interprets Africanus to mean that <i>Philinus</i> was the 903rd, that his year coincided with Ol. 249. 4 and ended when the 250th Olympiad began. If the Attic year in the time of <i>Creon</i> commenced at <i>Gamelion</i> (of which we have no certain account), this would bring down the accession of <i>Creon</i> to <i>Gamelion</i> of Ol. 24. 2, or the winter of B. C. 68$\frac{1}{2}$: since in this case it is not likely that the 603 archons occupied more than 603 years, but less.</p> <p>Eusebius reckons this the last year of the 7th decennial archon: <i>Anno 1333 Ol. 24. 2. Eryxiae 10^o.</i> Then follows, <i>Regibus Athenarum cessantibus, principes annui fuerunt: patricii autem novem dominati sunt.</i> For the notation of Hieronymus conf. a. 685. The 70 years of the decennial archons are reckoned complete by Castor apud Euseb. p. 134. <i>Deinde qui decennalem potestatem gerebant secuti sunt VII. hique annis 70 viguerunt. Tandem annui magistratus a Creonte</i></p>

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Tyrtæus flourished in the second Messenian war, and came to Sparta after the first successes of the Messenians. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 172. rejects as fabulous the account which made *Tyrtæus* a lame schoolmaster; and his opinion is justified by the silence of the earliest authorities. *Tyrtæus* is mentioned by king *Leonidas* apud Plutarch. Cleom. c. 2. Λεωνίδαν τὸν παλαιὸν λέγουσιν, ἐπειστηθέντα ποιός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ποιητής γεγονέναι Τυρταῖος, εἰπεῖν, “ἀγαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς αἰκάλλειν.” conf. Plutarch. Mor. p. 959. B. He is noticed by Plato Leg. I. p. 629. 630. προστησώμεθα Τυρταῖον τὸν φύσει μὲν Ἀθηναῖον τῶνδε δὲ [sc. Lacedæm.] πολίτην γενόμενον κ. τ. λ. Conf. Leg. II. p. 660. 661. Lycurgus Leocr. p. 162. τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις—ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεός παρ' ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνα λαβεῖν καὶ νικήσειν τοὺς ἐναντίους.—τις γάρ οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι Τυρταῖον στρατηγὸν ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως; μεť οὐ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς νέους ἐπιμέλειαν συνετάξαντο, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸν παρόντα κινδυνον ἀλλ' εἰς ἄπαντα τὸν αἰώνα βουλευσάμενοι καλῶς. κατέλιπε γάρ αὐτοῖς ἐλεγεῖα ποιήσας, ἢν ἀκούοντες παιδεύονται πρὸς ἀνδρίαν κ. τ. λ. Aristotle Rep. V. 7. γίγνονται αἱ στάσεις—ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν πόλεμον. δῆλον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Τυρταῖον ποιήσεως τῇς καλουμένης Εὔνομιᾳ. Θιβόμενος γάρ τινες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἦξιον ἀνάλαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν. Philochorus: Athen. XIV. p. 630. f. Φιλόχορος δέ φησι κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσσηνίων διὰ τὴν Τυρταῖον στρατηγίαν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι, ἢν δειπνοποιήσανται καὶ παιωνίωσιν, ἃδειν καθ' ἓν Τυρταῖον, κ. τ. λ. The fable of the lame schoolmaster is mentioned in Pausan. IV. 15, 3. and followed by Justin III. 5, 4. Suidas Τυρταῖος. Schol. Hor. Art. Poet. 402. but it is not noticed in Diodorus XV. 66. δουλευόντων Μεσσηνίων τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, Ἀριστομένης ἔτεισε τὸν Μεσσηνίους ἀποστῆναι τὸν Σπαρτιατὸν καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ διειργάσατο τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας· ὅτε καὶ Τυρταῖος ὁ ποιητὴς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἡγεμὼν ἐόντης τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις, or in Fragm. Vatican. p. 12. οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοις προτραπέντες ὑπὸ Τυρταῖον κ. τ. λ. or in the parallel passage Polyæn. I. 17. Nor is it noticed in Themistius p. 197. 198. Orosius I. 21. Tzetzes Chil. I. 692—699. or in the brief mention made of *Tyrtæus* in the following passages: Aristides Leuctr. I. p. 425. Dio Or. 36. tom. II. p. 79. Max. Tyrius Or. 37. p. 209. Galen tom. I. p. 268. 269. ed. Bas. Älian V. H. XII. 50. Harpocr. Τυρταῖος. *Tyrtæus* was admitted a citizen of Sparta: Plato l. c. Plutarch. Mor. p. 230. D. (Παυσανίας ὁ Κλεομβρότον) πυνθανομένου τινὸς διὰ τί Τυρταῖον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐπικάλεσαν πολίτην, “Οπως, ἔφη, μηδέποτε ξένος φαίνηται ἡμῶν ἡγεμών. which was not, as some have supposed, contrary to the early practice of Sparta: conf. Aristot. Rep. II. 6, 12. Λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων μετεύδοσαν τῆς πολιτείας. Strabo VIII. p. 362. Τυρταῖος ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ ἦν ἐπιγράφουσιν Εὔνομιαν.

αὐτὸς γάρ Κρονίων καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἡρῆς
Ζεὺς Ἡρακλεῖδαις τήνδε δεδώκε πόλιν.
οἵσιν ἀμα πρόλεπόντες Ἐρινόδη ἡγεμόνεστα
εὑρεῖαν Πέλοπος τῆσσαν ἀφικόμεθα.

ἄστε ἡ ταῦτα ἀκυρωτέον [sic Porsonus Adv. p. 39] τὰ ἐλεγεῖα, ἡ Φιλοχόρῳ ἀπιστητέον καὶ Καλλισθένει καὶ ἄλλοις πλειστιν εἰποῦσιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἀφιδνῶν ἀφικέσθαι, δευθέντων Λακεδαιμονίων κατὰ χρησμὸν, ὃς ἐπέταττε παρ' Αθηναίων λαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα. The interpretation of Strabo is rejected by Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 173. and with reason. The poet did not speak in his own person but in the person of the nation, as when

B.C.	I. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		<p>orsi. Velleius I. 8. <i>Cœperunt in denos annos creari. Quæ consuetudo in annos 70 mansit; ac deinde annuis commissa est magistratus res publica.</i> Ex iis qui denis annis præfuerunt primus fuit Charops, ultimus Eryxias: Ex annuis primus Creon. Their names and years are recited by Eusebius Chron. I. p. 138. who adds, <i>Mox placuit annuos magistratus creare. Et primus quidem annuus princeps fuit Creon 24^a Olympiade.</i> By Syncellus p. 211., by the Excerpta apud Scalig. See above p. 132. o. We have seen already, however, at 685, that only 69 years were completed.</p>
681.	24, 4.	<p>The archon <i>Lysias</i> is placed by the Parian Marble N°. 34 two years below the date of <i>Creon</i>: ἀφ' οὗ.....ο.....υ..—..ἔτη ΗΗΗΗΔΠΙΠΙ ἀρχοντος Ἀθῆνης Λυσία... As the date of <i>Creon</i>, when rectified, was 683, the date of <i>Lysias</i> will be B. C. 681. Called <i>Tlesias</i> by Pausan. IV. 15, 1. who places <i>Tlesias</i> two years, according to his own computation, below <i>Creon</i>: conf. a. 685. Scaliger δλ. ἀναγρ. p. 314. at Ol. 23. 4 marks Τλησίας. ἀεχὴ τοῦ δευτέρου Μεσσηνιακοῦ πολέμου. and again at Ol. 24. 3. Κρέων πρῶτος ἐναύσιος ἀρχῶν. without adverting to the inconsistency. Corsini, who had rightly shewn F. A. tom. I. p. 8. 9. that Pausanias dated the decennial and annual archons higher than other authors, yet argues tom. III. p. 37. that <i>Tlesias</i> was a distinct archon from <i>Lysias</i>, and places him at the next year to <i>Creon</i> B. C. 682, because he supposes <i>Tyrtæus</i> to be mentioned in N°. 34 of the Marble, and because the transactions of <i>Tyrtæus</i> agree better, in his opinion, with this date: <i>Res Lysiae anno consignatae uno serius anno contigisse videntur quam quæ Tlesiae anno contigerant.</i> But <i>Tyrtæus</i> is there inserted upon conjecture, and, as <i>Tlesias</i> in Pausanias is at the same distance from <i>Creon</i> as <i>Lysias</i> in the Marble, there can be little doubt that Τλησίας is a corruption of Λυσίας.</p>
680.	Ol. 25. <i>Thalpis Laco.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 144. Ol. 25. <i>Addita est quadriga, vicitque Paorōn (sic) Thebanus.</i> Pausan. V. 8, 3. πέμπτη ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰχοις κατεδέξαντο ὥπων τελείων δρόμου, καὶ ἀνηγορεύθη Θηβαῖος Παγώνδας κρατῶν ἄρματι.</p>
679.	25, 2.	<p>(The victory of the Lacedæmonians over the Messenians in the battle of the trenches was in this year according to Pausanias; since it was followed by the siege of Ira, which ended in the 11th year current, in the autumn of B. C. 668. See Appendix c. 2.)</p>
678.	25, 3.	<p><i>Ardys</i> king of Lydia: Herodot. I. 16. Ἀρδυος βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς διοτα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἀρδυος καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτεα δυάδεκα. Σαδυάττεω δὲ Ἀλυάττης. These numbers combined with the years of <i>Gyges</i> will place the accession of <i>Ardys</i> in B. C. 678, of <i>Sadyattes</i> in B. C. 629, and of <i>Alyattes</i> in B. C. 617. Conf. a. 716.</p>
677.	25, 4.	<p>[Hieronymus in Euseb. Chron. Anno 1340 Ol. 25. 4—26. 1 Armen. <i>Glaucus Chius primus ferri inter se glutinum excogitavit et junxit. Gela et Phaselis conditæ.</i> The Armenian copy places <i>Glaucus</i> at the year 1325: conf. a. 691. <i>Gela</i> and <i>Phaselis</i> at the year 1326; which is the true date for <i>Gela</i> and <i>Phaselis</i>: conf. a. 690. and the true date of Eusebius is probably there expressed for <i>Glaucus</i> also.]</p>

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he said elsewhere πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες. conf. a. 723. 2. and the acts of a former period are ascribed to the nation collectively, as in Thucyd. III. 54. ἐναυμαχήσαμεν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κ. τ. λ. That *Tyrtæus* was a foreigner is not the account of the Athenians alone, but was acknowledged by the Lacedæmonians, as appears from the observation of *Pausanias* apud Plutarch. l. c.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
676.	Ol. 26. <i>Callisthenes Laco.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 144. Ol. 26. <i>Philimbrotus Laco quinquerium tribus Olympiadibus vicit.</i> Carnea primum Lacedaemone instituta sunt, quod est citharaeorum certamen. Athen. XIV. p. 635. e. ἐγένετο ἡ θέσις τῶν Καρνείων κατὰ τὴν ἔκτην καὶ εἰκοστήν δλυμπιάδα, ὡς Σασίβιός φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ χρόνων.
675.	26, 2.	Cyzicus founded: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1341 Ol. 26. 2. <i>Cyzicus condita.</i> Placed by Hieronymus with Locri at the year 1334 Ol. 24. 2=3 Armen. Syncellus p. 213. B. Κύζικος ὠκισθη. Placed, however, in Syncellus after the <i>Gymnopædia</i> , although ten years before them in the Armenian copy and thirteen before them in Hieronymus. Cyzicus was founded by the Megarians: Jo. Lydus de Mag. Rom. III. 70. τὰς Χαρδίμου στάσις (πρὸς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπανόμασαν) οἱ Κύζικον οἰκήσαντες Μεγαρεῖς. Other authorities make Cyzicus a Milesian colony, and place it at B. C. 756. conf. a. The first settlement probably decayed, and a second was made by the Megarians at the present date.
674.	26, 3.	Foundation of Chalcedon: Hieronym. Anno 1342 Ol. 26. 2=3 Armen. <i>Chalcedon condita.</i> Omitted in the Armenian copy. Founded by the Megarians: Thucyd. IV. 75. Χαλκηδόνα τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου Μεγαρέων ἀποικίαν. Mela I. 19, 33. <i>Oppido est nomen Chalcedon, auctor Archias Megarensium princeps.</i> Seventeen years before Byzantium: Herodot. IV. 144. ἵππακαδέκα ἔτεσι πρότερον Χαλκηδόνιος κτίσαντας τὴν χώρην Βυζαντίου. Strabo VII. p. 320. τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα φασὶ τοῖς κτίσασι τὸ Βυζαντίον ὑστερον μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων Χαλκηδόνος κτίσιν χρηστηριαζομένοις προστάξαι, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἴδρυσιν ἀπεναντίον τῶν τυφλῶν. κ. τ. λ. And Byzantium is placed by Hieronymus at the year 1359: conf. a. 657.
673.	26, 4.	Euseb. Chron. Anno 1343 Ol. 26. 4. <i>In Italia Locri conduntur.</i> Placed with Cyzicus by Hieronymus at the year 1334: <i>Cyzicus condita est et Locri in Italia.</i> But Locri was founded before either of these eras: F. H. II. p. 410. u. Probably about Ol. 17. 36 or 38 years before the present date. Founded, however, after Syracuse: Strabo VI. p. 259. ἐτη μὲν οὖν τρια ἡ τέτταρα ὥκουν ἐπὶ τῷ Ζεφυρίῳ· εἴτα μετήνεγκαν τὴν πόλιν συμπραξάντων καὶ Συραχουσίων. Scymnus 316. recounts the two opinions mentioned by Strabo p. 259. concerning their original:

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Terpander flourished: Athen. XIV. p. 635. e. ὅτι Τέρπανδρος ἀρχαιότερος Ἀνακρέοντος δῆλον ἐκ τούτων τὰ Κάρυαι πρῶτος πάντων Τέρπανδρος νικᾷ, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τε τοῖς ἑμετέροις Καρυεικαῖς καὶ τοῖς καταλογάδην. Hieronymus and Hellanicus ascribed to *Terpander* a remote antiquity: Athen. Ibid. Ιερώνυμος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ κιθαριδῶν—κατὰ Λυκοῦργον τὸν νομοθέτην τὸν Τέρπανδρόν φησι γενέσθαι. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 333. A. καὶ Τέρπανδρον ἀρχαῖουσι τινες· Ἑλλάνικος γοῦν τοῦτον ἱστορεῖ κατὰ Μίδαν γεγονέναι. But he is fixed to this date by the era of the *Carnea*: see col. 2. He four times gained the prize at the *Pythia*, and was accounted older than *Archilochus*: Plutarch. Mus. p. 113^v. E. ἦσθι δὲ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην τὴν κιθαριδικὴν ὁ Τέρπανδρος διενηρχέναι· τὰ Πύθια γάρ τετράκις ἔξης νενικηκὼς ἀναγέγραπται· καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις δὲ σφόδρα παλαιός ἐστι· πρεσβύτερον γοῦν αὐτὸν Ἀρχιλόχου ἀποφαίνει Γλαῦκος ὁ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐν συνγγράμματι τινὶ τῷ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων παιητῶν τε καὶ μουσικῶν φησι γάρ αὐτὸν δεύτερον γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ποιήσαντας αὐλαδίαν. These *Pythia* were not the games instituted in Ol. 48, but the ancient games, ἀρχαιότατον ἀγώνισμα, described by Pausanias X. 7, 2. The opinion of Glaucon that *Terpander* preceded *Archilochus* is repeated by Plutarch p. 1133. A. μετὰ δὲ Τέρπανδρον καὶ Κλονᾶν Ἀρχιλόχος παραδίδοται γενέσθαι. But *Archilochus* in Ol. 18, in the reign of *Gyges*, was a settler at *Thasos*: conf. a. 708. *Terpander* 64 years after that date made improvements in music in Ol. 33 or 34: conf. a. 644. The account, then, of Glaucon is erroneous; and that of Phanias more accurate: Clem. Strom. I. p. 333. A. B. Φανείας πρὸ Τέρπανδρου τιθεὶς Λέσχην τὸν Λέσβιον Ἀρχιλόχου νεώτερον φέρει τὸν Τέρπανδρον. *Terpander*, who occupied B. C. 676—644, was about thirty years younger, and his early years would be contemporary with the latter time of *Archilochus*.

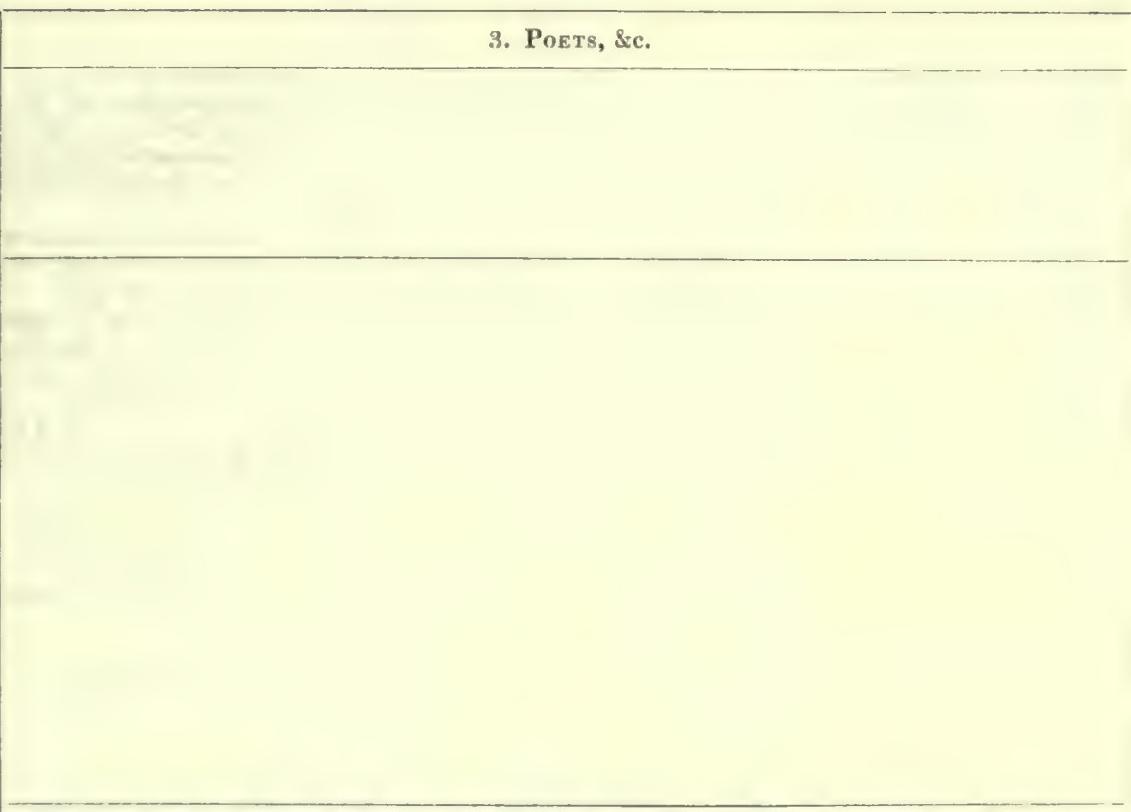
B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p style="text-align: center;">εἰσὶν δὲ ἄποικες τῶν Ὀπουντίων Λοκρῶν ἔνοι δὲ Λοκρῶν φασὶ τῶν ἐν Ὁζύλαις.</p> <p>The former was the opinion of Ephorus, which Strabo rejects.</p>
672.	Ol. 27. <i>Eurybus Atheniensis</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144. <i>Εύρυβάτης</i> , Dionys. Ant. III. p. 406. <i>Εὐρύβοτος</i> ; Pausan. II. 24, 8.	<p>Pantaleon king of <i>Pisa</i> participated in the second Messenian war: Strabo VIII. p. 362. πλεονάκις ἐπολέμησαν διὰ τὰς ἀποστάσις τῶν Μεσσηνίων. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην κατάκτησιν αὐτῶν φησι Τυρταῖος ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων πατέρας γενέσθαι: [conf. a. 723]. τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καθ' ἥν ἐλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἡλείους [καὶ Ἀρκαδας] καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Πισάτας ἀπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχομενοῦ βασιλέα παρεχομένων στρατηγὸν Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλέοντα τὸν Ὄμφαλίωνος ἡγίκα φησὶν αὐτὸς στρατηγῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις.—ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Τυρταίου ὁ δευτερος ὑπῆρξε πόλεμος. τρίτον δὲ [B. C. 490] καὶ τέταρτον [B. C. 464] συστῆναι φασιν, ἵνα ἡ κατελύθησαν οἱ Μεσσηνοί. For the time at which Pantaleon joined the Messenians see Appendix c. 2. If we understand from this account that Pantaleon was an ally in the early period of the war, before the battle of the trenches, the dates of Pausanias would place him at B. C. 680. But other considerations make it probable that he joined the Messenians in the latter years of the war, in B. C. 674. See Appendix c. 2.</p>
671.	27, 2.	<p>Euseb. Chron. <i>Anno 1345 Ol. 27. 2. Post Cares maria tenuerunt Lesbii.</i> Hieronym. <i>Anno 1341 Ol. 26. 1=2 Armen. Post Caras mare obtinuerunt Lesbii annis 69.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 168. <i>Ex Diodori libris.—Undecimi Lesbii annis</i> The date of Hieronymus is four years too high; the term ascribed to the Carians, 61 years (conf. a. 732), would conclude at the year 1344, and may be expressed by B.C. 732—672 both inclusive.</p> <p>Dionysius Ant. III. p. 406. marks the archon of this year: ὁ δευτερος ἐνιαυτὸς τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἥν ἐνίκα στάδιον Εύρυβάτης Ἀθηναῖος, ἀρχοντος Λεωστράτου.</p>
670.	27, 3.	<p><i>Psammetichus</i> king of Egypt begins to reign 145 years before the death of <i>Amasis</i>: conf. a. 616. And <i>Amasis</i> died Ol. 63. 3: Diod. I. 68. in the beginning of B. C. 525: F. H. II. p. 14.</p>
669.	27, 4.	<p>The Argives defeat the Lacedæmonians at <i>Hysiae</i>: Pausan. II. 24, 8. πολυάνδρια ἴνταῦθά ἔστιν Ἀργείων νικησάντων μάχῃ Δακεδαιμονίους περὶ Τσίας. τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα τοῦτον συμβάντα εὑρίσκον Ἀθηναῖος ἀρχοντος Πεισιστράτου, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἦν Εύρυβοτος Ἀθηναῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. sc. Ol. 27: conf. a. 672. 1. Siebel, ad l. observes, <i>Dionysius Olympiade 27. 2 non Pisistrato sed Leostrato archonte stadio viciisse refert non Eurybotum sed Eurybatem.</i> Dionysius and Pausanias are not inconsistent. They speak of different archons and of different years. <i>Eurybates</i> or <i>Eurybotus</i> obtained his victory in the year of neither.</p> <p><i>Damocratidas</i> at this time is probably king of Argos, since a transaction which occurred in his reign had lately happened in B. C. 668:</p>

3. POETS, &c.

Alcman is placed at this date by Suidas: Ἀλκμάν. Λακῶν ἀπὸ Μεσσόαις, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Κράτητα τῷ ὅντι Αὐδῆς ἐκ Σάρδεων, λυρικός, υἱὸς Δάμαντος ἡ Τιτάρου. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς μὲν ὀλυμπιάδος, βασιλεύοντος Λυδῶν Ἀρδυος τοῦ Ἀλυάττου πατρός· καὶ ὁν ἐγωτικὸς πάνυ εὐρετής γέγονε τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν [conf. Athen. XIII. p. 600. f]. ἀπὸ οἰκετῶν δὲ [ο δὲ Ἀλκμάν οἰκέτης ἦν Ἀγησίδου, εὐφυῆς δὲ ἀνὴρ ἡλευθερώθη καὶ ποιητής ἀπέβη Heraclides περὶ πολιτείων p. 206]. ἔγραψε βιβλία δέ μέλη, καὶ Κολυμβώσας. πρῶτος δὲ εἰσήγαγε τὸ μὴ ἔξημέτροις μελῶδεῖν. κέχρηται δὲ Δωρῖδες διαλέκτων καθάπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. On the dialect of *Alcman* conf. Pausan. III. 15. 2. Greg. Cor. p. 371. ed. Schæf. Apollon. de Syntax. III. 31. p. 279. Bekk. His Lydian origin is noticed by Alexander Aetolus Epigr. 3. Anthol. tom. I. p. 207. Leonidas Ep. 80. Ibid. p. 175. Antipater Thess. Ep. 56. Ibid. tom. II. p. 110. Hence Velleius I. 18. justly observes, *Alcmana Lacones falso sibi vindicant*. The authority of Crates is without reason questioned by Weleker Fragm. Alcman. p. 3. and of Velleius by Harles ad Fabric. tom. II. p. 89. who, however, corrects his own opinion. There never was any doubt that *Alcman* was of Lydian origin. Leonidas (whom Weleker quotes) merely expresses that his education and residence at Sparta made him a Spartan rather than a Lydian. Conf. Corsin. F. A. tom. III. p. 50. *Alcman* is placed at Ol. 30. 3 by Eusebius: conf. a. 657.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		Pausan. IV. 24, 2. Λαχεδαιμόνιος δὲ τότε ὁς ἐπεκράτησαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας [B. C. 668], τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πλὴν τῆς Ἀσιναίων αὐτοὶ διελάγχανον, Μοθάνη δὲ Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἔβίσσαν ἐκτεπτακόσιν ἐκ Ναυπλίας ἵναγχος ὑπὸ Ἀγγελαν. Idem IV. 35, 2. Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ διωρχεῖσθαι Δαμοκρατίδα βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἀργεί Μοθάνην Λαχεδαιμόνιοι διδόσσι. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 113. f., in placing <i>Damocratidas</i> at Ol. 30, places him too low.
668.	Ol. 28. <i>Charmis Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Chionis</i> Pausan. IV. 23, 2.	(End of the second Messenian war according to Pausanias IV. 23, 2. ἕπλω δὲ ἡ Εἰρή καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ δεύτερος Λαχεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων τέλος ἔσχεν Ἀθηναῖοι ὅρχοντος Αὐτοσθένους ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς ὀγδόνης τε καὶ εἰκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα Χίονις Λάκων. It is probable that the whole war is to be placed about six years lower, at B. C. 679—662. See Appendix c. 2. For the date of Eusebius, who places 90 years, and of Justin, who places 80 between the first and second Messenian war, see Appendix Ibid.)
*		Africanus apud Euseb. p. 145. <i>Ol. 28. Charmis Laco stadium; qui aridis tantum siccibus utebatur. Hanc primo Olympiadem egerunt Pisæi, eo quod Elei bello occidentali distinerentur.</i> Ἡλεῖων ἀσχολουμένων διὰ τὸν πρὸς Δυμαίους πόλεμον Excerpt. Scalig. p. 40. Strabo VIII. p. 355. μέχρι τῆς ἕκτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐν ἡ Κόροιβος ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἡλεῖς τὴν προστασίαν εἶχον—τοῦ ἀγῶνος Ἡλεῖοι.—μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἕκτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα οἱ Πιστᾶται τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολαβόντες αὐτὸι συνετίλουν, τὸν ἀγῶνα δρῶντες εὐδοκιμοῦντα χρόνοις δὲ ὑστερον μεταπεισούσης πάλιν τῆς Πιστάδος εἰς τοὺς Ἡλείους μετέπειται πάλιν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ ἀγωνοθεσία. Strabo therefore places the independence of the Pisæans one Olympiad earlier than Africanus.
665.	28, 4.	Euseb. Chron. Anno 1351 <i>Ol. 28. 4. Puerorum nudorum lucta. primum Lacedæmone peracta est.</i> Hieronym. Anno 1347 <i>Ol. 27. 3 = 4 Armen. Nudipedalia primum acta in Lacedæmone.</i> Recognised by Syncellus p. 213. A. γυμνὴ παιδία πρῶτον ἐν Λαχεδαιμονι ἤχθη.

3. POETS, &c.



Archilochus and *Simonides* are named here by Eusebius: *Anno 1351 Archilochus et Simonides cognoscebantur*. Hieronymus places this notice three years lower: conf. a. 662. They are named together by Anonym. ad calcem Censorini c. 9. p. 140. *Cum sint antiquissimi poëtarum Homerus, Hesiodus, Pisander, et hos secuti elegiarii Callinus, Mimnermus, Euhemerus [Evenus Nunner.] ; mox Archilochus et Simonides trimetrum iambicum, choreum catalecticum tetrametrum composuerunt.*

Thaletas continued to flourish after the *Gymnopædia*: conf. a. 644. He was later than *Archilochus*: Plutarch. Mus. p. 1134. D. καὶ περὶ Θάλητα τοῦ Κερτὸς εἰ Παιάνων γεγένηται ποιητὴς ἀμφιβθεῖται. Γλαῦκος γὰρ μετ' Ἀρχίλοχου φάσκων γεγενῆσθαι Θάληταν μεμιμῆσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν φησι τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου μέλη, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μακρότερον ἔκτειναι. But he preceded *Polytmastus*: Pausan. I. 14, 3. Θάλητα δὲ εἶναι φησι Γορτύνιος Πολύμαντος Κολοφώνιος ἐπη Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐξ αὐτὸν ποιήσας who is placed after him by Plutarch: conf. a. 644. *Thaletas* purified Sparta: Pausan. I. 14, 3. Θάλης ὁ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν νόσον παύσας. Plutarch. Mus. p. 1146. C. Τέρπανδρον ἄν τις παραλάβοι τὸν τὴν γενομένην ποτὲ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις στάσιν καταλύσαντα καὶ Θάληταν τὸν Κρῆτα, ὃν φασι κατά τι πυθόχρηστον Λακεδαιμονίοις παραγενόμενον διὰ μουσικῆς ιάσασθαι, ἀπαλλάξαι τε τοῦ κατασχήντος λοιμοῦ τὴν Σπάρτην, καθάπερ φησὶ Πρατίνας. Idem Mor. p. 779. A. τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων στάσιν ἐπάδων καὶ παραμυθόμενος, ὡς Θαλῆς, where Plutarch has confounded *Thaletas* with *Terpander*. Äelian. V. H. XII. 50. Λακεδαιμονίοι—μετεπέμψαντο Τέρπανδρον καὶ Θάλητα καὶ Τυρταῖον καὶ τὸν Κυδωνιάτην Νυρζαῖον, καὶ Ἀλκμάνα, αὐλαδὸς γάρ ἦν. His songs were sung at the *Gymnopædia* in after times: Athen. XV. p. 678. C. τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας—χοροὶ δ' εἰσὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσω παιῶν, τὸ δὲ ἔξ ἀρίστου ἄνδρων [Ἄρισταν ἄνδρῶν Schw.], γυμνῶν ὄρχουμενων καὶ ἀδόντων Θαλήτου καὶ Ἀλκμάνος ἄσματα καὶ τοὺς Διονυσοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας. He was accounted the first composer of songs for the Pyrrhic dance: Schol. Pindar. Pyth. II. 127. Θαλήταν δὲ πρῶτον τὰ εἰς αὐτὴν [sc. τὴν ἔνοπλον ὄρχησιν] ὑπορχήματα. Ephorus apud Strab. X. p. 480. τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς Κρητικοῖς—οὓς Θάλητα ἀνεύρειν. φ καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας καὶ τὰς ἀλλας τὰς ἐπιχωρίους ἄδας ἀνατιθέσι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων. But he was referred by many accounts to an early period: conf. a. 750.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.	
664.	Ol. 29. <i>Chionis Laco.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Chionis II.</i> Pausan. IV. 23, 5.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 145. <i>Ol. 29. Chionis Laco stadium. Hujus unus saltus cubitorum XXII erat.</i> Pausan. IV. 23, 5. ἐπὶ τῆς ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς ἑνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἦν Χίονις Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα, Μιλτίᾳδου παρ' Ἀθηναῖς ἀρχοντος. Pausanias places the first victory of <i>Chionis</i> at Ol. 28. where Africanus names <i>Charmis</i> . A sea fight between the Corinthians and Corcyreans : Thucyd. I. 13. <i>ναυμαχίᾳ παλαιτάτῃ ὁν ἵσμεν γίγνεται Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους.</i> ἐπὶ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταῦτη ἔξηκοντα καὶ διακόπια ἔστι μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου. sc. ἐις τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Πελ. πολέμου. B. C. 404 + 260 = 664. This sea fight is seventy years before the date which, according to Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 136. s., Timaeus is supposed to have fixed as the foundation of Corcyra. An error into which Timaeus could not have fallen ; and a sufficient proof that his period of 600 years is to be explained by raising his date for the Trojan war, and not by bringing down his era of Corcyra. See F. H. III. p. 490. x. and see above p. 135. w. Acræ and Enna founded : Thucyd. VI. 5. <i>"Ακραὶ δὲ καὶ Κασμέναι ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων ἀκισθησαν,</i> "Ακραὶ μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεσι μετὰ Συρακούσας Κασμέναι δὲ ἐγγὺς εἴκοσι μετὰ Ακρας. Steph. Byz. <i>"Εννα, πόλις Σικελίας, κτίσμα Συρακουσίων, μετὰ δὲ ἑτη Συρακούσῶν.</i> The era of these two cities, 734—70 = B. C. 664, will fall upon the close of Ol. 28. 4.	
*	662. 29, 3.	(Selymbria was founded a little before Byzantium : Scymnus 713. —ἐν Προπονίδι Θράκη παρήκει, καὶ Σαμίων ἀποικία Πέριθός ἐστιν ἔχομένη Σηλυμβρία, ἥν οἱ Μεγάρεις κτίζασι πρὸς Βυζαντίου. Strabo VII. p. 319. Μεσημβρία Μεγαρέων ἀποικία, πρότερον δὲ Μανεθρία, οἶον Μενάπολις, τοῦ κτίσαντος Μένα καλουμένου· τῇ δὲ πόλεως βρίσας καλουμένης Θράκιστι: ὡς καὶ ἡ τοῦ Σήλους πόλις Σηλυμβρία προσηγόρευται. Steph. Byz. Σηλυμβρία, πόλις Θράκης. κέκληται δὲ ἀπὸ Σήλους. Βρίσα γὰρ κατὰ Θράκης ἡ πόλις. If the era of Byzantium was at B. C. 657 (conf. an.), and if we may assume the foundation of Selymbria to have been about five years before, it will be placed at this date.)	
*	660.	Ol. 30. <i>Chionis Laco II.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Chionis III.</i> Pausan. VIII. 39, 2. conf. a. 656. 2.	Africanus apud Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Ol. 30. Ab Eleis defecerunt Pisæi atque hanc et consequentes XXII egerunt.</i> ταῦτη τε ἡξανταὶ τὰς ἔξης καὶ Frigm. apud Scalig. p. 40. According to this account of Africanus the Pisæans presided Ol. 30—52. But they only presided once within that period according to Pausanias: conf. a. 644. To reconcile Africanus with Pausanias we must understand that the Pisæans participated in the presidency till Ol. 52: συνετέλουν Strab. VIII. p. 355. during the period of their independence. After Ol. 52 the Pisæans were reduced to subjection in the reign of <i>Pyrrhus</i> , and the Eleans had the sole administration of the games: conf. a. 572.
659.	30, 2.	Phigalia taken by the Lacedæmonians : Pausan. VIII. 39, 2. Λακαιμόνιοι ἦνίκα Αρκάσιν ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ ἐσέβαλον ἐις τὴν Φιγαλίαν στρατιᾱͅ	

3. POETS, &c.

Arion is placed in Ol. 29 by Solinus 7, 6. *Tænaron in quo fanum est Methymnæi Arionis quem delphine eo adiectum imago testis est, ad effigiem carus et veri operis expressa are; præterea tempus signatum; Olympiade enim undetrigesima, qua in certamine Siculo idem Arion victor scribitur, id ipsum gestum probatur.* The statue of *Arion* is mentioned by Herodotus I. 24. Pausanias III. 25, 5. Dio tom. II. p. 102. Ælian H. A. XII. 45. Gellius XVI. 19. who repeats the whole narrative of Herodotus. Dio ascribes the erection of the statue to *Arion* himself. Bianor apud Jacobs Anthol. tom. II. p. 141. attributes it to *Periander*. The statue appears to have stood there from the time of Herodotus to the time of Ælian; at least 700 years. The hymn ascribed to *Arion* apud Ælian. H. A. XII. 45., and received as genuine by Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 84. and Brunck Analect. tom. III. p. 327., is justly regarded by Schneider ad Ælian. l. c. as a spurious composition. The date recorded by Solinus, Ol. 29, which would place this transaction 38 or 39 years before the reign of *Periander*, is contrary to all testimonies concerning his time: conf. a. 625. That date, then, is either derived from an erroneous account, or the number is corrupted in the text of Solinus, and for *undetrigesima* we may read *undequadragesima*, which might express the date of a Sicilian victory in music.

Hieronymus: Anno 1354 Ol. 29. 2=3 Armen. Archilochus et Simonides et Aristoxenus insignes habentur. Cyril. adv. Julian. p. 12. C. σικοτῆ ἐνάγη ὀλυμπιάδι Ἰππώνακτα καὶ Σιμωνίδην φασὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸν μουσικὸν Ἀριστόξενον. Syncellus p. 213. A. Ἀρχιλόχος καὶ Σιμωνίδης καὶ Ἀριστόξενος οἱ μουσικοὶ ἴγνωρίζονται. *Archilochus* and *Simonides* are placed three years higher in the Armenian copy: conf. a. 665. Syncellus has this notice before the foundation of Cyzicus; but in Hieronymus it is twenty years, and in the Armenian ten below that era. Upon *Aristoxenus* Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 81. observes, *Aristoxenus musicus auditor Aristotelis fuit: prochronismus CCC annorum.* Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 46. *Aristoxenus ille ad Ol. 110 referri debet.* But Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς is only a wrong expression for *Aristoxenus* of Selinus, an early Iambic poet: Hephaest. p. 45. Ἀριστόξενος ὁ Σελινούντιος Ἐπιχάρμου πρεσβύτερος ἐγένετο ποιητής, οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐπιχάρμος μνημονεύει ἐν Δόγῳ καὶ Λογίνᾳ.

οἱ τοὺς ιάμβους κατὰς ἀρχαῖοι τρόποι,
ἢ τράπος εἰσηγήσαθ' ὄφιστέκενος.

Aristoxenus, however, flourished 34 years after this date: conf. a. 628. In the time of *Hipponeax* Cyril has committed an error of at least a century; for *Hipponeax* flourished after *Bias* in the 60th Olympiad: F. H. II. p. 9. An error, however, derived from early accounts: Plutarch. Mus. p. 1133. D. ἔνιοι δὲ πλανῶμενοι νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸν χρόνον Τερψάνδρου Ἰππώνακτα γεγονέναι φαίνεται δὲ Ἰππώνακτος καὶ Περίκλειτος ὁ πρεσβύτερος.

Euseb. Chron. Anno 1356 Ol. 30. 1. *Zaleucus Locrus jurisperitus cognoscebatur.* Hieronymus places *Zaleucus* at 1355. Syncellus p. 213. A. Ζάλευκης ὁ νομοθέτης Λοχρόων ἡκμαζε. Syncellus places this notice where it is placed in our copies of Eusebius; before the reign of *Cypselus*. Upon *Zaleucus* see Bentley Diss. Phal. p. 334—344. Bentley demonstrates from Aristotle apud Schol. Pindar. Ol. XI. 17. Chamæleon apud Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 351. D. that *Zaleucus* was not the disciple of *Pythagoras*; and that he was earlier than *Pythagoras* from Ephorus apud Strab. VI. p. 260. Scymnus 313. Demosthenes in Timocrat. p. 744. Wesseling ad Diod. XII. 20. sums up the arguments with brevity and clearness.

The birth of *Epimenides* is ascribed to this time by Suidas: Ἐπιμενίδης Φαίστου ἡ Δοσιάδου ἡ Ἀγιασάρχου γῆς καὶ μητρὸς Βλάστας, Κρής ἀπὸ Κυνωσσοῦ—γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς λέθου ὀλυμπιάδος, ὡς προτερεύειν καὶ τῶν

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		μάχη τε νικῶσι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν προσκαθεζόμενοι· κινδυνεύοντος δὲ ἀλῶναι τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκουσιν οἱ Φιγαλεῖς, ἢ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς χριστιν ἔξελθεῖν ὑποσπόδους. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ τῆς Φιγαλίας ἄλωσις καὶ Φιγαλέων ἡ ἐξ αὐτῆς φυγὴ Μιλτιάδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχοντος δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς τριακοστῆς διυμπιάδος, ἢν Χίονις Λάκων ἐνίκα τὸ τρίτον.
657.	30, 4.	<p>Byzantium founded: Eusebius Hieronymi: <i>Anno 1359 Ol. 30. 3=4 Armen. Byzantium conditur.</i> Placed in the Armenian copy <i>Anno 1357 Ol. 30. 2.</i> But, as Hieronymus preserves the true interval, 17 years, between Chalcedon and Byzantium (conf. a. 674), his date is to be preferred. He places Chalcedon in the year 1342, which commenced in autumn B.C. 675, and Byzantium in 1359, which commenced in autumn 658. We may therefore assign Chalcedon to the beginning of B.C. 674, the close of Ol. 26. 2, and Byzantium to the beginning of 657, the close of Ol. 30. 3. Cassiodorus refers both colonies to the reign of <i>Hostilius</i>: <i>Tullus Hostilius regnavit annis 32 [B.C. 672—641]; cuius temporibus Chalcedon conditur et Byzantium;</i> which nearly agrees with the dates of Hieronymus. Byzantium was a Megarian colony: Scymnus 717. ἔνīς Μεγαρέων ὕπυχῶν Βυζάντιον. Steph. Byz. Βυζάντιον. πόλις διασημοτάτη πρὸς τὴν Προποντίδην, πρὸς τῷ μέρει τῆς Εὐρώπης. χρησμὸς δὲ ἐδόθη ἐγωτησάντων εἰς Δελφὸς Μεγαρέων τοιοῦτος. “Ολβιοί” κ. τ. λ.—καὶ οὕτως ἐκτίσθη, ἀπὸ Βύζαντος τοῦ Κοροσση—ἢ ὅτι τοῦ στόλου Βύζας ἡ γέμων. Conf. Eustath. ad Dionys. 803. who adds, τὸν δὲ Βύζαντα, οὐ ἐπώνυμον τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀστυ, δικαιοτάτον φασιν ἀνθρώπων γενίσθαι, καὶ ἐπάρξει τῆς παραλίας ἀπάσης Θράκης, ἥως καὶ εἰς Αἶμον τὸ ὄρος.</p> <p>A fresh body of Megarians seems to have settled there under <i>Zeuxippus</i> in Ol. 38: conf. a. 628. The names <i>Byzas</i> and <i>Zeuxippus</i> are both preserved in Chron. Pasch. p. 265.</p>
656.	Ol. 31. <i>Chionis Laco III.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Chionis IV.</i> Pausan. see col. 2.	<p>Chionis according to Pausanias III. 14, 3. obtained four victories in the stadium. The first in Ol. 28; where his name was perhaps corrupted into <i>Charmis</i> in the lists of Olympic victors which Africanus followed. Hence the fourth would be in Ol. 31, which Africanus calls the third. Pausanias has the following account: στήλην ὄψει, γεγραμμέναι δέ εἰσιν ἀς Ἀγχιόνις [al. Χιόνις. conf. Siebel. ad loc.] ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος δρόμου νίκας ἀνείλετο, ἀλλας τε καὶ Ὄλυμπιασιν ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπτὰ ἐγένοντο νίκαι, τέσσαρες μὲν σταδίου [Ol. 28—31], δισύλου δὲ αἱ λοιπαὶ· τὸν δὲ σὸν τῇ ἀσπίδῃ δρόμου ἐπὶ ἄγανι λήγοντι οὐ συνέβαινεν εἰναι πω [scil. Ol. 65 ὁ πλεῖστην δρόμον Pausan. V. 8, 3]. Ἀγχιόνιν δὲ καὶ τοῦ στόλου μετατρέψει τῷ Θηραίῳ Βάττῳ καὶ Κυρήνην οἰκίσαι σὸν ἐκείνῳ καὶ Λιβύων καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς προσχώρους λίγουσιν.</p> <p>Accession of <i>Phraortes</i> king of Media: conf. a. 634. Four years lower in Euseb. Chron. <i>Anno 1363 Ol. 31. 4.</i></p> <p>The foundation of Istrus is placed here in the Venetian edition of the Armenian Eusebius: <i>Anno 1360 Ol. 31. 1. In Ponto Istrus civitas condita.</i> Placed one year lower in the Milan edition: <i>Anno 1361.</i> Two years lower in Hieronymus: conf. a. 654. The true era of Istrus was 23 years below the present date: conf. a. 633.</p>

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ἐπτὰ καληθέντων σοφῶν, ἡ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. Laërt. I. 109. Ἐπιμενίδης, καλά φησι Θεόπομπος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Φαιστίου· οἱ δὲ Δωσάδου, οἱ δὲ Ἀγησάρχου· Κρής τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ. He is in Plutarch Sol. c. 12. Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ Φαιστίος. interpreted by Xylander, *Phæsto Cretæ oppido ortus*. Strabo X. p. 479. ἐκ τῆς Φαιστοῦ τὸν τοὺς καθαρμοὺς ποίησαντα διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν Ἐπιμενίδην φασὶν εἶναι. Eudocia p. 166. follows Suidas: Ἐπιμενίδης Φαιστού καὶ Βλαιστῆς, Κρής ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ. but p. 150. expresses a doubt: Κρής Κνώσσιος, κατὰ δέ τινας Φαιστίος. Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 31. suggests in Plutarch 'Ἐπ. ὁ Φαιστίου, and observes, *Filius Phæstii dicitur a Theopompo apud Laërtium*. Theopompus, however, might only have expressed that his father was a Phæstian; and might have agreed with Plutarch and Strabo.

Alcman and *Lesches* are named at this date by Euseb. Chron. Armen. M. Anno 1359 Ol. 30. 4. *Lesches qui parvam Iliadem fecit, et Alcmaeon cognoscebantur*. One year higher, anno 1358 Ol. 30. 3. Arm. Ven. Two years lower, anno 1360, in Hieronymus. Syncellus p. 213. B. Λέσχης Λέσβιος ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα ποίησας καὶ Ἀλχασίαν ἔχμαζεν. Placed at the right date according to our copies of Eusebius. In all these passages *Alcmaeon* occurs for *Alcman*: conf. a. 611. 2. According to Eusebius and Suidas *Alcman* flourished in the reign of *Ardys*, and is placed at B.C. 671—658: conf. a. 671. As he mentioned *Polymnastus*, we may extend his time to the end of the reign of *Ardys*, and suppose him to have occupied a space of forty years: conf. a. 644. This period for *Alcman* is consistent with the account of Suidas, that he was older than *Stesichorus*: F. H. II. p. 5. and the preceptor of *Arion*: conf. a. 625. The death of *Alcman* is mentioned by Aristotle H. A. V. 31. Plutarch Sulla c. 36. Pliny H. N. XI. 33. On the mistake of Antig. Caryst. c. 95. conf. Beckmann. ad locum Weleker. *Alcman*. p. 14.

The *Ilias Parva* of *Lesches* is described by Proclus p. 481. Ἰλιάδος μικρᾶς βιβλία τέσσαρα Λέσχεων. Schol. Pindar. Nem. VI. 85. ἀπὸ τῆς Λέσχου μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος. Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 155. Λέσχης ὁ Λέσβιος ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ Ἰλιάδῃ. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 1269. Λέσχης ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκώς, where eleven lines are given. Often quoted without the name of the author: Aristot. Poet. c. 28. p. 1459. ὁ ποίησας τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. Pausan. III. 26, 7. ὁ τὰ ἑπτη ποίησας τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1053. ὡς φησιν ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκώς, where three lines are quoted. Hesych. v. Διομήδειος ἀναγκή: ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. For Clemens and Schol. Eur. Orest. see above p. 127. d. This poem is assigned to *Homer* by the author of the Life of *Homer* c. 16. ποιεῖ Ἰλιάδα τὴν ἐλάσσων, ἡς ἡ ἀρχή· ““Ιλιον αὲιδῶ” κ. τ. λ. and by some to *Cinæthon*: conf. a. 765. *Lesches* is referred by Phanias to an earlier period: conf. a. 775.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
655.	31, 2.	<p><i>Cypselus</i> began to reign : Herodot. V. 92. ἀρξαντος τούτου ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα. Aristot. Rep. V. 9, 22 = V. 12. Κύψελος ἐτυγάννησεν ἐτη τριάκοντα, conf. a. 625. The expelled <i>Bacchiadæ</i> withdraw to Lacedæmon : Plutarch. Lysand. c. 1. Βακχιαδῶν τῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου φυγόντων εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ταπεινῶ καὶ ἀμόρρων. Their overthrow is noticed by <i>Aelian</i> V. H. I. 19. ἡ τῶν Βακχιαδῶν τῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἀρχὴ, ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμεως προελθοῦσα, ὅμως διὰ τὴν τρυφῆν τὴν ἔξω τοῦ μέτρου καὶ αὐτὴ κατελύθη.</p>
654.	31, 3.	<p>Acanthus and Stagira founded : Euseb. Armen. V. Anno 1362 <i>Ol.</i> 31. 3. <i>Acanthus et Stagira conditæ</i>. One year lower, <i>Anno 1363</i>, in ed. <i>M.</i> but at this year, with other towns, in Hieronymus : <i>Anno 1362 Acanthus condita et Stagira. Istrus in Ponto condita. Lampsacus condita et Abdera. In Sicilia Selinus condita. In Ponto Borysthenes condita est.</i> Lampsacus and Abdera are three years lower in the Armenian : <i>Anno 1365 Ol.</i> 32. 2. Syncellus p. 213. B. has the following order :</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ἐν Πόντῳ πόλις Ἰστορος ἐκτίσθη. Ἄκανθος καὶ Στάγιστρα ἐν Ἐλλάδι ἐκτίσθησαν. Λάμψακος καὶ Ἀβδηρα ἐκτίσθησαν.</p>
*		<p>Solinus, however, 10, 10. determines Abdera to <i>Ol.</i> 31 : <i>Abderam Olympiade prima et tricesima senio collapsam Clazomenii ex Asia ad majorem faciem restitutam—nomini suo vindicaverunt.</i> The leader of the colony was <i>Timesias</i> : conf. a. 564. Lampsacus was a Milesian settlement : Strabo XIII. p. 589. Παιστὸς ἡ πόλις—κατέσπαστο δὲ ἡ πόλις, οἱ δὲ Παιστοὶ μετάκησαν εἰς Λάμψακον, Μιλησίων ὄντες ἀποικοι καὶ αὐτοὶ, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Λαμψακῆνοι. But it was also a Phœcian colony, founded by <i>Phobus</i> of Phœcia, according to the narrative of Charon <i>Lampsac.</i> apud Plutarch. Virt. Mul. p. 255. ἐκ Φωκαίας τοῦ Κοδριδῶν γένους ἡσαν ἀδελφοὶ διδυμοὶ Φόβος καὶ Βλέψος· ὃν ὁ Φόβος ἀπὸ τῶν Λευκάδων πετρῶν ἀφῆκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς θάλασσαν, ὡς Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακῆνος ιστόρηκεν. ἔχων δὲ δύναμιν καὶ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα παρέπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον κ. τ. λ. conf. Polyæn. VIII. 37. Wytt. ad Plutarch. l. c. Steph. Byz. Λάμψακος. πόλις κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα, ἀπὸ Λαμψάκης ἐπιχωρίας τινὸς κόρης· ἔστι δὲ Φωκαέων κτίσμα, πάλαι Πιτύουσα λεγομένη, ὡς Δηϊόχος δο Κυζικηνός. Mela I. 19. <i>Lampsacum Phocæis appellantibus nomen ex eo traxit quod consulentibus in quasnam terras potissimum tenderent responsum erat, ubi primum fulsisset ibi sedem capesserent.</i> Conf. Eckhel. Doct. Num. tom. II. p. 102. The original foundation was by the Phœceans; the second colony was planted by the Milesians, to which we may refer the date of Eusebius.</p>
652.	<i>Ol.</i> 32. <i>Cratinus Megarensis.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 145. <i>Ol.</i> 32. <i>Cratinus Megarensis stadium. Quo tempore etiam Comæus pugilatu certans tres fratres vicit.</i> Κομῖος τρίτος ἀδελφῶν ἀγωνισάμενος ἵνα <i>Scalig.</i> p. 40.</p>
651.	32, 2.	

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Birth of *Pittacus* according to Suidas: Πιττακός—οὗτος γέγονε κατὰ τὴν λβ' ὀλυμπιάδα, εἰς καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ἄν. — τῇ μβ' ὀλυμπιάδι Μέλαγχρον τὸν τύραννον Μιτυλήνης ἀνεῖλε [conf. a. 611. 2]. καὶ Φρύνωνα στρατηγὸν Ἀθηναίων πολεμοῦντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σιγείου μονομαχῶν ἀπέκτεινε, δικτύῳ περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν [conf. a. 606. 2]. Eudocia p. 362. has the same numbers: —γέγονε κατὰ τὴν λβ' ὀλυμπιάδα—τῇ μβ' ὀλ. Μέλαγχρον—ἀνεῖλε. This date for the birth of *Pittacus* would make him past 80 at his death in B. C. 569. conf. a.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
650.	32, 3. *	(Selinus is placed here by Diodorus XIII. 59. αὗτη μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως οἰκηθεῖσα χρόνον ἑτῶν διακοσίων τεσσαράκοντα δύο ἔαλω. Its destruction by the Carthaginians in the year of <i>Diocles</i> (Diod. XIII. 54) may be placed at the beginning of B.C. 408, which gives 408+242=650. Hieronymus places Selinus four years higher: conf. a. 654. In the Armenian copy of Eusebius Selinus is omitted. But Syncellus p. 213. B. names Selinus; whence we may infer that it was in the text of Eusebius. The true era of Selinus, however, is fixed by Thucydides 22 years below the date of Diodorus: conf. a. 628.)
648.	Ol. 33. <i>Gylis Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Gylis Armen</i> . Γύγις Γρæca Scalig. p. 40.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 145. Ol. 33. <i>Additum est pancratium vice quaque Lygdamis Syracusanus, magno corpore præditus, qui stadium pedibus suis metitus est, idque passuum tantummodo 600 esse voluit</i> [Scalig. στάδιον ἐξεμέτρησε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶ, μόνας ἔξαχοσίους παραβέσσεις ποιησάμενος]. <i>Additus est etiam celēs, vicitque Craxilas Thessalus</i> . Pausan. V. 8, 3. ὅγδοή ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀλυμπιάδος [sc. from Ol. 25] ἐδέξαντο παγκρατιαστήν τε ἄνδρα καὶ ἵππον κέλητα: ἵππος μὲν δὴ Κραζεῖδα παρέφθη, τοὺς δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐπὶ τὸ παγκράτιον ὁ Δύγδαμις κατειργάσατο Συρακούσιος.
647.	33, 2. *	<i>Myron of Sicyon</i> is victor in the chariot race: F. H. II. p. 298. Himera founded 240 years before its destruction: Diod. XIII. 62. ὁ δὲ Ἀνίβας—τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος κατέσκαψεν, οἰκισθεῖσαν ἕτη διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα. Its fall is related under the year of <i>Diocles</i> : Diod. XIII. 54. but after the destruction of Selinus: c. 59. We may refer it to B.C. 408, which places the era at B.C. 648. Himera was destroyed 58 years after its establishment by <i>Theron</i> : Diod. XI. 49. Θήγων δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ιμεραιῶν σφαγὴν ὥραν τὴν πόλιν οἰκητόρων δεομένην συνάψισεν εἰς ταύτην τοὺς τε Δωριέis καὶ τῶν ἀλλων τοὺς βουλομένους ἐπολιτογράφησεν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν μετ' ἀλλήλων καλῶς πολιτευόμενοι διετέλεσαν ἕτη πεντήκοντα καὶ ὅκτω. τότε δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων χειρωθείσης καὶ κατασκαφείσης, διέμεινεν ἀοικητὸς μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν. <i>Theron's</i> settlement, then, was in B.C. 466. But he had occupied Himera ten years before, in the year of <i>Phædon</i> B.C. 476: Diod. XI. 48.
644.	Ol. 34. <i>Stomus Atheniensis</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145.	<i>Pantaleon</i> king of <i>Pisa</i> celebrated the Olympic games: Pausan. VI. 22, 2. τετάρτη ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ τριακοστῇ στρατὸν οἱ Πισαῖοι καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Πανταλέων ὁ Ὄμφαλίωνος παρὰ τῶν προσχώρων ἀθροίσαντες ἐποίησαν ἄντι

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<p><i>Pisander</i> flourished: Suid. Πείσανδρος Πείσωνος καὶ Ἀρισταίχμας, Καμειραιοῖς ἀπὸ Ρόδου [Πείσανδρος ὁ διασημότατος ποιητὴς Καμειρεὺς ἢν Steph. Byz. Κάμιρος. Πείσανδρος ὁ τὴν Ἡρακλείαν γράψας ποιητὴς Ρόδιος Strabo XIV. p. 655]—καὶ τινες μὲν αὐτὸν Εύμόλου τοῦ ποιητοῦ σύγχρονον καὶ ἐρώμενον ιστοροῦσι, τινες δὲ καὶ Ἡσιόδου πρεσβύτερον' οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν λγ' ὀλυμπιάδα τάττουσιν. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴν Διόκλειαν. ποιήματα δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλεία ἐν βιβλίοις β' [Πείσανδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἡρακλείᾳ Athen. XI. p. 469. d]; ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα. ἔνθα πρώτος Ἡρακλεῖ ρόπαλον περιτέθεικε [conf. Strab. XV. p. 688. Schol. Apollon. I. 1196]. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τῶν ποιημάτων αὐτοῦ νόθα δοξάζεται, γενόμενα ὑπό τε ἄλλων καὶ Ἀριστέως τοῦ ποιητοῦ. Named among the most ancient poets: conf. a. 665. He was said to have borrowed from <i>Pisinus</i>: Clem. Al. Strom. VI. p. 628. B. Πείσανδρος Καμιρεὺς Πισίνου τοῦ Λινδίου τὴν Ἡράκλειαν (ὡς ιδίαν ἐκνεύκει). which is not inconsistent with Theocrit. Epigr. 20. Τὸν λειτομάχαν τὸν ὀξύχειρα Πράτος τῶν ἐπάνωθε μουσοποιῶν Πείσανδρος συνέγραψεν ᾧ καὶ Καμείρου, Χάσους ἐξπόνατεν εἰτ' ἀέθλους—if, with Jacobs Anthol. tom. VII. p. 207., we refer the expression πράτος συνέγραψεν to the attire of <i>Hercules</i>, with which <i>Pisander</i> first invested him. <i>Pisander</i> was still living after the establishment of Cyrenë: conf. a. 631. which is perfectly consistent with the date of Suidas.</p>
<p><i>Terpander</i> flourished: Mar. Par. N°. 35 (34). ἀφ' οὗ Τέρπανδρος ὁ Δερδένεος ὁ Λέσβιος τοὺς νόμους του....α...ων...δ....οῦς..αι αὐλητ... ....λησε, καὶ τὴν ἐμπροσθε μουσικὴν μετέστησεν, ἔτ. ΗΗΗΙΔΔΔΙ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Δρωπί. ου. B. C. 264 + 381 = B. C. 645. But from the mode of computation in the</p>

B.C.	I. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		<p>'Ηλείων τὰ Ὀλύμπια. ταύτας τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας [sc. Ol. 8, <i>Phidonis</i>: conf. a. 748. Ol. 34, <i>Pantaleontis</i>] καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς τὴν τετάρτην τε καὶ ἑκατοστήν, τεθεῖσαν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρχαδῶν [B. C. 364: F. H. II. p. 116], ἀνολυμπιάδας οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καλοῦντες οὐ σφᾶς ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν διλυμπιάδων γραφουσιν. The Pisaeans in this Olympiad assumed the presidency, excluding the Eleans. But they participated in the presidency jointly with the Eleans, according to Strabo and Africanus, for twenty-six Olympiads, Ol. 27—52 inclusive, B.C. 672—572: conf. ann. 668, 660, 572. <i>Pantaleon</i> had been engaged in the second Messenian war: conf. a. 672; which might place the beginning of his reign about thirty years before the present date.</p> <p>Casmeneæ founded by the Syracusans, twenty years after Acriæ: conf. a. 664.</p> <p><i>Dropilus</i> archon at Athens: see col. 3.</p>
640.	Ol. 35. <i>Sphaeron Laco.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Sphaerus</i> Dionys. Ant. III. p. 518.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 145. Ol. 35. <i>Recursum Cylon Atheniensis, is qui tyrannidem affectavit.</i> His Olympic victory is mentioned Herodot. V. 71. ἡν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης. οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἐταιρῆν τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπιτρήψῃ κ. τ. λ.—φονεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτίᾳ ἔχει Ἀλκμαιωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης ἐγένετο. Thucyd. I. 126. Κύλων ἡν Ὀλυμπιονίκης ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν πάλαι εὐγενῆς τε καὶ δυνατός· ἐγεγαμήκει δὲ θυγατέρα Θεαγένους Μεγαρέως ἀνδρὸς ὃς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει Μεγάρων. Pausan. I. 28, 1. (Κύλων)—εἶδος κάλλιστος καὶ τὰ ἐξ δόξαν ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀφανῆς, ἀνελόμενος διαύλου νίκην Ὀλυμπικήν καὶ οἱ θυγατέρα υπῆρξε γῆμαι Θεαγένους, ὃς Μεγάρων ἐτυράννησεν. conf. I. 40, 1.</p>
639.	35, 2.	<p>Dionys. Ant. III. p. 518. ἐνιαυτῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς τριακοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἦν ἐνίκα Σφαιρὸς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν είχε Δαμασταῖς.</p> <p>First establishment of <i>Battus</i>: Herodot. IV. 156. ἀπέστελλον τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροισι κ. τ. λ.—οἱ δὲ—ἔκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύη κειμένην, τῇ οὖν ομα—ἐστὶ Πλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἵση εἶναι ἡ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρηναϊκῶν πόλει. ταύτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γάρ σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, ἵνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφούς. conf. a. 637. Of</p>

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Marble (F. H. II. p. X) the true date of *Dropilus* or *Dropides* was probably B. C. 644. Eusebius apud Hieron. places *Terpander* only two years higher: *Anno 1370 Ol. 33. 2=3 Armen. Terpander insignis.* Omitted in the Armenian copy, but verified by Syncellus p. 213. B. Τέρπανδρος μουσικὸς ἐγνωσίητο. Placed, however, in Syncellus before the era of Selinus. The improvements of *Terpander* in the Spartan music are noticed by Plutarch Music. p. 1134. B. although he places them at an earlier period: ή μὲν οὖν πρώτη κατάστασις τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ Τέρπανδρου καταστήσαν-
τος γεγένηται· τῆς δευτέρας δὲ Θαλήτας τε ὁ Γορτύνιος, καὶ Ξενόδαμος ὁ Κυθήριος, καὶ Ξενόκριτος ὁ Λοκρός, καὶ Πολύμνηστος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, καὶ Σαχάδας ὁ Ἀργεῖος μάλιστα αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν ἡγεμόνες γενέσθαι· τούτων γὰρ εἰ-
σιγησαμένων τὰ περὶ τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας τὰς ἐν Δακεδαίμονι λέγεται καταστῆναι τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις τὰς ἐν
'Αρκαδίᾳ.—ἥσαν δὲ οἱ περὶ Θαλήταν τε καὶ Ξενόδαμον καὶ Ξενόκριτον ποιηταὶ παιάνων [conf. p. 1134. E], οἱ
δὲ περὶ Πολύμνηστον τῶν ὅρθιων καλουμένων, οἱ δὲ περὶ Σαχάδαν ἐλεγείων. ἄλλοι δὲ Ξενόδαμον ὑποεχημάτων
ποιητὴν γεγονέναι φασὶ καὶ οὐ παιάνων, καθάπερ Πρατίνας. *Thaletas* flourished by this testimony after
the *Gymnopaedia* B. C. 665. *Sacadas* flourished B. C. 586—578: conf. a. 586. *Polymnastus* is mentioned by *Pindar* apud Strabon. XIV. p. 643. λέγει δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ Πολύμναστον τινα τῶν περὶ τὴν
μουσικὴν ἐλλογίμων· “φέύμα μὲν πάγκοινον ἔγνωκας Πολύμναστον Κολοφωνίου ἀνδρός.” And by *Alcman*:
Plutarch. Music. p. 1133. A. γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ Πολύμνηστον ποιητὴν, Μέλητος τοῦ Κολοφωνίου υἱόν—τοῦ δὲ
Πολύμνηστον καὶ Πίνδαρος καὶ Ἀλκμάν οἱ τῶν μελῶν ποιηταὶ ἐμνημόνευσαν. As *Alcman* lived in the reign
of *Ardys* (conf. a. 671), and *Polymnastus* after the *Gymnopaedia*, they must have been contempor-
ary. *Polymnastus* was later than *Thaletas*, whom he mentioned: conf. a. 665. He probably in-
tervened between *Thaletas* and *Alcman*, and was in part contemporary with both. We may upon
conjecture place *Thaletas* at B. C. 690—660 and *Polymnastus* at B. C. 675—644. *Alcman* accord-
ing to Suidas and Eusebius might flourish B. C. 671—631. *Xenocritus* was later than *Thaletas*:
Plutarch. p. 1134. F. πρεσβύτερον τῇ ἡλικίᾳ φησίν ὁ Γλαύκος Θαλήταν Ξενοκρίτου γεγονέναι. He is men-
tioned by Heraclides περὶ πολιτειῶν p. 215. ἐγένετο Λοκρὸς Ξενόκριτος, τυφλὸς ἐκ γενετῆς ποιητής. Plu-
tarach, in placing the inventions of *Terpander* before the improvements of *Thaletas* and *Polymnastus*, follows those who ascribed to *Terpander* a high antiquity: conf. a. 676. But the true date of
Terpander's improvement, given by the Parian Marble, places it below them; and Plutarch himself
p. 1133. B. gives another account: τὸ δὲ ὄλον ή μὲν κατὰ Τέρπανδρον κιθαρῳδία καὶ μέχρι τῆς Φρύνιδος ἡλι-
κίας παντελῶς ἀπλῆ τις οὐσα διετέλει. But if the style introduced by *Terpander* was unchanged till the
time of *Phrynis* (who was later than the Median wars: conf. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 967), the style
introduced by *Thaletas* must have preceded *Terpander*.

The birth of *Thales* is placed here in Eusebius Armen. V. *Anno 1377 Ol. 35. 2. Thales Examīlē Milesius primus physicus cognoscebatur. Is dicitur usque ad XLVIII Olympiadēm* [recte Hieronymus LVIII] *vitam protractissimam.* Hieronymus also, anno 1377. But in Armen. M. *Anno 1378 Ol. 35. 3. Syncellus p. 213. C. Θαλῆς Ἐξαμίου Μιλήσιος φιλόσοφος εἰς τῶν ζεσφῶν ἐγνωσίητο, δις λέγεται ζῆσαι ὑπὲρ τὰ ἱκατὸν ἵη.* In this notice, which is placed before the eras of Borysthenes (conf. a. 654. 2) and of Sinopē (conf. a. 629. 2), Syncellus has mistaken the time of the birth of *Thales* for the time of his ἀχμῆ. On the birth of *Thales* see F. H. II. p. 3.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		Platea, Herodotus IV. 169. remarks, ἡ Πλατέα νῆσος τὴν ἔκτισαν Κυρηναῖοι.
637.	35, 4.	Second settlement of <i>Battus</i> : Herodot. IV. 157. 158. οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον—ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν ἔλιπον ἔκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Λιβύης χῶρον ἀντίον τῆς νῆσου, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν "Ἄζιρις"—τοῦτον οἰκεον τὸν χῶρον ἐξ ἔτεα, ἐβδόμῳ δὲ σρεας ἔτει παρατησάμενοι οἱ Λιβυες ὡς ἐς ἀμείνονα χῶρον ἀξέουσι ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλιπεῖν. The seventh year, in which Cyrenë was founded, was B.C. 631: conf. a. which places this second establishment at B.C. 637. Herodotus IV. 169. mentions Aziris again: "Ἄζιρις τὴν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι οἰκεον.
636.	Ol. 36. <i>Phrynon Atheniensis</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 146. Ol. 36. <i>Phrynon Atheniensis</i> , qui in Co insula singulari certamine interemptus est. ὃς Πιττακῷ μονομαχῶν ἀνηρέθη Græca Scal. p. 40. conf. a. 606.
635.	36, 2.	The Cimmerians take Sardis in the reign of <i>Ardys</i> , a little before the irruption of the Scythians into Asia: Herodot. I. 15. "Αρδυος—ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἥθεων ὑπὸ Σαυδέων τῶν Νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες [conf. a. 634] ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐλλον. To this irruption into Ionia he refers I. 6. τὸ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον, Κροίσου ἐὸν πρεσβύτερον, οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολιών ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῇ. The Cimmerians, however, had often before overrun the north of Asia Minor: Strabo I. p. 61. οἱ τε Κιμμέριοι, οὓς καὶ Τρήρωνας [l. Τρῆρας] ὄνομάζουσι, ἡ ἐκείνων τι ἔθνος, πολλάκις ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ Παφλαγόνας ποτὲ δὲ καὶ Φρύγας ἐμβαλόντες. They had penetrated to Ionia before the time of Homer: Strabo I. p. 6. καὶ μὴν ("Ομηρος) καὶ τὸ Κιμμερικὸν Βόσπορον οἴδε τοὺς Κιμμερίους εἰδὼς (οὐ δή που τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῶν Κιμμερίων εἰδὼς αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀγνοῶν), οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἡ μικρὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ μέχρις Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ Βοσπόρου πᾶσαν. III. p. 149. καὶ γέρ ταῦθα "Ομηρος ἡ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν λέγουσι τὴν τῶν Κιμμερίων ἔφοδον γενέσθαι τῶν μέχρι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας. which places their first appearance in Asia Minor a century at least before the Olympiad of <i>Coræbus</i> . An irruption of the Cimmerians is assigned by Orosius I. 21. to B.C. 782: <i>Anno ante urbem conditam tricesimo—Tunc etiam Amazonum gentis et Cimmeriorum in Asiam repentinus incursus plurimam diu lateque vastationem stragemque edidit.</i> According to Aristotle they held Antandrus in Mysia for 100 years: Steph. Byz. "Αντανδρος.—Ἄριστοτέλης φησὶ ταύτην ὀνομάσθαι Ἡδανίδα διὰ τὸ Θράκας Ἡδανοὺς ὄντας οἰκησαι, καὶ Κιμμερίδα, Κιμμερίων ἐνοικουόντων ἐκατὸν ἔτη. After their last irruption they were expelled by <i>Alyattes</i> : consequently not before B.C. 617. conf. a.
634.	36, 3.	<i>Phraortes</i> slain by the Assyrians: Herodot. I. 102. Φραόρτης,—στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἱ Νίνον ἔχον, αὐτός τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἰκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός. His son <i>Cyaxares</i> is interrupted in the siege of Nineveh by the irruption of the Scythians: I. 103. συλλέξας τοὺς ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον τιμωρέων τῷ πατρὶ—καὶ οἱ, ὡς συμβαλλὸν ἐνίκηστο τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένω τὴν Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σαυδέων στρατὸς μέγας—οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὔρωπης· τούτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύ-

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B.C.	I. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>γουσι οὗτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώρην ἀπίκοντο. IV. 1. τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίας ἥρξαν Σκύθαι ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα τριήκοντα. Κιμμερίους γάρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, κατακαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους. Eusebius Armen. V. marks this Scythian invasion: <i>Anno 1384 Ol. 37. 1. Scythæ in Palæstinam usque dominati sunt.</i> In Armen. M. anno 1385 Ol. 37. 2. In Hieronymus, anno 1386. Herodotus ascribes 150 years to the four Median reigns: I. 102. Δηϊόκεω παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὃς, τελευτήσαντος Δηϊόκεω βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα [B. C. 709—657], παρεδίξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν. ὁ Φραόρτης—δύο καὶ εἷς—ἔτεα [B. C. 656—635]. c. 106. Κυακάρης βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, σὺν τοῖς Σκύθαις ἥρξαν, τελευτῇ [634—595]. c. 130. Ἀστυάγης βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα [594—560] τῆς βασιληῆς κατεπαύθη. Cyrus began to reign in Ol. 55. I B. C. 559 (F. H. II. p. 2); which determines the times of the four preceding reigns. For the kings of Media see Appendix c. 3.</p>
633.	36, 4.	<p>Istrus and Tomi, Milesian colonies: <i>Scymnus Fragm. 21.</i> Anonymi Periplus Euxini p. 157. Τομέοι ἄποικοι γενόμενοι Μιλησίων, ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν ἐν κύκλῳ οἰκούμενοι.—ἡ πόλις Ἰστρος ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔλαβε τοῦνομα—καὶ ταῦτην τὴν πόλιν Μιλήσιοι κτίζουσιν ἡνίκα Σκυθῶν Εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν στράτευμα διέβη βαρβάρων Τὸ Κιμμερίους διώκον ἐκ τοῦ Βοσπόρου. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 823. Ἰστριανοὶ—Μιλησίων ἄποικοι. Strabo VII. p. 319. Ἰστρος πολίχνιον—Μιλησίων κτίσμα.</p>
632.	Ol. 37. Euryclidas Laco. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 146. <i>Ol. 37. Additum est puerorum stadium, vicitque Polynices Eleus. Addita lucta puerorum, vicitque Hipposthenes Laco, qui una intermissa quinque continentibus Olympiadibus luctam virilem vicit.</i> Pausan. V. 8, 3. δρόμου μὲν δὴ καὶ πάλης ἐτέθη παισὶν ἀθλα ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ τριακοστῆς διλυμπιάδος, καὶ Ἰπποσθένης Λακεδαιμόνιος πάλην, Πολυνίκης δὲ τὸν δρόμον ἐνίκησεν Ἡλεῖος.</p> <p>The third year of the Scythian dominion in Asia. In this year Eusebius places their occupation of Palestine: conf. a. 634. Herodot. I. 104. 105. οἱ Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελόθησαν· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἥρσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπει τε ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμμιτίχος σφεας Αἴγυπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώροις τε καὶ λιτήσις ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπει τε ἀναχωρέοντες ὅπιστο ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλι,—ἐσύλησαν τῆς Οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἴρον κ. τ. λ. For the time of Psammetichus conf. a. 616.</p>
631.	37, 2.	<p>Battus founds Cyrenë: Euseb. Chron. <i>Anno 1385 Ol. 37. 2. Battus Cyrenem condit.</i> In Hieronymus, anno 1386. Recorded by Syncellus: conf. a. 627. This date is consistent with Theophrastus, who reckons more than 300 years from the foundation to B. C. 311: Hist. Plant. VI. 3, 3. οἰκούσι μάλιστα περὶ τριακόσια (ἔτη) εἰς Σιμωνίδην ἀρχοντα Ἀθήνησιν [B. C. 311]; and with the period of the Battiaidae in Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 1. Κυρήνης πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσε Βάττος ὁ Πολυμνῆστος ὁ καὶ τὴν ἄποικιαν ἐκ Θήρας εἰς Αἰβύην ἀπαγαγὼν καὶ Κυρήνην οἰκίσας, ὃς διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς κατέλιπεν οὐδὲν Ἀρκεσίλαον. παρὰ δὲ τούτου παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Βάττος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς εὐδαιμῶν τοῦ δὲ Βάττου ἄλλος γίνεται Ἀρκεσίλαος, καὶ οὕτω παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς τὴν δυναστίαν παρέλαβε, καὶ τέσσαρες μὲν Βάττοι τέσσαρες δὲ Ἀρκεσίλαιοι ἐγένοντο [ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βάττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως τέσσερες, ὅπτα ἀνδρῶν γενέας Herodot. IV. 163]—οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι οὕτως Ἀρ-</p>

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Birth of Stesichorus: see F. H. II. p. 5.

Pisander of Camira still flourished : Pindar. Pyth. IX. 184 = 109. ἐβαν Ἰρασα πρὸς πόλιν Ἀνταιοῦ μετὰ καλλίκομον μναστῆρες ἀγαπέα κούραν. Schol. Ἰρασσα, πόλις Λίβυης.—οὐ δὲ Πίνδαρος—φησὶν Ἀλεξιδάμον—γενέσθαι μνηστῆρα τῆς Ἀνταιοῦ θυγατρός· ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Ἀλκηῆς, ὡς φησι Πείσανδρος ὁ Καμειρεύς· ἔτερος δὲ Βάρχην. Irasa was visited by the Greeks in the time of *Battus*: conf. Herodot. IV. 158. Steph. Byz. Ἰρασα. And *Pisander* must have mentioned *Antaeus* and *Alceis* after the establishment of *Battus* at Cyrenë. But this may be reconciled with the date of Suidas for *Pisander*: conf. a. 647. For if we ascribe to him a period of 25 years, he might flourish B. C. 647—623; which would extend his time to the 9th year of *Battus* at Cyrenë.

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		κεσίλαος [the 8th from <i>Battus I.</i> ὅγδοον μέρος Ἀρκεσίλας Pindar. Pyth. IV. 65=115. victor Pyth. 31 B. C. 466, and Ol. 80 B. C. 460: Schol. ad IV. 1] δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ Κυρηναίων ἀπέβαλε τῶν Βαττιαδῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτη διακόσια διαιμείναταν. This period computed from the date of Eusebius would place the death of the last <i>Arkesilaos</i> at B. C. 431, 35 years after his Pythian victory. That he was young in Pyth. 31 B. C. 466 is attested by Pindar Pyth. V. 109=146. The date of Solinus, B. C. 597, is refuted by Herodotus, Theophrastus, and the Scholiast: conf. a. 597. The first <i>Battus</i> reigned 40 years: conf. a. 591.
630.	37, 3.	The Milesians according to Strabo XVII. p. 801. are established in Egypt in the reigns of <i>Psammetichus</i> and <i>Cyaxares</i> :—τὸ Μιλησίων τεῖχος πλεύσαντες γάρ ἐπὶ Φαρμιτίχου τριάκοντα ναυοὶ Μιλήσιοι κατὰ Κυαξάρην (οὗτος δὲ τῶν Μήδων) κατέσχον εἰς τὸ στόμα τὸ Βολβίτινον—χρόνῳ δ' ἀναπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸν Σαΐτικὸν νομὸν, καταναυμάχησαντες Ἰναρού, πόλιν ἔκτισαν Ναύκρατιν. There is no need that we should with Larcher Herodot. tom. VIII. p. 360. and Wess. ad Herodot. II. 178. understand this <i>Inarus</i> to be the same person as <i>Inarus</i> the Libyan whom the Athenians assisted in B. C. 460. Naucratis is placed at B. C. 753 by Hieronymus: conf. a. 732. But Herodotus II. 154. appears to confirm Strabo: τοῖσι δὲ Ἰωσὶ καὶ τοῖσι Καρσὶ τοῖσι συγκατεργασμένοισι αὐτῷ δὲ Φαρμιτίχος [B. C. 670] διδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι.—πρῶτοι οὗτοι ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἀλλογλωσσοὶ κατοικίσθησαν. Consequently Naucratis would be founded after B. C. 670. That it was already founded before B. C. 569 is proved by Herodotus II. 178.
629.	37, 4.	Foundation of Sinopë: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1387 Ol. 37. 4. <i>Sidon</i> [<i>l. Sinope</i>]. Placed one year higher by Hieronymus: Anno 1386 <i>Sinope condita</i> . <i>Lipara condita</i> . Sinopë was a Milesian colony: Xenophr. Anab. V. 9, 15. Σιναπεῖς οικοῦσι μὲν ἐν τῇ Παφλαγονικῇ Μιλησίων δὲ ἄποικοι εἰσιν. Diod. XIV. 31. ἡ δὲ Σινάπη Μιλησίων μὲν ἦν ἄποικος. Strabo XII. p. 545. ἔκτισαν μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Μιλήσιοι. Arrian. Peripl. Eux. p. 127. Σιναπεῖς Μιλησίων ἄποικοι. And (according to Eusebius) had founded Trapezus 130 years before this date. Sinopë, then, must have had two epochs. Scymnus Frigm. 204—215. mentions three; one foundation in the fabulous times by <i>Autolyceus</i> , also named <i>Plutarch</i> . Lucull. c. 23. Schol. Apollon. II. 955; a second by <i>Ambron</i> of <i>Miletus</i> , who was slain by the Cimmerians; a third by <i>Coüs</i> and <i>Critines</i> , also Milesians, during the occupation of Asia by the Cimmerians: 'Αλλ' ἡ Σινάπη ἔστ' ἐπάνυμος μᾶς Ἀμαζόνων (ἄν πλειστον χῶρ' ἦν ποτε). 'Ην τὸ πρὸν ἄκουν εὐγενεῖς ὄντες Σύροι. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ᾧ λέγουσιν 'Ελλήνων ὅσοι 'Ἐπ' Ἀμαζόνων διέβησαν, Αύτόλυκός τε καὶ Σὺν Δηλέαντι Φλόγεως [<i>l. ex Plutarcho σὺν Δημολέοντι Φλόγιος</i>] ὄντες Θέτταλοι. 'Ἐπειτα δὲ Ἀμβρων τῷ γένει Μιλήσιος. 'Τπὸ Κιμμερίων οὗτος δὲ ἀναιρεῖσθαι δοκεῖ. Μετὰ Κιμμερίους Κῶς τάλιν δὲ Κριτίνης, Οἱ γενόμενοι φυγάδες (ικ) τῶν Μιλησίων. Οὗτοι συνοικίζουσιν αὐτὴν ἥνκα Ό Κιμμερίων στρατὸς κατέδραμε τὴν Ἀσίαν. The Cimmerians were now in Asia Minor. They first appeared there about a century before B. C. 776. An irruption is recorded in B. C. 782. Their last inroad was in B. C. 635: conf. a. 635. The settlement of <i>Ambron</i> may be placed at about B. C. 782, twenty-six years before the era assigned to Trapezus. It is probable that, although <i>Ambron</i> was slain, his settlement remained. The colony of <i>Coüs</i> and <i>Critines</i> we may

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Mimnermus flourished: Suid. Μίμνερμος [l. Μίμνερμος] Λιγυστιάδου Κολοφώνιος, ἢ Σμυρναῖος, ἢ Ἀστυπαλαιεὺς, ἐλεγειοποιός. γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς λέξεως ὀλυμπιάδος, ὡς προτερεύειν τῶν ζευσοφῶν. τινὲς δὲ αὐτοῖς συγχρονεῖν λέγουσιν. Both these accounts might be true. He might flourish in Ol. 37 and yet reach the times of the ἑπτὰ σοφοῖς, a period of less than 45 years, B. C. 630—586. *Mimnermus* was mentioned by *Hipponax*: Plutarch. Mus. p. 1134. A. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος νόμος, καλούμενος Κραδίας, ὃν φησιν Ἰππώναξ Μίμνερμον αὐλῆσαι.

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		refer to the present date of Eusebius, six years after the Cimmerians had broken into Asia. The names of these settlers are preserved by Steph. Byz. Σινάπη—κτίσμα Μαχρίτιου Κάου, ἡς φῆσι Φλέγων. Rightly restored by Raoul-Rochette tom. III. p. 330. from Scymnus, κτίσμα Κερτίνου καὶ Κάου. By the corrupt text of Steph. Eustathius was misled ad Dionys. 772. as R. R. l. cit. also observes. <i>Sadyattes</i> succeeds <i>Ardys</i> : conf. a. 678.
628.	Ol. 38. <i>Olyntheus Laco.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 146. <i>Ol. 38. Additum est puerorum quinquerium: tunc autem in agone tantum exercebantur. Vicit Deutelidas Laco.</i> Δευτελίδας Scalig. p. 40. Pausan. V. 9, 1. πάνταδόν τε γὰρ παιδῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ὄγδοης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τριακοστῆς ἑτέβη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν κότινον Εύτελίδα Λακεδαιμονίου λαβόντος οὐκέτι ἀρεστὰ Ἡλείοις ἦν πεντάβλους εἰσέρχεσθαι παιδίας. Idem VI. 15, 4. Σπαρτιάτῃ δὲ Εύτελίδῃ γεγόνασιν ἐν παισὶ νίκαι δύο ἐπὶ τῆς ὄγδοης καὶ τριακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, πάλης, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα πεντάβλους πρῶτον γὰρ δὴ τότε οἱ παιδῖς καὶ ὑστάτον πεντάβληστοντες ἐπικλήθησαν. Selinus founded by the people of Megara Hyblaea: Thucyd. VI. 4. ἔτεσιν ὑστερον ἔκατὸν ἡ αὐτοῦς οἰκήσαι [conf. a. 728], Πάμιλλον πέμψαντες Σελινοῦντα κτίζουσι· καὶ ἐκ Μεγάρων τῆς μητροπόλεως οὕσης αὐτοῖς ἐπελθῶν ἔνγκατάχιστος. Placed 22 years too high by Diodorus: conf. a. 650. The Megarians send colonists to Byzantium: Lydus de Mag. Rom. III. 70. p. 280. τὴν ἀγορὰν ἦν καλοῦσι Ζεύξιππον ἀπὸ Ζεύξιππου βασιλέως, ὁφέλῳ ἐπὶ τῆς τριακοστῆς ὄγδοης ὀλυμπιάδος Μεγαρεῖς εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀποικήσαντες πρὸς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὔτως ἐπωνόμασαν. As Byzantium was founded about 30 years before this date, and as the original colony was ascribed to <i>Byzas</i> (conf. a. 657), it seems probable that this expedition under <i>Zeuxippus</i> was a second colony. The Byzantine settlers subjected the natives, as the Spartans had the Helots: Athen. VI. p. 271. c. Φύλαρχος ἐν ἔκτῃ ιστοριῶν καὶ Βυζαντίους φησὶν οὕτω Βιθυνῶν δεσπότας ἡς Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν εἰλάτων.
627.	38, 2.	Lipara founded: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1389 <i>Ol. 38. 2. Lipara condita.</i> Placed by Hieronymus with Sinopē, anno 1386: conf. a. 629. Syncellus p. 213. C. confirms the Armenian copy, recording these notices in successive order: Σινάπη ἐκτίσθη. Βάττος Κυρήνην ἐπέκτισε. Κορινθίων Περιάνδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐπυράννησε. Διπάρα ἐκτίσθη. Ἐπιδάμνος, ἡ νῦν καλούμενη Δυρράχιον, ἐκτίσθη. Προυσίας ἐκτίσθη.
626.	38, 3.	Euseb. Chron. Anno 1390 <i>Ol. 38. 3. Prusias condita.</i> In Hieronymus, Anno 1388. Syncellus differs from both: conf. c. 625.
625.	38, 4.	Epidamus founded: Euseb. Anno 1391 <i>Ol. 38. 4. Epidamnum</i> [male <i>Epidaurus</i>] <i>quæ dicta est Dyrrachium conditur.</i> Hieronymus, Anno 1390. Both the copies, however, place Epidamus below Prusias. In Syncellus, Epidamus is named the first: conf. a. 627. <i>Periander</i> succeeds <i>Cypselus</i> : Laërt. I. 98. ἥκμαζε περὶ τὴν τριακοστὴν ὄγδοην ὀλυμπιάδα, καὶ ἐπυράννησεν ἡτη τεσσαράκοντα. Suidas: Περιαν-

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Aristoxenus of Selinus, who is mentioned by *Epicharmus* as an early Iambic poet, is placed at B. C. 662 (conf. a.), thirty-four years before the foundation of Selinus. That he flourished before Selinus was founded may be admitted, if we understand him to have been born in another state (perhaps at Megara), to have been a colonist to Selinus, and afterwards (like *Epicharmus* himself) to have borne the appellation of the state in which he settled. But the date assigned to *Aristoxenus*, B. C. 662, is probably some years too high, and would be more likely to mark the time of his birth than the period of his ἀκμῆ.

Arion flourished in the reign of *Periander*: Herodot. I. 23. Περίανδρος ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς—έτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου· τῷ δῃ λέγουσι Κορίνθιος (όμολογόουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θώμα μέγιστον παραστῆναι. Ἀγίονα τὸν Μηδυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἔξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἐόντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἑόντων οὐδένος δεύτερον, καὶ διδύραμβον, πρᾶτος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὄνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην ἰέγαστάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα, θελῆσαι ὅπιστα ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι κ. τ. λ. Lu-

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		<p>δρος Κυψέλλου Κορίνθιος, τῶν ζ' σοφῶν, γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν λῃ̄ ὀλυμπιάδα. Aristot. Rep. V. 9, 22=V. 12. ἡ τῶν Κυψελιδῶν—διστέλεσσεν ἔτη τρία καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑξ μῆνας. Κύψελος μὲν γάρ ἐτυράννησεν ἔτη τριάκοντα, Περί-ανδρος δὲ τετταράκοντα [καὶ τέτταρα], Φαμμίτιχος δὲ ὁ Γορδίου τρία ἔτη. The amount of the whole period in Aristotle shews that καὶ τέτταρα are rightly expunged from the years of Periander, and that Aristotle assigned to this reign 40 years, agreeing with Laërtius. Eusebius gives 28 years to <i>Cypselus</i>: Arm. V. Anno 1358 Ol. 30. 3 [B. C. 658]. <i>Cypselus Corinthi tyrannus annis XXVIII.</i> Hieron. Anno 1357. Armen. M. Anno 1359 Ol. 30. 4. Periander succeeds (<i>Corinthi tyrannidem exercet Periander Cypseli</i>) in Hieronymus Anno 1389, but in both the Armenian versions anno 1387 Ol. 37. 4 [B. C. 629]. The respective dates correspond with the term of 28 years in the Milan copy, but not in the other two. Diodorus apud Euseb. p. 164. Syncellus p. 179. C. reckons 447 years between the return of the <i>Heraclidae</i> and the reign of <i>Cypselus</i>: τῆς καθόδου τῶν Ἡρακλείδων ὑστερεῖ ἔτεσι νυν. See above p. 129. m. And he placed the Return 328 years before Ol. 1. 1 July B. C. 776: Diod. I. 5. Hence we obtain 447—328 = 119 years below Ol. 1. 1, or Ol. 30. 4 commencing about July B. C. 657, for the first year of <i>Cypselus</i> according to Diodorus. But the termination of Periander in Ol. 48. 4 B. C. 585 (conf. a.) determines the commencement of <i>Cypselus</i>, 70 years before, to Ol. 31. 2 B. C. 655; two years below the date of Diodorus. <i>Cypselus</i> and Periander are both (from Eusebius) in Syncellus p. 213. Κύψελος—ἔτη κη'. —Κορινθίων Περίανδρος δὲ Κυψέλου ἐτυράννησε.</p>
624.	Ol. 39. <i>Rhipsolcus Laco.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146. <i>Ripsolavus</i> Armen. 'Ρι- ψολακος Scal. p. 40.	<p>Procles tyrant of Epidaurus is contemporary with Periander, who married his daughter <i>Lysidē</i> or <i>Melissa</i>: Herodot. III. 50. Laërt. I. 94. After her death Periander made war upon Procles: ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα—καὶ εἶλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον εἴλε δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα καὶ ἐζώγρησε: Herodot. III. 52. Procles had married the daughter of Aristocrates of Arcadia: Laërt. I. 94. Λυσίδην—τὴν Προκλέους τοῦ Ἐπιδαιρίων τυράννου καὶ Ἐρισθενέας τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους παιδίδας, ἀδελφῆς δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου, θυγατέρα, οἱ σχέδον πάσης Ἀρκαδίας ἐπῆρξαν, ὡς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης δὲ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀρχῆς. We may conjecture the age of Procles from the time of those with whom he was connected. In B.C. 625 his son-in-law Periander was 40 years of age (conf. a. 585), and his father-in-law Aristocrates had been dead 42 years: see above p. 92. v. The tyranny of Procles is asserted by Plutarch Pyth. Or. p. 403. C.D.</p>
623.	39, 2.	Milesian war: Herodot. I. 17. 18. Ἀλυάττης—ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοις παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. —ἐπολέμεε ἔτεα ἑνδεκα. —τὰ μὲν νῦν ἑξ ἔτεα τῶν ἑνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἀρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἥρχε, τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἑτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσιν ἑξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεως ἐπολέμεε. The 6th year coincided with the last year of Sadyattes B. C. 618; consequently the war began in B. C. 623, the 7th of Sadyattes.
621.	39, 4.	

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cian. tom. II. p. 109. ὁ Περίανδρος ἔχαιρεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλάκις μετεπέμπετο αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ. ὁ δὲ πλουτήσας παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἐπεθύμησε πλεύσας οἰκάδε ἐξ τὴν Μήθυμναν ἐπιδεῖξασθαι τὸν πλοῦτον. where (as Hemssterhus. ad loc. remarks) Lucian follows a different account from that of Herodotus. The narrative of Herodotus is repeated by Plutarch Sept. Sap. p. 161. Ovid Fast. II. 93—118. Dio tom. II. p. 101. Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου τὸν σοφὸν, ἵφ' οὐ 'Αρίων ἐγένετο, ὃς καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε καὶ ὀνόμασε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Suidas agrees with this date, placing *Arion* in Ol. 38, in which Olympiad *Periander* began to reign : 'Αγίων Μῆθυμναῖς, λυρικὸς, Κυκλέως νιός, γέγονε κατὰ τὴν λη̄ δλυμπιάδα. τινὲς δὲ καὶ μαθητὴν Ἀλκμάνος ιστόρησαν αὐτὸν. ἔγραψε δὲ ἄσματα, προσίμια εἰς ἑπη β'. λέγεται καὶ τραγικοῦ τρόπου σύρτης γενέσθαι, καὶ πρῶτος χορὸν στῆσαι καὶ διθύραμβον ἀστα καὶ ὄνομάσαι τὸ ἀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ, καὶ σταύρους εἰσενεγκείν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας. Eusebius places the incident of the dolphin at B.C. 610: conf. a. which is consistent with these accounts of the time of *Arion*. The date of Solinus is refuted by the time of *Periander*: conf. a. 664. *Arion* was later than *Terpander*: Proclus apud Phot. Cod. 239. p. 985. δοκεῖ Τέρπανδρος μὲν πρῶτος τελειώσαι τὸν νόμον, ἡρώων μέτρῳ χρησάμενος. ἔπειτα 'Αρίων ὁ Μῆθυμναῖος οὐκ ὀδίγα συναυξῆσαι, αὐτὸς καὶ ποιητὴς καὶ κιθαρῳδὸς γενομένος. The invention of the cyclian or dithyrambic chorus is ascribed to him by Hellanicus, by Aristotle, and Dicaearchus: Proclus Ibid. εὑρεθῆναι τὸν διθύραμβον Πίνδαρος ἐν Κορίνθῳ λέγει [Ol. XIII. 25]. τὸν δὲ ἀρξάμενον τῆς φῦδης 'Αριστοτέλης 'Αρίωνά φησιν εἶναι. δις πρῶτος τὸν κύκλιον ἡγαγε τοῖς χοροῖς. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1403. Ἐλλάνικος καὶ Δικαιάρχος 'Αγίωνα τὸν Μῆθυμναῖον (φασὶ τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς στῆσαι πρῶτον). Δικαιάρχος μὲν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων Ἐλλάνικος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κραναικοῖς. Hence Schol. Pindar. l. c. πρῶτος ἐν Κορίνθῳ διθύραμβος εἰσήχθη, δις ἡν κύκλιος χορός. 'Αρίωνος τοῦ Μῆθυμναίου συστήσαντος αὐτὸν. Idem Ibid. ἔστησε δὲ αὐτὸν πρῶτος 'Αρίων ὁ Μῆθυμναῖος, εἴτα Λάστος δὲ Ἐρμιονεύς.

Legislation of *Draco*. Fixed to Ol. 39 by many testimonies: Tatian. p. 140. Δράκων δὲ περὶ δλυμπιάδα τριακοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην εύρισκεται γεγονώς. Clemens Al. Strom. I. p. 309. B. Δράκων—περὶ τὴν τριακοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην δλυμπιάδα γεγονός εύρισκεται. Suid. Δράκων—γέγονε τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ τοὺς ἑπτὰ σοφοὺς, ἢ μᾶλλον καὶ πρεσβύτερος. τῇ γοῦν λθ' δλυμπιάδι τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γηραιός ἦν. Placed at Ol. 40. 1 by Euseb. Chron. Arinen. V. Anno 1396 Ol. 40. 1. *Draconem aiunt leges tulisse. In Armen.*

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
620.	Ol. 40. <i>Olyntheus Laco</i> <i>II. Euseb. p. 146.</i>	<p>(The attempt of <i>Cylon</i> was in an Olympic year: Thucyd. I. 126. ὁ δὲ (Κύλων) παρά τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δύναμιν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνατείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθεν Ὁλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοπονήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ᾧς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἕορτήν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἔωτῷ τι προσήκειν Ὁλύμπια νενικκήσται [conf. a. 640].—οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν τε πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐτολιόρκουν. χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πάν τοις αὐτοκράτορος διαθεῖναι ἢ ἀν ἄριστα διαγγίγνασκωτι: τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἐπραστον.—ό μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδογάσκουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ὡς ἐπιέζοντο, καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπέδησκον υπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βαθὺν ἵκεται τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν—ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπέκτειναν· καθεζόμενούς δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ διεχείσαντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκείνοι τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. Pausanias VII. 25, 3. mentions the archons: αὐτοὶ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἄρχας διέφειραν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἵκεταις τῶν Κύλων ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατειληφότων, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ ἀποκτείναντες ἐνμίσθησαν καὶ οἱ ἔξι ἐκείνων ἐναγεῖς τῆς θεοῦ. One of them was <i>Megacles</i>: Plutarch. Sol. c. 12. ὥρμησε συλλαμβάνειν ὁ Μεγακλῆς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες. Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 64. conjectures that the attempt of <i>Cylon</i> might occur in Ol. 42 B. C. 612, twenty-eight years after his Olympic victory. It was probably somewhat earlier than Ol. 42. This attempt according to Plutarch l.c. must have happened long before <i>Epimenides</i> came to Athens: τῶν Κυλωνείων οἱ περιγενόμενοι πάλιν ἦσαν ισχυροί, καὶ στασιάζοντες ἀεὶ διετέλουν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγακλέους. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς στάσεως ἀκμὴν λαβούσῃς μάλιστα, καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαστάντος, ἥδη δέξιαν ἔχων ὁ Σόλων παρῆλθεν εἰς μέσον—καὶ ἐπεισε τοὺς ἐναγεῖς λεγομένους δίκην ὑποσχεῖν καὶ κριθῆναι.—εἴλωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ ζῶντες· τῶν δὲ ἀποθανόντων τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνορύξαντες ἐξέρριψαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους. ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ταραχαῖς καὶ Μεγαρέων συνεπιθεμένων, ἀπέβαλόν τε Νισαίων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐξέπεσον αὐθίς.—οὕτω δὲ μετάπεμπτος αὐτοῖς ἦκεν ἐκ Κρήτης Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ Φαιστίος. But <i>Epimenides</i> came before the legislation of <i>Solon</i>: conf. a. 596. We may therefore probably place the at-</p>

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M. Anno 1395 Ol. 39.4. In Hieronymus, anno 1393. Diodorus apud Ulpian. ad Demosth. Timocr. p. 480. ed. Par. names the interval between *Draco* and *Solon*: ὁ μὲν Σόλων ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων τῶν τυράννων ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν χρόνων, ὁ δὲ Δράχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Διόδωρος. Tzetzes Chil. V. 350. μετὰ ἐπτὰ τοῦ Δράκοντος ἐτῇ δὲ νομογράφου Γίνεται Σόλων Ἀττικοῖς δεύτερος νομογράφος. The legislation of *Solon* being in Ol. 46. 3 B.C. 594, 47 years would carry back *Draco* to Ol. 34. The number τεσσαράκοντα, then, is certainly wrong; but the number ἐπτὰ, being repeated by Tzetzes, is probably right. It appears from Tzetzes that the other number had escaped from the text of the author (perhaps Diodorus himself) whom he followed, which might lead those who found a deficiency to supply the erroneous number τεσσαράκοντα. But as *Draco* was in Ol. 39, the numbers might originally stand ἐπτὰ καὶ εἷκοσι; which would place *Draco* in Ol. 39. 4, precisely where he is placed by Eusebius: since the year 1396, commencing in autumn B.C. 621, included the greater part of that Olympic year. *Draco* is named by Syncellus p. 213. D. in this order:

Φάλαρις τυραννῶν κατελύθη.
Δράχων κατά τινας ἐνομοθέτει.
'Αριων ἐγνωρίζετο Μηθυμναῖος.

Agreeing with the order of these notices in Euseb. Armen. and in Hieronymus.

Aesop the fabulist is named at Ol. 40 by Suidas Αἴσωπος.—τοῖς χρόνοις πρὸ Πιθαγόρου· δὲς μεσοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς μὲν ὀλυμπιάδος. ἔγραψε τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτῷ συμβάντα ἐν βιβλίοις β'. Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 93. corrects the passage thus: δὲς μεσούσης τῆς μὲν ὀλυμπιάδος ἔγραψε τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς κ. τ. λ. But *Aesop* flourished later, in Ol. 52: conf. a. 572. and the corrupt passage may be probably amended thus: τοῖς χρόνοις πρὸ Πιθαγόρου· γεγονὼς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς μὲν ὀλυμπιάδος, ἔγραψε κ. τ. λ. This would be consistent. Born in Ol. 40 cir. B.C. 619, flourished in Ol. 52, cir. B.C. 571. His death is placed at Ol. 54 B.C. 564, and might have occurred a little later: conf. a. 564.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		tempt of <i>Cylon</i> at an intermediate point, 20 years after his Olympic victory, and 24 years before the visit of <i>Epimenides</i> .)
617.	40, 4.	<i>Alyattes</i> succeeds <i>Sadyattes</i> : conf. a. 678. Seventh year of the Milesian war: conf. a. 623. In his reign the Cimmerians were finally expelled from Asia Minor: Herodot. I. 16. οὗτος—Κιμμερίους ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐξήλασε. They had captured Sardis about 18 years before the accession of <i>Alyattes</i> . From their first appearance in Asia Minor to their final expulsion were at least 260 years [cir. B. C. 876—616]: conf. a. 635. Eusebius places their first incursion in the reign of <i>Codrus</i> : anno 939=B.C. 1078.
616.	Ol. 41. <i>Cleondas Thebanus</i> . Euseb. p. 146.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 146. <i>Ol. 41. Additus est puerorum pugilatus vicitque Philotas</i> (sic) <i>Sybaritanus</i> . Pausan. V. 8, 3. πρώτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα διυμπιάσι πύκται ἐπεκάλεσαν παιδας, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑσελθόντων Συβασίτης Φιλήτας.
*		<i>Neco</i> king of Egypt succeeds <i>Psammetichus</i> : Herodot. II. 157—161. Φαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα [B.C. 670—617].—Φαμμητίχου δὲ Νεκώς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου.—μετὰ δὲ, ἕκκαιδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας [B. C. 616—601], τελευτῇ, τῷ παιδὶ Φάμμῳ παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν.—Φάμμιος δὲ ἐξ ἔτεα μοῦνον [B. C. 600—595] βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου, καὶ στρατευσαμένου ἐς Αἴθιοπην καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος, ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίνη ὁ Φάμμιος· δις μετὰ Φαμμήτιχον τὸν ἐωτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλήων, ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἷκος ἄρξας [B. C. 594—570]. Idem III. 10. Ἄμασιν οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης, ἐλάσσας ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἄμασις τέσσερα καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα [B. C. 569—526] ἀπέθανεν. The death of <i>Amasis</i> occurred six months before the conquest of Egypt: c. 14. Φαμμήγιον βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἐξ; which determines his death to the beginning of B. C. 525, and ascertains the dates of the preceding reigns: conf. a. 670. As all the years ascribed to these five reigns might not have been complete, we may place the accession of <i>Psammetichus</i> at the beginning of B. C. 669, and the accession of <i>Necos</i> at the close of B. C. 616.
612.	Ol. 42. <i>Lycotus Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146.	Peace with Miletus. Herodotus I. 19—22. relates the conclusion of the war, and the peace between <i>Alyattes</i> and <i>Thrasybulus</i> : τῶν δὲ δυωδεκάτω ἔτει—ἡ τε διαλλαγὴ σφι ἐγένετο.—καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Μίλητον τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττη ὥστε ἔσχε. <i>Thrasybulus</i> , at this time tyrant of Miletus, was the friend of <i>Periander</i> : Herodot. I. 20. Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἐόντα Θρασύβουλω τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. conf. Aristot. Rep. V. 8, 7=V. 10. This was the 14th year of <i>Periander</i> : conf. a. 625.
		Contemporary with <i>Periander</i> of Corinth was <i>Periander</i> of Ambracia: Laert. I. 98. Σωτίαν καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων δύο φασὶ Περιάνδρους γεγονέναι, τὸν μὲν τύραννον, τὸν δὲ σοφὸν καὶ Ἀμβρακιώτην [Aelian. V. H. XII. 35. δύο Περιάνδροι, ὁ μὲν σοφὸς ἡνὸς δὲ τύραννος]. τοῦτο καὶ Νεάνθης φησὶν ὁ Κυζικηρός, ἀνεψιούς τε εἶναι ἀλλήλοις. καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν τὸν Κορίνθιόν φησιν εἶναι τὸν σοφόν, Πλάτων δὲ οὐ φησι [conf. Menag. ad I. 99]. Aristot. Rep. V. 3, 6=V. 4. ἦν Ἀμβρακία Περίανδρον συνεκβαλὼν τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις ὁ δῆμος τὸν τύραννον εἰς ἐαυτὸν περιέστησε τὴν πολιτείαν. V. 8, 9=V. 10. ἐπεβούλευσαν Περιάνδρα τῷ ἐν Ἀμβρακίᾳ τυράννῳ, κ. τ. λ. Ambracia had been planted in the reign of <i>Cypselus</i> : Strabo X. p. 452. Κορίνθιοι πεμφέντες ὑπὸ Κυψέλου καὶ Γαργά-

3. POETS, &c.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		σου ταύτην τε κατέσχον τὴν ἀκτὴν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου προῆλθον· καὶ ἡ τῆς Ἀμβρακία συνωκισθή καὶ τὸ Ἀνακτόριον. Scymnus 454. — Ἀμβρακία Κορινθίων Ἀποικός ἐστιν· φάσιν δὲ ὁ Κυψέλου Αὐτὴν πρότερον παῖς Γόργος— Strabo VII. p. 325. Ἀμβρακία Τόλγου τοῦ Κυψέλου κτίσμα. Antonin. Liber. c. 4. Τόργον δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Κυψέλου—λαὸν ἐποικον ἀγαγεῖν εἰς Ἀμβρακίαν ἐκ Κορίνθου. If Ambracia was planted by a younger brother of Periander, the colony could scarcely have been founded before B.C. 635, when Periander was 30 years of age. If a brother of Cypselus was the leader, it might have proceeded from Corinth earlier in the reign of Cypselus. The tyranny of Periander of Ambracia was probably not put down by the people till after the death of Periander of Corinth B.C. 585.
611.	42, 2.	Pittacus overthrows the tyranny of Melanchrus: Laërt. I. 74. οὗτος μετὰ τῶν Ἀλκαιῶν γενόμενος ἀδελφῶν Μέλαγχρον καθεῖλε τὸν τῆς Λέσβου τύραννον. This occurred in Ol. 42 according to Suidas: conf. a. 651. 3. Hence Laërt. I. 79. ἥκμαζε περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν δευτέραν ὀλυμπιάδα. Cyrill. adv. Julian. p. 12. D. τεσσαρακοστὴ δευτέρα ὀλυμπιάδη Ἀλκμαίων καὶ Πιττακός ἐν Μιτυλήνῃς οἱ τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν καὶ τρίσ τούτοις ἔτι Στησίχορος ὁ ποιητὴ ἐγνωρίζετο. Menag. ad Laërt. I. c. Legendum δ τῶν ἐπιὰ σοφῶν, et pro Ἀλκμαίων Ἀλκαῖος. Although Ἀλκμαίων is often used for Ἀλκμάν, or rather is another form of the name (conf. Jacobs. Anthol. tom. X. p. 325. Harles. ad Fabric. tom. II. p. 89. Wernsdorf. ad Himer. p. 476. Welcker. ad Aleman. p. 1. 2), yet the correction of Menagiūs is justified by Suidas v. Σαπφώ. κατὰ τὴν μβ' ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἦν καὶ Στησίχορος καὶ Πιττακός. In this place Ἀλκμαίων is an error for Ἀλκαῖος, as in Greg. Cor. p. 6. for Ἀλκαιῶν one MS. has Ἀλκμαίων. The error, however, was probably older than the time of Cyril; and to this confusion of Ἀλμαίων for Ἀλκαῖος may perhaps be traced the notice of Hieronymus in Euseb. Chron. Ann. 1408 Ol. 42. 4=43. 1 Arm. <i>Alcman, ut quibusdam videtur, clarus habetur.</i> a notice which does not appear in the Armenian copy. The combat of Pittacus with Phrynon is assigned to Ol. 43, four or five years later than the overthrow of Melanchrus: conf. a. 606. Pittacus according to Suidas would be now about 40 years of age: conf. a. 651.
610.	42, 3.	
609.	42, 4.	Apollonia on the Euxine founded: Scymnus 730. — πόλις ἐστὶ σύνορος ἡ πολλωνία. ταύτην δὲ πρότερον ἐτεις πεντήκοντά που κτίζουσι τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐλθόντες οἱ Μιλήσιοι. πλειστας ἀποκίας γάρ εἴς Ιωνίας ἐστειλαν εἰς τὸν πόντον.
Fifty years before B.C. 559: F. H. II. p. 2. Strabo VII. p. 319.		

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Sappho, *Alcaeus*, and *Stesichorus* flourished Ol. 42: see col. 2. and F. H. II. p. 5. *Stesichorus* is named by Eusebius at B.C. 608: *Anno 1408 Ol. 43. 1. Stesichorus poëta cognoscebatur*. In Hieronymus, *Anno 1405*, which expresses the present year. The date of Eusebius, Ol. 43, better agrees with the age of *Stesichorus*, if he was born in Ol. 37. *Alcaeus* is fixed to this period by the time of *Pittacus*. For *Sappho* conf. a. 595. *Sappho*, *Alcaeus*, and his brother *Antimenesides*, are mentioned by Strabo XIII. p. 617. ἄνδρας δ' ἔσχεν (ἡ Μιτολήν) ἐνδέξου; τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν Πιττακίν, ἔνα τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν, καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ἀλκαῖον, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντιμενίδαν, ὃν φησιν Ἀλκαῖος Βαθυλανίος συμμαχοῦντα τελίσαι μέγαν ἀδλον καὶ ἐκ πόνων αὐτοὺς βύσιοσθαι, κτείναντα ἄνδρα μαχάταν, ὡς φησι, βασιλήων παλαιστῶν, ἀπολιπόντα μόνον ἀνίαν τ' ἀχέων ἀποπέμπων. συνήκμασε δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἡ Σαπφαὶ, θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα· οὐ γάρ ἴσμεν ἐν τῷ τοτούτῳ χρόνῳ τῷ μνημονευομένῳ φανέσθαν τινα γυναικαὶ ἐνάμιllον, οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν, ἐκείνη ποιήσεως χάριν. Hieronymus also names *Alcman* at Ol. 42: see col. 2. But as *Alcman* flourished in the reign of *Ardys*, was older than *Stesichorus*, and accounted the preceptor of *Arion* (conf. a. 657), that notice appears to arise from error.

Anaximander born, sixty-three years before Ol. 58. 2: see F. H. II. p. 7. Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 89.

Arion flourished: Euseb. Chron. *Anno 1406 Ol. 42. 3. Arion Methymnæus cognoscebatur, qui ad Tænarum a delphino delatus evasit incolumis.* Placed by Hieronymus 8 years higher, anno 1398. *Arion* is named by Syncellus: conf. a. 621. The escape of *Arion* from pirates, in a voyage to Corinth or to Methymnæ, seems to have been a real transaction poetically ornamented with the incident of the dolphin.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		also ascribes this colony to the Milesians : Ἀπολλωνία—ἀποικος Μιλησίων. And <i>Aelian</i> V. H. III. 17. καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ ἡγήσατο τῆς εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐκ Μιλήτου ἀποικίας, although this account that <i>Anaximander</i> led the colony is inconsistent with the time of its foundation. According to <i>Steph. Byz.</i> the Milesians were joined by adventurers from Rhodes : Ἀπολλωνία—ἐν νησῷ πρὸς τῇ Σαλμοδησσῷ, ἀποικία Μιλησίων καὶ Ρόδιων. <i>Josiah</i> king of Judah slain at Megiddo : 2 Kings XXIII. 29. <i>Herodot.</i> II. 159. Σύροις πεζῷ ὁ Νεκάς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐνίκησε· μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συγίνης ἴουσαν μεγάλην εἶλε. This event, which is determined by Scripture to about May B.C. 609, would fall within the 7th year of <i>Neco</i> : conf. a. 616.
608.	Ol. 43. Cleon Epidaurius. Euseb. p. 146.	<i>Panætius</i> becomes tyrant of Leontium : <i>Euseb. Armen.</i> V. Anno 1408 Ol. 43. 1. <i>Panætius primus in Sicilia arripuit tyrannidem.</i> Placed by <i>Hieronymus</i> five years higher, anno 1403; by <i>Armen. M.</i> anno 1407 Ol. 42. 4. <i>Aristot. Rep.</i> V. 10, 4 = V. 12. εἰς τυραννίδα μεταβάλλει ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐν Σικελίᾳ σχεδὸν αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐν Λεοντίνοις εἰς τὴν Παναϊτίου τυραννίδα, καὶ ἐν Γέλᾳ εἰς τὴν Κλεάνδρου [B.C. 505], καὶ ἐν Ρηγίῳ εἰς τὴν Ἀναξιλάου [B.C. 494]. <i>Idem</i> V. 8, 4. Παναϊτίος ἐν Λεοντίνοις, καὶ Κύψελος ἐν Κορίνθῳ [B.C. 655], καὶ Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηνῆς [B.C. 560], καὶ Διονύσιος ἐν Συρακούσαις [B.C. 406], ἐκ δημαρχίας. From the order of these passages it would seem that <i>Panætius</i> had preceded <i>Cypselus</i> . If the date of the Armenian copy is the true date, <i>Panætius</i> became master of Leontium in the 123rd year of the city. Twenty-seventh year of the Scythian occupation of Asia : conf. a. 634.
607.	43, 2.	Last year of the Scythian dominion in Asia. They held Asia 28 years, and were expelled by <i>Cyaxares</i> before the capture of Nineveh : <i>Herodot.</i> I. 106. ἐπὶ μέν νῦν ὅκτω καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἥρχον τῆς Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι—καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῦνας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι—κατεφύγεσσαν. καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἄρχην Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον. καὶ τὴν τε Νίνον εἶλον—καὶ τοὺς Ἀστυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποίησαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης.
606.	43, 3.	Nineveh is captured by <i>Cyaxares</i> and the Babylonians. Nineveh was destroyed after the death of king <i>Josiah</i> : 2 Kings XXIII. 29. more than 100 years after the death of <i>Sennacherib</i> : <i>Tobit.</i> I. 21. II. 10. XIV. 2—11. and after the 28th year of <i>Cyaxares</i> was completed : <i>Herodot.</i> I. 106. These characters of time fix the event to B.C. 606. See Appendix, Assyrian Empire. <i>Eusebius</i> records two dates : Anno 1397 Ol. 40. 2 (Anno 1398 Hieron.). <i>Cyaxares Assyrīis bellum intulit ob sessamque Ninevam cepit.</i> Again, Anno 1408 Ol. 43. 1 (Hieron. Anno 1409). <i>Cyaxares Medus Ninum occidit.</i> An error of the Armenian translator for <i>subvertit</i> or <i>cepit</i> <i>Ninum</i> . The latter date of the two is not far from the truth.
		Combat of <i>Pittacus</i> and <i>Phrynon</i> : <i>Euseb.</i> Anno 1410 Ol. 43. 3. <i>Pittacus Mitylenaeus unus e sapientibus septem Phrynonem Atheniensem Olympionicanam singulari certamine interfecit.</i> <i>Strabo XIII.</i> p. 600. τὸ Σίγειον κατέσχον μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι Φρύνωνα τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκην πέμψαντες, Λεσβίων ἐπιδικαζομένων σχεδὸν τι τῆς πάσης Τρωάδος· ὡν δὴ καὶ κτίσματά εἰσιν αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν κατοικιῶν.—Πιττακὸς δὲ οἱ Μιτυληναῖος, εἰς τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν λε-

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Alcæus is mentioned in the war of the Athenians and Mytilenæans: Herodot. V. 94, 95. ἐπολέμεον
 ἔτε τὸ Ἀχιλλῆιον πόλιον ὄρμεώμενοι καὶ Σιγείου χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν Μιτιληναῖοι τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι—πολεμούντων δέ
 σφεων, παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγίγνετο ἐν τῷσι μάχῃσι· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής, συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ
 νικῶντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δέ οἱ ὅπλα ἰσχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασταν πρὸς τὸ
 Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλει ποιήσας ἐπιτίθει ἐς Μιτιλήνην, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἑωτοῦ
 πάθος Μελανίππῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐτάρῳ. Μιτιληναῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖος κατήλλαξε Περιάνδρος ὁ Κυψέλου· τούτῳ γάρ
 διαιτητὴ ἐπετράποντο· κατήλλαξε δὲ ἀδε· νέμεσθαι ἐκατέροις τὴν ἔχουσι. Strabo XIII. p. 600. Ἀλκαῖος
 φησιν ὁ ποιητής ἐν τινὶ ἀγῶνι κακῶς φερόμενον ἐαυτὸν τὰ ὅπλα ρίψαντα φυγεῖν· λέγει δὲ πρὸς τινὰ κήρυκα, κελεύ-
 σας ἀγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐν οἴκῳ, “Ἀλκαῖος σῶος· ἄροι ἐνθα δ' οὐκ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀληχτορίν [“Ἄρει· ἔντεα δ' οὐκ αὐτοῦ·
 τὸν ἀλέκτοριν Blomfield.] ἐς Γλαυκωποῦ ἵερὸν ἐκέμασταν Ἀττικοί.” On this corrupt passage conf.
 Tzutck. ad Strab. tom. V. p. 341. Blomfield. Fragn. Alcei Mus. Crit. tom. I. p. 138. According
 to Timæus Periander participated in this war: Strabo Ibid. Τίμαιον δὲ φεύσασθαι φησὶν ὁ Δημήτριος,
 ιστορούντα ἐτῶν λίθων τῶν ἐξ Ἰλίου Περιάνδρον περιτειχίσαι τὸ Ἀχίλλειον τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις, βοηθοῦντα τοῖς περὶ
 Πιττακόν· ἐπιτειχισθῆναι μὲν γάρ ὑπὸ τῶν Μιτιληναίων τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῷ Σιγείῳ, οὐ μὴν ἐκ λίθων τοιούτων,
 οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Περιάνδρου. πᾶς γάρ ἀν αἰρεθῆναι διαιτητὴν τὸν προσπολεμοῦντα; But as the war lasted some
 time—συχνὸν χρόνον—Periander might perhaps at one time have been a party and afterwards a
 mediator.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		<p>γομένων, πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Φρύνωνα στρατηγὸν διεπολέμει τέως διατίθεις καὶ πάσχων κακῶς.—ὕστερον δὲ ἐκ μονομαχίας προσκαλεσαμένου τοῦ Φρύνωνος, ἀλιευτικὴν ἀναλαβάνω σκευὴν συνέδραμε—καὶ ἀνεῖλε [conf. Polyæn. I. 25. Plutarch. Mor. p. 858. A. B. Suid. Πιττακός. Fest. v. Ῥέτιαριο]. μένοντος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου, Περίανδρος διαιτητὴς αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ ἄμφοιν ἔλυσε τὸ πόλεμον. Laërt. I. 74. περὶ τῆς Ἀχιλλείτιδος χώρας μαχομένων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μιτυληναίων, ἐστρατήγει μὲν αὐτὸς [Pittacus] Ἀθηναίων δὲ Φρύνων παγκρατιστὴς ὀλυμπιονίκης. συνέθετο δὲ μονομαχῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν.—καὶ κτενας ἀνεσώσατο τὸ χωρίον. ὕστερον μὲν τοὶ φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς διαδικασθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τοῦ χωρίου πρὸς τοὺς Μιτυληναίους, ἀκούοντος τῆς δίκης Περιάνδρου, ὃν καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσκρίναι. τότε δὲ οὖν τὸν Πιττακὸν ἰσχυρὸς ἐτίμησαν οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτῷ. Herodotus V. 94. mentions this war and the mediation of Periander: see col. 3. The opinion of Laërtius that the combat was immediately followed by the election of Pittacus to the government is inconsistent with the time of Phrynon. His Olympic victory was in B.C. 636; the government of Pittacus in B.C. 589: an interval of more than 46 years. Isidorus Pelusiota V. 6. quoted by Menag. ad Laërt. still more confounds the time. But the date of Eusebius, 30 years after the Olympic victory of Phrynon and 16 before the government of Pittacus, is probable and consistent; nor is the tyranny mentioned by Plutarch p. 858. B. among the recompenses assigned to him for his success: τῶν δὲ Μιτυληναίων δωρᾶς αὐτῷ μεγάλας διδόντων, ἀνοντίσας τὸ δόρυ τούτῳ μόνον τὸ χωρίον ἡξίστεν ὅσον ἐπέσχεν ἡ αἰχμῇ καὶ καλεῖται μέχρι νῦν Πιττάκιον. And his election to the supreme power was for a particular purpose and in another state of things: conf. a. 589.</p>
604.	Ol. 44. <i>Gelon Laco.</i> Euseb. p. 146.	
600.	Ol. 45. <i>Anticrates Epidaurius.</i> Euseb. p. 146.	<p><i>Psammis succeeds Neco:</i> conf. a. 616. Massilia founded 120 years before the battle of Salamis: Scymnus 209.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">— Μασσαλία δ' ἐστ' ἔχομένη, πόλις μεγίστη, Φωκαῖην ἀποκία. ἐν τῇ Διγυστικῇ δὲ ταῖτην ἔκτισαν πρὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενομένης ἔτει πρότερον, ὡς φασιν, ἐκατὸν ἔικοσι. Τίμαιος εὗταις ἴστορεῖ δὲ τὴν κτίσιν.</p> <p>From the beginning of Ol. 75. 1, the autumn of B.C. 480, 120 years will carry back the era of Massilia to Ol. 45. 1 the autumn of B.C. 600. Placed by Hieronymus nearly at the true date: Anno 1418 Ol. 45. 2=3 Armen. <i>Massilia condita.</i> In the Armenian copy Anno 1423 Ol. 46. 4, seven years too low. Cassiodorus places the foundation in the reign of Priscus: <i>Tarquinius Priscus regnavit annis 37</i> [B.C. 616—579]. <i>Hujus temporibus Massilia condita est.</i> Solinus 2, 52. names Ol. 45: <i>Phocenses quondam fugati Persarum adventu Massiliam urbem Olympiade quadragesima quinta condiderunt.</i> Solinus has confounded two distinct settlements: Harpoocr. Μασσαλία. Ἰσοκράτης μέν φησιν ἐν Ἀρχιδάμῳ [p. 133. c] ὡς Φωκαῖς φεύγοντες τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως δεσποτείαν—εἰς Μασσαλίαν ἀπώκησαν. ὅτι δὲ πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων ἥδη ὑπὸ Φωκαίων ἥκιστο ἡ Μασσαλία καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτῶν</p>

3. POETS, &c.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>πολιτείᾳ δῆλοι. Thucydides I. 13. refers to the original colony: Φωκαῖς Μασσαλίαις οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδόνιους ἐνίκων ναυμαχίᾳ. And Herodotus I. 163. marks their early colonies in the west: οἱ Φωκαῖς ναυτιλίσσοι μαχήστι πρῶτοι Ἐλλήνων ἔχρησαντο· καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες. He also marks the period of their second migration I. 162. 165—167. after the conquest of Lydia by Cyrus B. C. 546: conf. a. 564. On the confusion of <i>Phocenses</i> and <i>Phocænæses</i> see Scalig. ad Euseb. p. 87. An occurrence at the original foundation of Massilia is related by Aristotle ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτῶν πολιτείᾳ apud Athen. XIII. p. 576. a. and more fully and with some variation by Justin XLIII. 3. According to Justin, the leaders of the colony were <i>Simus</i> and <i>Protis</i>; according to Aristotle, <i>Euxenus</i> was one of the leaders, and <i>Protus</i> was son of <i>Euxenus</i>: καὶ ἔστι γένος ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ—μέχρι τοῦ Πεωπιάδαι καλούμενον. Πρῶτος γὰρ ἐγένετο οὗτος Εὐξένου. <i>Protus</i> is made the founder by Plutarch Solon. c. 2.</p>
599.	45, 2.	<p>Camarina founded 135 years after Syracuse: Thucyd. VI. 5. Καμάρινα τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων ὥκισθη ἔτεσιν ἑγγύτατα πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ Συρακουσῶν κτίσιν οἰκισταί δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτῆς Δάσκαλοι καὶ Μεγέκαλοι. Placed by Hieronymus at this year: <i>Anno 1417 Ol. 45. 1=2 Armen. Perinthus condita. Camarina condita.</i> One year lower in the Armenian, which omits Perinthus: <i>Anno 1418 Ol. 45. 3. Camarina urbs condita.</i> The scholiast on Pindar agrees in the era of Camarina: F. H. II. p. 266. Syncellus p. 238. D. names both Camarina and Perinthus: conf. a. 588. 3.</p> <p>Camarina was destroyed 46 years after its foundation: Scymnus 294.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Συρακοσίοις δὲ τὴν Καμάριναν λεγομένην αὐτοὶ δὲ ταύτην ἡραν ἐκ βάθρων πάλιν πρὸς ἔξτη καὶ τετταράκοντ' ἀκημένην.</p> <p>It was accordingly destroyed in B. C. 553 Ol. 56. 4. Confirmed by Schol. Pindar. Ol. V. 16. ἐπικρατησάντων τῶν Συρακουσῶν πορθεῖται τῇ νῦν ὀλυμπιάδι· εἴτα ἐν τῇ περὶ ὀλυμπιάδι—ἀνακτίζεται. It was first restored by Hippocrates and then by Gelon: Thucyd. VI. 5. ἀναστάτων Καμαριναίων γενομένων πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Συρακουσῶν δι' ἀπόστασιν, χρόνῳ Ἰπποκράτης ὑστερον Γέλας τύραννος [cir. Ol. 71]—κατέφυγε Καμαρίναν [conf. Herodot. VII. 154]. καὶ αὐθις ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἀνάστατος γενομένη τὸ τρίτον κατακίσθη ὑπὸ Γέλωνος. Gelon died in Ol. 75. 3: F. H. II. p. 39. If therefore the account of Thucydides is accurate, we must correct the numbers in the Scholiast, and for περὶ substitute οὕτω. Diodorus ascribes the restoration of Camarina to the Geloans Ol. 79. 4 B. C. 461: XI. 76. But Thucydides is confirmed by Timæus apud Schol. Pindar. Ol. V. 19. who names <i>Gelon</i>.</p>
597.	45, 4.	<p>[Cyrenë founded according to Solinus 27, 44. <i>Cyrenas Battus Lacedæmonius Olympiade quinta et quadragesima, rege Marcio res Romanas tenente, anno post Trojam captam quingentesimo octogesimo sexto condidit.</i> B. C. 1183—586=B. C. 597=Ol. 45. 3. But this date is refuted by Theophrastus, who places the foundation before B.C. 611, and by the Scholiast, who assigns 200 years to the dynasty. But these would end according to Solinus at B.C. 397, 69 years after the Pythian victory of the last <i>Arccsilaius</i>: conf. a. 631. Moreover the second</p>

3. POETS, &c.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<i>Battus</i> was contemporary with <i>Apries</i> : conf. a. 591. But he began to reign in the 57th year of the era, and Solinus would place him at B. C. 541, 28 years after the death of <i>Apries</i> .]
596.	Ol. 46. <i>Chrysomachus Laco.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 146 Ol. 46. <i>Polymestor Milesius puerorum stadium.</i> <i>Hic in pascuis degens lepores cursu adsequebatur.</i>
595.	46, 2.	<p>Birth of <i>Cræsus</i>: F. H. II. p. 6.</p> <p>The Cirrhæan or sacred war lasted ten years according to Callisthenes, and in the tenth year Cirrha was taken: F. H. II. p. 195. 196. The Scholiasts on Pindar give the following particulars: Proleg. Pyth. Εύρύλοχος ὁ Θεσσαλὸς—περιεγένετο αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι μὲν Σιμωνίδου Δελφοῖς δὲ Γυλίδαις οἱ μὲν οὖν Κιρραῖοι εἰς τὴν παρακειμένην τῷ Παρνασῷ Κιρφιν, ὅροι οὕτω καλούμενον, ἀπέφυγον, ὅσοι δὴ καὶ περιειθέντες ἐτύγχανον. καταλιπὼν δὲ ὁ Εύρυλοχος ἐνίους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν μετὰ Ἰππίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ὡστε τοὺς ὑπολοίπους χαιρώσασθαι, ὥχετο ἀνακτησόμενος τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ δὴ τοῦτον χρηματίτην μόνον ἔθετο. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἔξετη καταγωνισαμένων τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Ἰππίου τοὺς ὑπολειειμένους τῶν Κιρραίων, ἐπὶ μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος Δαμασίου ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς Διοδώρου, ὑστερον καὶ στεφανίτην ἔθεντο κατορθώσαντες. Alius: τὸν Πυθικὸν ἀγῶνα διέθηκεν Εύρυλοχος ὁ Θεσσαλὸς σὺν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι τοὺς Κιρραῖους καταπολεμήσας—ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Δελφοῖς μὲν Γυλίδαι Ἀθήνησι δὲ Σιμωνος. καὶ νικήσας ἔθετο χρηματίτην ἀγῶνα —ἔθετο δὲ ἀγῶνα κιθαρῳδικὸν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, προσέθηκε δὲ αὐλητὴν καὶ αὐλῳδόν. καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων στρατεύματος ἀναχωρήσαντος δλίγοι περιειθῆσαν, ὡστε τὴν Κίρφιν διαπορθῆσαι· ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν περιειθέντων Ἰππίας ὁ Θεσσαλός· καὶ ἔτει ἔκτῳ μετὰ τὴν τῆς Κιρραίων ἀλλωτινήν ἀνεκήρυξεν τῷ θεῷ τὸν στεφανίτην ἐπὶ Διοδώρου μὲν ἄρχοντος Δελφοῖς Ἀθήνησι δὲ Δαμάσιδος. ἀντίκειται δὲ ἐκ μεσημβρίας τῷ ὥρῃ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ Κιρραῖον πεδίον καὶ ὅρος δὲ Κίρφιν καλοῦσιν, ἐν ᾧ μέσος δὲ Πλεῖστος ὄνομαζόμενος φέρεται ποταμός. If the tenth year in the account of Cal-</p>

3. POETS, &c.

Epimenides came to Athens, according to Suidas, Ol. 44 : 'Επιμενίδης—οὗτος ἐκάθηρε τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῦ Κυλανίου ἄγους κατὰ τὴν μὲδ' ὀλυμπιάδα. According to Laërtius I. 110. in Ol. 46 : 'Αθηναῖοις λοιμῷ κατέχομένοις ἔχεσσεν ἡ Πυθία καθῆραι τὴν πόλιν' οἱ δὲ περὶ πουσὶ ναῦν τε καὶ Νικίαν τὸν Νικηφόρου εἰς Κύρτην καλοῦντες τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην, καὶ δὲ ἐλθὼν ὀλυμπιάδι τεσσαρακοστῇ ἐκτῇ ἐκάθηρεν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν. According to Marianus Scotus apud Corsin. F. A. tom. III. p. 72. in Ol. 43. 4. These dates would place his coming between B. C. 605 and 596. *Epimenides* was at Athens before the legislation of *Solon*: Plutarch. *Solon*. c. 12. ἐλθὼν καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι χρησάμενος φίλῳ πολλὰ προσυπειρύαστο καὶ πρωδοτοίσην αὐτῷ τῆς νομοθεσίας, καὶ γὰρ εὐσταλεῖς ἐποίησε ταῖς ιερουγγίξις, κ. τ. λ. Whence the dates of Eusebius are erroneous. The Armenian copy, however, rightly preserves the relative order of the two facts: Armen. V. Anno 1423 Ol. 46. 4. *Epimenides Athenas destruxit*. Anno 1425 Ol. 47. 2. *Solon leges ferebat*. A metachronism of three years in the legislation, and consequently of at least three years in *Epimenides*. Hieronymus places the legislation at the right date, but *Epimenides* three years below it: Anno 1422 *Solon—sua jura constituit*. Anno 1425 *Epimenides Athenas emundavit*. The order of the Armenian copy, when the dates are rectified, will confirm the date of Laërtius. The true era of *Solon* being at Ol. 46. 3 anno 1422, we may fix *Epimenides* to Ol. 46. 1 anno 1420. which will consist with the account of Plutarch. If *Epimenides* was born about B. C. 659, where Suidas places him, and was γηραιὸς when he visited Athens, the present year, when he would be 63 years of age, would better agree with that account than the earlier dates which make him 54 or 55. The visit of *Epimenides* is acknowledged by Cicero Leg. II. 11.

Chilon flourished before the birth of *Pisistratus*: Herodot. I. 59. Ἰπποκράτεϊ ἕοντι ἴδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα—Χίλιαν δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν συνεβούλευεν Ἰπποκράτεϊ κ. τ. λ.—οὐκαν ταῦτα παρανέστας Χίλιαν πειθεσθαι θέλει τὸν Ἰπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον. We may perhaps refer this to Ol. 46. 69 years before the death of *Pisistratus*, and 40 years before *Chilon* was ephor at Sparta (F. H. II. p. 3); which would suppose *Pisistratus* to have lived about 68 years.

Sappho and *Alcaeus* are placed here by Eusebius: Anno 1421 Ol. 46. 2. *Sappho atque Alcaeus poëtae cognoscabantur*. In Hieronymus, Anno 1418, eight years above the present date. *Sappho* according to other testimonies flourished B. C. 611—592, a period including both the dates of the two copies of Eusebius. Contemporary with *Sappho* was *Damophylē*: Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. I. 30. δι τὸν ὄνομα ἦν τῇ Παμφύλῳ γυναικί; ἢ δὲ Σαπφοῖ τε ὄμιλῆσαι λέγεται, καὶ τοὺς ὑμνους οὓς εἰς τὴν Ἀρτεμιν τὴν Πλευραίν ἔδουσι ξυνθεῖναν τὸν Αἰολέων τε καὶ Παμφύλων τρόπον.—καλεῖται τοίνυν ἡ σοφὴ αὐτῆ Δαμοφύλη· καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφοῦς τρόπον παρθένους τε ὄμιλητρίας κτήσασθαι ποιήματά τε ξυνθεῖναν τὰ μὲν ἐρωτικὰ τὰ δὲ ὑμνους. And *Erinna*: Eustath. ad Iliad. β'. p. 327. Ἡριννα Λεσβία μὲν ἦν, ἢ Ροδία, ἢ Τεῖα, ἢ Τηλία ἐκ Τήλου νησιδίου ἐγγίζοντος τῇ Κυδίῳ. ποιήτρια δὲ ἦν, καὶ ἔγραψε ποίημα ἡλακάτην Αἰολίδι γλώσσῃ καὶ Δωρίδι ἐν ἔπεισι τριακοσίοις. ἦν δὲ ἑταῖρα Σαπφοῦς, καὶ ἑτελεύτης παρθένος. οἱ δὲ στίχοι αὐτῆς ἐκρίθησαν ἐνάμιλλοι τοῖς Ομήρου. ἀπῆλθε δὲ ἐνεκακαιδεκτίς. To the same effect Suidas v. "Ηριννα. Eustathius adds: δῆλωσις δὲ τῶν ῥηθέντων καὶ τὸ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο.

Λέσβιας Ἡριννης τέθει κηρὺς ἀδύ τι, μικρόν,
ἀλλ' δλει ἐκ μουσέων κινράμενον μέλστι.
οἱ δὲ τριηκόσια ταῦτης στήχοι Ἰστοι Ομήρρ,
τῆς καὶ παρθενικῆς ἐνεκακαιδεκτένες.
ἡ καὶ ἐπ' ἡλακάτηη μητρὸς φύσις ἡ καὶ ἐφ' ιστρ
ἐστήκει μουσέων λάτρις ἐφαττομένη.
Σαπφοῦς δὲ Ἡριννης δσσον μελέστιν ἀμείνων,
Ἡριννα Σαπφοῦς τόσσον ἐξαμέτρους.

Conf. Asclepiad. Ep. 35. Anthol. tom. I. p. 152. Leon. Tar. Ep. 81. tom. I. p. 175. Antip. Sidon. Ep. 47. tom. II. p. 19. A later *Erinna* flourished in B. C. 354: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1662 Ol.

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		listhenes terminated at the first success of <i>Eurylochus</i> in B.C. 591, the war began in B.C. 600. But as the war was continued for five years longer, during which operations were carried on by <i>Hippias</i> , it is probable that the period of Callisthenes included these, and extended to the termination of the war in the archonship of <i>Damasias</i> B.C. 586; which would place the beginning at B.C. 595. In this war <i>Clisthenes</i> commanded the forces of Sicyon and <i>Alcmaeon</i> the Athenians: F. H. II. p. 196. <i>Philombrotus</i> Athenian archon: F. H. II. p. 298.
594.	46, 3.	<i>Solon</i> Athenian archon: F. H. II. p. 298.
593.	46, 4.	<i>Dropides</i> archon at Athens: F. H. II. p. 298.
592.	Ol. 47. <i>Eurycles Laco.</i> Euseb. p. 147.	(Odessus was founded by the Milesians within the reign of <i>Astyages</i> [B.C. 594—560]: <i>Scymnus</i> fragm. 1. — 'Οδησσὸν οἱ Μιλήσιοι Κτίζουσιν Ἀστυάγης ὅτ' ἡρχε Μηδίας. It is ascribed to Miletus by <i>Strabo</i> VII. p. 319. 'Οδησσὸς Μιλήσιων ἀποικος.)
591.	47, 2.	Cirha taken by the Amphictyons under <i>Eurylochus</i> in the archonship of <i>Simonides</i> or <i>Simon</i> : conf. ann. 595. 586. <i>Battus I.</i> is succeeded by <i>Arcesilaus I.</i> Herodot. IV. 159. ἐπὶ μὲν νῦν Βάττεώ τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ζόης, ἀρξαντος ἐπὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα [B.C. 631—592: conf. a. 631], καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ἀρξαντος ἑκατόντα ἔτεα [B.C. 591—576], οἰκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐόντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττεω τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, "Ελληνας πάντας ὄμησε χρήσασα ή Πιθίη πλέιν συνοικήσοντα Κυρηναῖοις Λιβύην.—συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὄμιλος πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες—πέμψαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς Ἀπρίῃ τῷ Αἴγυπτου βασιλέᾳ, κ. τ. λ. <i>Battus II.</i> began to reign B.C. 575, in the 6th or 7th year before the death of <i>Apries</i> .
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589.	47, 4.	<i>Pittacus</i> governs Mytilenē for ten years: conf. a. 569. 3. His government is described by Aristotle Rep. III. 9, 5=III. 14. ἔτερον δὲ (εἶδος μοναρχίας), ὅπερ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις "Ελλησιν, οὓς καλοῦσθιν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔστι δὲ τοῦδε ὡς ἀπλᾶς εἶπεν αἰρετὴ τυραννίς.—ἡρχον δ' οἱ μὲν διὰ βίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινῶν ὥρισμάν χρόνων ή πράξεων, οἷον εἴλοντό πότε Μυτιληναῖοι Πιττακὸν πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας ὃν προεισήκεσαν Ἀντιμενίδης καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής. δηλοὶ δ' Ἀλκαῖος ὅτι τύραννον εἴλοντο τὸν Πιττακὸν ἐν τινι τῶν σκολιῶν μελῶν ἐπιτιμᾶς γάρ ὅτι " τὸν κακοπάτριδα Πιττακὸν πόλεως τᾶς "ἀχόλως καὶ βαρυδαίμονος ἐστάσαντο τύραννον μέγ' ἐπαινέοντες [ἐπαινεῦντες "Graist."] ἀολλέες." Conf. Dionys. Ant. V. p. 1023. <i>Strabo</i> XIII. p. 617. ἐτυραννήθη ἡ πόλις κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους ὑπὸ πλειόνων διὰ τὰς διχοστασίας καὶ τὰ στασιωτικὰ καλούμενα τοῦ Ἀλκαίου ποιήματα περὶ τουτων ἔστιν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τυράννοις καὶ δι Πιττακὸς ἐγένετο. Ἀλκαῖος μὲν οὖν ὄμοιῶς ἐλοιδορεῖτο καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, Μυρσίλῳ καὶ Μεγαλαγύρῳ καὶ τοῖς Κλεαντίδαις, καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν, οὓδον αὐτὸς καθαρεύων τῶν τοιούτων νεωτερισμῶν. Πιττακὸς δὲ εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν δυναστειῶν κατάλυσιν ἐχρήσατο τῇ μοναρχίᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς καταλύσας δὲ ἀπέδωκε τὴν αὐτονομίαν τῇ πόλει. Two passages of

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106. 3. *Erinna femina poëtria cognoscebat*. In Hieron. two years lower : *Anno 1664*. Who celebrated *Myron* : Plin. H. N. XXXIV. 8. *Myronem — fecisse et cicadæ monumentum ac locustæ carminibus suis Erinna significat*. And *Myron* flourished after Ol. 87 : Plin. Ibid. Perhaps this later *Erinna* was of Tenos : Steph. Byz. Τίνος. πόλις Λακωνική—ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Ἡριννα Τηνία ποιήτρια. According to Pliny the later *Erinna* was the author of many poems : *carmina*—which agrees with the preceding authorities that the author of the ἡλαχάτη, who lived only 19 years, was the *Erinna* of *Suppho*.

Legislation of *Solon* : F. H. II. p. 298. For the date of Eusebius conf. a. 596. The legislation is at the right date in Hieronymus. In the Armenian, three years too low.

Anacharsis comes to Athens in Ol. 47 : Laërt. I. 101 : 'Ανάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης Γνούρου μὲν ἦν νιὸς ἀδελφὸς δὲ Καδουῖδα τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως, μητρὸς δὲ Ἐλληνίδος—λέγει δὲ αὐτὸν Σωσικράτης ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθῆνας κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἑβδόμην δλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὔκράτους.' Ερμιππος δὲ πρὸς τὴν Σόλωνος οικίαν ἀφικόμενον τῶν θεραπόντων τινὶ κελεύσαι μηνύσαι ὅτι παρειν 'Ανάχαρσις. Ol. 47. 2 is occupied by another archon : conf. a. 591. *Eucrates* might belong to Ol. 47. 1 or 47. 3. If to the present year, then *Critias I.* in Mar. Par. N°. 37. must have occurred before B. C. 595. See F. H. II. p. 3.

Eusebius Arm. V. *Anno 1427 Ol. 47. 4. His temporibus certantibus in agone dabatur tragos (qui est hircus) unde aiunt tragædos nuncupari.* In Armen. M. *Anno 1428 Ol. 48. 1.* In Hieron. *Anno 1426.* Syncellus p. 238. D. has the following notices :

Καμάρινα πόλις ἔκτισθη.

Πέρινθος ἔκτισθη.

ἡ τῶν Κορινθίων κατελύθη μοναρχία κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους.

τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις παρ' "Ελλησι τράγος ἐδίδοτο, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τραγικοὶ ἐκλήθησαν.

In the versions of Eusebius the order of the two last particulars is reversed, and in the Armenian *Perinthus* is omitted : conf. a. 599. 2.

Alcæus the poet is in exile, and opposed to the government of *Pittacus* : see col. 2. The expressions of *Alcæus* quoted by Aristotle are also noticed by Plutarch Amat. p. 763. Ε. νομοθετῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀδρόαι φωναί, "μέγ' ἐπαινέοντες," ὥσπερ ἔφη τὸν Πιττακὸν Ἀλκαῖος αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς Μιτυληναῖς τύραννον. Xylander, not adverting to the passage of Aristotle, reads οὐχ ὥσπερ. whence perhaps Menagius ad Laërt. I. 75. misrepresents the meaning of Plutarch : *Alcæus apud Plutarchum in Amantio negat Mitylenæos Pittaco tyrannidem ultro detulisse.*

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		<i>Alcaeus against Myrsilus</i> are preserved by Heraclides Alleg. Hom. p. 13—15. and another by Athenaeus X. p. 430. c. νῦν χρὴ μεθύσθη καὶ τινὰ πρὸς βίᾳν Πίνειν, ἐπειδὴ κάτθανε Μυρσίλος. <i>Melanchrus</i> is mentioned apud Hephaest. p. 80.
588.	Ol. 48. <i>Glycon Crotoniates</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 147. <i>Glaucias</i> Pausan. X. 7, 3.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 147. Ol. 48. <i>Pythagoras Samius despectus in puerorum pugilatu, et tanquam femina traductus, mox procedens viros omnes egregie superavit.</i> προβάς εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπαντας ἔξῆς ἐνίκησε Scalig. p. 40. Laërt. VIII. 47. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φοι — τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον ἐντέχνως πυκτεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς ὁγδόνος καὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος — ἐκριθῆναι τε ἐκ τῶν παιδῶν καὶ χλευασθέντα αὐτίκα προσβῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ νικῆσαι. Placed by Syncellus p. 239. B. three Olympiads too low: Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος ὀλυμπίσας ἐκκριθεὶς παιδῶν πυγμὴν ὡς ἀπαλὸς προσβὰς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐνίκα κατὰ τὴν νά' ὀλυμπιάδα. <i>Damophon</i> son of <i>Pantaleon</i> is king of Pisa: Pausan. VI. 22, 2. ὅρος ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδι Δαμοφῶν ὁ Πανταλέοντος ὑπόνοιαν μέν τινα παρέσχεν Ἡλεῖος νεώτερα ἐς αὐτὸς βουλεύειν, ἐσβαλόντας δὲ ἐς τὴν Πισαίαν σὺν σπλοις ἀπελθεῖν οἰκαδε ἀπράκτους ἐπεισ δεήσεσί τε καὶ ὄρκοις. <i>Pantaleon</i> celebrated Ol. 34: conf. a. 644. 56 years before this date; and had been engaged in the second Messenian war, which ended 80 years before this date. And yet another son of <i>Pantaleon</i> , according to Pausanias Ibid., reigned after <i>Damophon</i> : Πύρρου τοῦ Πανταλέοντος μετὰ Δαμοφῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλεύσαντος, Πισαῖος πόλεμον ἐκούσιον ἐπανείλοντο Ἡλεῖος. συναπέστησαν δέ σφισιν ἀπὸ Ἡλείων Μαχίστοις καὶ Σκιλλούντοι, οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας, τῶν δὲ ἀλλων περιοίκων Δυσπόντιοι. The 48th Olympiad would be towards the end of the reign of <i>Damophon</i> . The war of <i>Pyrrhus</i> may be placed in Ol. 52: conf. a. 572. In that war the Eleans were successful: Pausan. V. 10, 2. Πίσανοι ὁι Ἡλεῖοι καὶ δύο τῶν περιοίκων ἄλλο συναπέστη Πισαῖοις πολέμῳ καθεῖλον. Idem V. 6, 3. ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Πισαίων πρὸς Ἡλείους ἐπίκοιροι τε Πισαῖοι οἱ Σκιλλούντοι καὶ διάφοροι τοῖς Ἡλεῖοις ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τούτων εἶναι ἐπίσηται ἀναστάτως. Idem VI. 22, 4. Πισαῖοις μὲν δὴ καὶ σοὶ τοῦ πολέμου Πισαῖοις μετέσχον ἐπέλαβεν ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Ἡλείων γενέσθαι.
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586.	48, 3.	The conquest of the Cirrhæans is completed and the Pythian games are celebrated: conf. a. 595. The <i>Pythia</i> are computed in Schol. Pindar. from the second games Ol. 49. 3; and Hieronymus places the first <i>Pythia</i> at the same date: <i>Anno 1435 Ol. 49. 3=4 Armen. Isthmia post Melicerten et Pythia primum acta.</i> In the Armenian copy, <i>Anno 1436 Ol. 50. 1.</i> The second <i>Pythia</i> , which are called the first by Eusebius and the Scholiast, in reality coincided with the close of the Eusebian year 1434, about August or September B. C. 582. Syncellus p. 239. A. has transcribed this notice: Pausanias and the Parian Marble compute the <i>Pythia</i> from these games in Ol. 48. 3 B. C. 586; whence we may with M ^r . Boeckh set aside the authority of the Scholiast and Eusebius, and number the <i>Pythia</i> from hence: see F. H. III. p. 614. The Parian Marble in these times generally anticipates a year: F. H. II. p. X. But in N ^o . 39 <i>Damasias</i> is at the right date. He was archon at the time of the <i>Pythia</i> ; therefore in a third Olympic year; and he is assigned to a third Olympic year by the Marble. But <i>Damasias</i> being at the right year, it may be inferred that <i>Simon</i> in

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Sacadas of Argos gained the prize in music in the three first *Pythia* B.C. 586, 582, 578: Pausan. X. 7, 3. τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς διλυμπιάδος καὶ ὄγδόνης, ἦν Γλαυκίας ὁ Κροτωνιάτης ἐνίκησε, ταῦτης ἔτει τρίτῳ ἀθλα ὥσταν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες κιθαρῳδίας μὲν, καθὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ αὐλῳδίας ἀγάνισμα καὶ αὐλῶν ἀνηγορεύθσαν δὲ νικάντες Κεφαλλήν τε ὁ Λάμπου κιθαρῳδίᾳ, καὶ αὐλῳδίῃ Ἀρκάς Ἐχέμβροτος, Σακάδας δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐλῶις ἀνείλετο δὲ ὁ Σακάδας οὗτος καὶ ἄλλας δύο τὰς ἐφεξῆς ταύτης Πυθίαδας. Idem VI. 14, 4. Σακάδας μὲν γάρ τὸν ἀγώνα τὸν τεθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτύονων οὐκ ὄντα πω στεφανίτην καὶ ἐπ' ἔκεινῷ στεφανίτας δύο ἐνίκησε. Πυθόκριτος δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος τὰς ἐφεξῆς τούτων Πυθίαδας ἔξ [Pyth. 4—9. B.C. 574—554], μόνος δὴ οὗτος αὐλητής. *Sacadas* is named by Plutarch Mus. p. 1134. A. γέγονε δὲ καὶ Σακάδας Ἀργεῖος ποιητὴς μελῶν τε καὶ ἐλεγείων μεμελοποιημένων ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ ποιητὴς ἀγαθὸς καὶ τὰ Πύθια τρίς νενικήκως ἀναγέγραπται τούτου καὶ Πινδαρος μημονεύει. The songs of *Sacadas* were sung by the Messenians upon their restoration in B.C. 369: Pausan. IV. 27, 4. τὰ τε Σακάδα καὶ Προνομοῦ μέλη τότε δὴ πρόηχθη μάλιστα ής ἀμιλλαν.

The seven wise men are referred to the archonship of *Damasias* by Demetrius apud Laërt. I. 22. Θάλης—πρώτος σοφὸς ἀνομάσθη ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίου, καὶ δὲ οἱ ἕπτα σοφοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, ὡς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφῇ. Placed by Africanus apud Euseb. p. 147. at Ol. 50: Ol. 50. *Septem sapientes nominati sunt.* And by the Armenian copy of Eusebius: Anno 1439 Ol. 50. 4. *Septem sapientes appellati sunt.* three years after his date for the *Pythia*. Hieronymus places both facts together: Anno 1435. *Hoc tempore septem sapientes appellati.* *Isthmia*—et

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		the preceding epoch is also at the right year, because the interval between them, five years, in the Marble according to Chandler's edition, is confirmed by the Scholiasts on Pindar, who place <i>Damasias</i> in the sixth year after <i>Simonides</i> or <i>Simon</i> ; an interval twice expressed, μετὰ χρόνον ἔξαετη in one scholiast, and ἔκτῳ ἔτει in another. During these five years <i>Hippias</i> had been left to complete the war: conf. a. 595. <i>Damasias I.</i> archon at Athens: F. H. II. p. 195. conf. a. 595.
585.	48, 4.	<p>Death of <i>Periander</i>: Laërt. I. 95. ήδη ἐν γήρᾳ καθεστὼς μετεπέμπετο αὐτὸν [his son <i>Lycophron</i>] ὅπως παραλάβῃ τὴν τυραννίδα: ὃν φάσαντες οἱ Κερκυραῖοι διεχρήσαντο [conf. Herodot. III. 50—53]. οὗν ὄργισθεὶς ἐπεμψε τοὺς παιδας αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἀλιάττην ἐπ' ἔκτομῇ προσσχούσης δὲ τῆς νεώς Σάμω, ἵκετεύσαντες τὴν Ἡραὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων διεσάθησαν [Herodot. III. 48. 49]. καὶ ὃς ἀδυμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν, ηδη γεγονὼς ἔτη ὁγδόκοντα. Σωσικράτης δέ φησι πρότερον Κροίσου τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἔτεσι τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ἐν πρὸ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἑνάτῃς ὀλυμπιάδος.</p> <p>The death of <i>Periander</i>, then, is placed in Ol. 48. 4, forty years (perhaps forty years current) before the overthrow of <i>Cæsus</i>. Eusebius p. 331. nearly agrees in the date of Sosocrates: Anno 1430 Ol. 48. 3. <i>Corinthiorum dominatio finem habuit</i>. This notice (which is also marked in Syncellus: conf. a. 589. 3) does not refer, as Maio ad loc. supposes, to the <i>dominatio annuorum principum</i>, which had ceased long before, but to the death of <i>Periander</i>, as Scaliger observes ad Euseb. p. 89. The date, however, of Hieronymus, anno 1429, is two years, and that of the Armenian copy one year, above the date of Laërtius.</p> <p>The Armenian copy makes the reign of <i>Periander</i> 43 years, from 1387 to 1430. Hieronymus 40, from 1389 to 1429. The true period, given by Laërtius and by the sum of the whole period in Aristotle, was 40 years: conf. a. 625.</p>
584.	Ol. 49. <i>Lycinus Crotoneiates</i> . Euseb. p. 147.	
582.	49, 3.	<p><i>Clisthenes</i> of <i>Sicyon</i> is victor in the second <i>Pythia</i>: Pausan. X. 7, 3. δευτέρᾳ δὲ Πυθιάδι οὐκ ἐτὸν ἀθλοῖς ἐκάλεσαν ἔτι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, στεφανίτην δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ τούτου κατεστήσαντο· καὶ αὐλαρδίαν τε κατέλυσαν—προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ιππέων δρόμον· ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀρματι Κλεισθένης ὁ Σικινίνος τυράννης.</p> <p>The Parian Marble, however, and the Scholiast on Pindar record that the στεφανίτης ἀγῶν was instituted at the first <i>Pythia</i> in B. C. 586. See F. H. II. p. 195. III. p. 614.</p> <p>Agrigentum is founded according to Thucydides VI. 4. 108 years</p>

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Pythia primum acta. Syncellus p. 239. A.

"Ισθμια καὶ Πόθια πρώτως ἡχθη μετὰ Μελικέρτην.
οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ ἀνομάσθησαν.

But the name of the archon and the coincidence of the Pythian games, to which even in Eusebius this mention of the wise men is contiguous, determines this notice to Ol. 48. 3 B. C. 586; when, according to Demetrius, the wise men were recorded to have flourished. They are enumerated by Plato Protag. p. 343. a. Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Πίττακος ὁ Μυτιληναῖος καὶ Βίας ὁ Πριηνεὺς καὶ Σόλων ὁ ἱμέρερος καὶ Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λίνδιος καὶ Μύρων ὁ Χηνεὺς, καὶ Ἐβδομός ἐν τούτοις ἐλέγετο Λακεδαιμόνιος Χίλων. Four of these were universally acknowledged: Laërt. I. 41. Δικαιάρχος δὲ τέσσαρας ἀμολογημένους ἦμιν ταραθίσσοι, Θαλῆν, Βίαντα, Πίττακόν, Σόλωνα. *Periander*, whom Plato excludes, is admitted by some: Laërt. I. 41. 108. Pausan. I. 23, 1. The list is given in Clemens Strom. I. p. 299. Augustine Civ. D. XVIII. 25. Laërt. I. 41. 42. According to some they were only five: Plutarch. de si c. 3. p. 385. E. αὐτοὺς μὲν εἶναι πέντε, Χίλωνα καὶ Θαλῆν καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Βίαντα καὶ Πίττακόν. At this date *Thales* was about 52 years of age; *Pittacus* in the fifth year of his reign at Mytilené; *Solon* had been archon eight years before; *Periander* is still living æt. 79: conf. a. 585. *Chilon* was already known ten years before this period: conf. a. 596; and was an old man in B. C. 572: conf. a.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		after Gela, in the 153rd year after Syracuse, and the 18th after Camarina, giving B. C. 582 Ol. 49. 3 for the era. The dates obtained from Pindar and his scholiast agree with the date of Thucydides: see F. H. II. p. 265. 266. where at p. 266. l. 5. for "later than Agrigentum" read "before Agrigentum." Thucydides adds, Γελῶι Ἀκράγαντα ὥχισαν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος ποταμοῦ ὑνομάσαντες, οἰκιστὰς δὲ ποιήσαντες Ἀριστόνου καὶ Πιστίλου, νόμιμα δὲ τὰ Γελῶν δόντες.
581.	49, 4.	The dynasty of the <i>Cypselidæ</i> ended: Aristot. Rep. V. 9, 22. διετέλεσεν ἔτη τρία καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἔξι μῆνας. The period began in Ol. 31. 2: conf. a. 625. It would terminate at the close of Ol. 49. 3 in the fourth year current of <i>Psammetichus</i> . Strabo VIII. p. 378. observes, Κύψελος—ἐπιτύραννες, καὶ μέχρι τριγονίας ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ συνέμεινε. According to this account <i>Psammetichus</i> was the grandson of <i>Cypselus</i> ; and <i>Gordias</i> in Aristotle (conf. a. 625) is no other than <i>Gorgias</i> —Γοργίας ὁ Περιάνδρου ἀδελφός—in Plutarch Sap. Conv. p. 160. C. The oracle, however, in Herodotus V. 92.—αὐτὸς καὶ παιδεῖς, παιδίν γε μὲν οὐκέτι παιδεῖς—seems to limit their rule to two generations. Wesselung ad Herodot. V. 92. endeavours to reconcile Strabo with the oracle. The oracle might be reconciled with the facts, if, rejecting Strabo, we suppose <i>Gordias</i> in Aristotle to be <i>Torgus</i> the brother of <i>Cypselus</i> in Antonin. Lib. conf. a. 612. an opinion to which M ^r . Muller inclines Dor. tom. II. p. 160. k. But it is more probable that the oracle was fabricated at the close of the reign of <i>Periander</i> , after the death of his son <i>Lycophron</i> (Herodot. III. 53. Laërt. I. 95) and before the succession of his nephew <i>Psammetichus</i> . <i>Gorgias</i> in Plutarch is supposed by Wyttensbach ad Plutarch. p. 160. C. and Schneider ad Aristot. Rep. V. 3, 6. 9, 22. to be the person called Γόργος in Scymnus, Τόλγος and Γάργυρος in Strabo (conf. a. 612). But as <i>Torgus</i> or <i>Gorgus</i> settled at Ambracia in the reign of <i>Cypselus</i> , and <i>Gorgias</i> in Plutarch was at Corinth in the reign of <i>Periander</i> , it is probable (if Plutarch is to be trusted for this circumstance) that these were different persons, both brothers of <i>Periander</i> . After the overthrow of the <i>Cypselidæ</i> the Corinthians endeavoured to erase the name of <i>Cypselus</i> from the offerings at Delphi and at Pisa: Plutarch Pyth. Or. c. 13. p. 400. E.
580.	Ol. 50. <i>Epitelidas Laco.</i> Euseb. p. 147. Dionys. Ant. IV. p. 634. Diod. V. 9.	The <i>Hellenodicæ</i> are augmented to two. Till this time one had presided: Pausan. V. 9, 4. Ἰφίτος τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθηκεν αὐτὸς μόνος, καὶ μετὰ Ἰφίτον ἐτίθεσαν ἀστάτως οἱ ἀπὸ Ὁξέλου. πεντηκοστῷ δὲ Ὁλυμπιάδι ἀνδράτι δύο ἔξι ἀπάντων λαχοῦσιν Ἡλείων ἐπετράπη ποιῆσαι τὰ Ὁλύμπια, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπὸ ἑκείνου διέμεινε τῶν ἀγωνοθετῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν β'. Harpocr. Ἐλλανοδίκαι.—Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἡλείων πολιτείᾳ τὸ μὲν πρώτον φησιν ἔνα καταστῆσαι τοὺς Ἡλείους Ἐλλανοδίκην, χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος, δύο· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, ἐνέα. Ἀριστοδῆμος δὲ ὁ Ἡλεῖος φησι τοὺς τελευταῖους τιθέντας τὸν ἀγῶνα Ἐλλανοδίκης εἶναι δέκα, ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἔνα. At this period, when the <i>Hellenodicæ</i> were augmented to two, the Pisæans, according to Africanus, still shared in the direction of the games: conf. a. 660.
579.	50, 2.	Lipara founded: Diod. V. 9. Κνίδιοι τινες καὶ Ρόδιοι δυσφεστήσαντες τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βασιλέων ἔγνωσαν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν. διόπερ προστησάμενοι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνα Πένταβλον τὸν Κνίδιον—κατὰ τὴν πεντη-

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Pittacus resigns the government of Mytilenë: conf. a. 569. He is called king of Mytilenë by Clemens Al. Pæd. III. p. 242. C. μικροῦ δεῖν ὅλαθέν με εἰπεῖν ὁ Πίττακὸς ἐκεῖνος ὅτι ὥλθεν [ἥλεθεν Klotz.] ὁ Μιτυληναῖων βασιλεὺς ἐνεργῷ γυμναστὶ χρόμενος. An anecdote derived from Clearchus: conf. Laërt. I. 81.

B.C.	I. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>κοστὴν διλυμπιάδα ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἐπιτελίδας ὁ Λάκων, οἱ δ' οὖν περὶ τὸν Πένταθλον—κατέλαβον Ἐγεσταῖς καὶ Σελινουντίοις διαπολεμοῦντας πρὸς ἄλληλους· πεισθέντες δὲ τοῖς Σελινουντίοις συμμαχεῖν πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλον κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πένταθλος. διόπερ οἱ περιλειφθέντες, ἐπειδὴ κατεπολεμήσαν οἱ Σελινούντιοι, διέγυναν ἀπίεναι πάλιν ἐπ' οἴκου. ἐλόμανοι δ' ἡγεμόνας τοὺς οἰκείους τοῦ Πεντάθλου, Γόργον καὶ Θέστορα καὶ Ἐπιθερσίδην, ἀπέπλεον διὰ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους. προσπλευσάντων δ' αὐτῶν τῇ Λιτάρᾳ—ἐπεισθῆσαν κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἔγγωνισιν κατοικῆσαι τὴν Λιτάραν. Strabo VI. p. 275. νῆσοι—εἰσὶν ἐπτὰ μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν, μεγίστη δὲ ἡ Λιτάρα Κνιδίων ἀποικος. Scymnus 263. Μία δὲ ἔστιν αὐτῶν Δωρικὴν ἀποικίαν Ἐχουσα, Λιτάρα δὲ ὄνομα, συγγενῆς Κνίδου. The account of Antiochus apud Pausan. X. 11, 3. varies from that of Diodorus: οἱ Λιταραῖοι Κνιδίων μὲν ἡσαν ἀποικοι, τῆς δὲ ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι φασὶν ἄνδρα Κνιδίουν ὄνομα δὲ εἶναι οἱ Πένταθλον Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ξενοφάνους Συρακούσιος ἐν τῇ Σικελιώτιδι συγγραφῇ φησι. λέγει δὲ καὶ ᾧ ἐπὶ Παχύνῳ—κτίσαντες πόλιν αὐτῷ μὲν ἐκπίπτουσιν ὑπὸ Ἐλύμων καὶ Φοινίκων πολέμῳ πιεσθέντες, τὰς νῆσους δὲ ἔσχον ἐρήμους ἔτι ἡ ἀναστήσαντες τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας.—τούτων Λιτάραν μὲν κτίσαντες πόλιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν. According to both accounts some space intervened between the setting forth from Cnidus and the settlement at Lipara.</p>
577.	50, 4.	Dionys. Ant. IV. p. 634. ἐνιαυτῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς διλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἐπιτελίδης Λάκων, ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχεστράτου.
576.	Ol. 51. Eratosthenes Crotoniates. Euseb. p. 147.	
575.	51, 2.	<p>Diodorus apud Euseb. Chron. I. p. 168. <i>Maris imperium tenuerunt 12º Phocenses annis 44.</i> Euseb. Chron. II. <i>Anno 1441 Ol. 51. 2. Duodecimo loco maris imperium tenuerunt Phocenses annis 44.</i> Syncellus p. 239. A. marks this notice at the same date: <i>ιδεῖ Φωκαῖς ἔνθατο συκράτησαν ἔτη μδ.</i> Omitted in Hieronymus. <i>Phocenses</i> and <i>Φωκαῖς</i> are an error for <i>Phocænæs</i> and <i>Φωκαῖς</i>, common to many other writers: conf. a. 600. Dindorf therefore unnecessarily restores <i>Φωκαῖς</i> in the text of Syncellus, since this was probably the mistake of Syncellus himself. These dates would give B. C. 575—532 for the naval dominion of the Phocæans; a period including their settlement in Corsica about B. C. 564, and extending beyond their emigration from Ionia. It will include their second settlement at Corsica of five years and their naval contest with the Carthaginians described Herodot. I. 166, and probably the last of the 44 years, B. C. 532, marks the date of their foundation of Hyela on the coast of Cenotria: conf. Herodot. I. 167. The Phocæans are followed in Eusebius by the Samian dominion in B. C. 529: Euseb. p. 169. <i>13º Samii annis . . . Idem Anno 1487 Ol. 62. 4. Decimo tertio loco maris imperium Samii tenuerunt.</i> This occurred in the time of Polycrates.</p> <p><i>Battus</i> εὑδαίμων succeeds <i>Arcesilaüs I.</i> conf. a. 591. Herodotus mentions the three following kings: IV. 160. <i>τούτου τοῦ Βάττεω γίνεται πάις Ἀρχεσίλεως.</i> 161. <i>διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιληὴν τοῦ Ἀρχεσίλεως ὁ πάις Βάττος,</i> χωλὸς ἴών. Then followed IV. 162. <i>Ἀρχεσίλεως ὁ Βάττος τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερείμης,</i> the sixth king (conf. Wess. ad Herodot. IV. 162), who</p>

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B.C.	I. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		about B. C. 524 submitted to <i>Cambyses</i> : IV. 165. οὗτος ἦν ὁ Ἀρχεσίλεως ὃς Κυρήνη Καμβύσῃ ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἤτάξετο.
574. *	51, 3.	
572.	Ol. 52. <i>Agis Eleus. Ales</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 147. "Αγις Scal. p. 40.	The war of Pisa and Elis in the reign of <i>Pyrrhus</i> ended in the subjection of the Pisaeans: conf. a. 588. Pausan. VI. 22, 2. Πισαῖοι ἐφειλήσαντο αὐθαίρετον συμφορὰν ἀπεχθανόμενοι τον Ἡλεῖον καὶ σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι τίθενται τὸν Ὁλυμπικὸν ἄγῶνα ἀντὶ Ἡλείων. They assisted at the games of Ol. 52 according to Africanus: conf. a. 660. We may accordingly place the war conducted by <i>Pyrrhus</i> after midsummer B. C. 572, in the middle of Ol. 52, about 74 years after <i>Pantaleon</i> in B. C. 644 had celebrated the 34th Olympiad, and more than 100 years after the beginning of the reign of <i>Pantaleon</i> , according to the dates of Pausanias for the second Messenian war, in which <i>Pantaleon</i> participated. On this interval see Appendix c. 2.
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570.	52, 3.	Accession of <i>Phalaris</i> according to Eusebius: Anno 1446 Ol. 52, 3. <i>Phalaris Agrigentinus annis 16 tyrannidem tenuit</i> . Placed also in Suidas at Ol. 52. These dates would give B. C. 570—555 inclusive for the reign of <i>Phalaris</i> . Hieronymus places him six years lower, anno 1452; giving B. C. 564—549 for the 16 years. See F. H. II. p. 4. Diodorus Vatican. p. 25. contributes to refute the early date Ol. 31—38 for <i>Phalaris</i> , whom he places in the time of <i>Crassus</i> and names after <i>Aesopus</i> and the ἑπτὰ σοφοί. <i>Aristomenes</i> archon at Athens: conf. a. 569. 3.
569.	52, 4.	<i>Amasis</i> succeeds <i>Apries</i> : conf. a. 616. Diodorus I. 68. gives 22 years to <i>Apries</i> : μετὰ Φαμμῆτιχον ὕστερον τέτταρις γενεῖς Ἀπρίης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δυσὶ πλεισταντα τῶν εἰκοσι. And 55 to <i>Amasis</i> : βασιλεύεται ἔτη πέντε πρὸς τοὺς πεντήκοντα κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον καθ' ὃν χρόνον Καμβύσης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τὸ τείτον ἔτος τῆς ἑηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης δλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Παρμενίδης Καμαριναῖος. As this period terminates in B. C. 526, it would place the accession of <i>Apries</i> at B. C. 602 and of <i>Amasis</i> at B. C. 580.

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Pythocritus victor at the fourth Pythian games. The first of his six Pythian prizes: conf. a. 586.

Aësopus flourished: Laërt. I. 72. ἦν δὲ (ό Χείλων) γέρων περὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν δευτέραν ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε Αἰσαπος ὁ λογοποίος ἤκμαζε. conf. §. 69. Suidas: Αἴσαπος Σάμιος ἡ Σαεδιανός Εύγειτων δὲ Μεσημβριανὸν εἶπεν ἄλλοι Κοτυαέα Φρύγα. ἐγένετο δὲ λογοποίος,—διέτριψε δὲ παρὰ Κροίσῳ φιλούμενος, τοῖς χρόνοις πρὸ Πυθαγόρου. Herodot. II. 134. κατὰ Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα 'Ροδῶπις.—δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἰάδμονος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἴσαπου τοῦ λογοποίου [Αἴσαπον τὸν ὄμδουλον αὐτῆς Plutarch. Pyth. Or. p. 401. A]—'Ροδῶπις δὲ ἐξ Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομισαντος· ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἔργασίν, ἐκύθη χρηματων μεγάλων ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου, τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδὸς ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. *Amasis* began to reign B. C. 569; *Sappho* flourished before B. C. 592. Her brother, who reached the reign of *Amasis*, must have been considerably younger. Plutarch Solon. c. 28. places *Aësopus* with *Solon* at the court of *Cræsus*: ὁ λογοποίος Αἴσαπος, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ εἰς Σάρδεις γεγονὼς μετάπεμπτος ὑπὸ Κροίσου καὶ τιμώμενος, ἥχθεσθη τῷ Σόλωνι μηδεμιᾶς τυχόντι φιλανθρωπίᾳ κ. τ. λ. The time of *Cræsus* and *Amasis* agrees with the date assigned by Laërtius, Ol. 52. For the passage of Suidas which refers *Aësopus* to Ol. 40, conf. a. 620. Diodorus Vatican. p. 24. concurs in the account of Laërtius and Plutarch: Αἴσαπος κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους συνήκμαζε τοῖς ἐπτά σοφοῖς, καὶ εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ οἴδασιν οὗτοι ὄμιλεῖν δυνάστη· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἥκιστα δεῖν ἡ ὡς ἥδιστα συμβιοῦν τοῖς τοιούτοις· αὐτὸς δὲ πεπλασμένως ἔλεγε, τὴν μὲν γὰρ νίκην ἀρετῇ καὶ οὐ πολυτληθίᾳ χειριῶν περιγίνεσθαι. Heraclides περὶ πολιτ. p. 211. Αἴσαπος ὁ λογοποίος εὐδοκίμει τότε. ἦν δὲ Θρᾶξ τὸ γένος, ἥλευθερώθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰδμονος τοῦ κωφοῦ, ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτον Ξάνθου δοῦλος. He had before named *Pherecydes of Syrus*, who was born cir. B. C. 600 (F. H. II. p. 9), and with whom *Aësopus* is made to be contemporary; which will also agree with this period.

Death of *Pittacus* ten years after his abdication: Laërt. I. 75. τὸν Πιττακὸν ισχυρῶς ἐτίμησαν οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ δέκα ἔτη κατασχὼν καὶ εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγὼν τὸ πολίτευμα κατέβηστο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ δέκα ἐπεβίω ἀλλα. §. 79. ἤκμαζε μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τεσταρακοστὴν δευτέραν ὀλυμπιάδα· ἰτελεύτησε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένους τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, βιοὺς ὑπὲρ ἔτη ἐβδομήκοντα, ἥδη γηραιός. He lived 100 years according to Lucian Macrob. c. 18. Σόλων δὲ καὶ Θαλῆς καὶ Πιττακός, οἵτινες τῶν κληθέντων ἐπτὰ σοφῶν ἐγένοντο, ἵκαστος ἔζησεν ἔτη. The numbers of Suidas make him past 80. conf. a. 651. whence in Laërtius we may perhaps substitute with Meursius apud Menag. ad loc. βιοὺς ὑπὲρ ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα. Proclus ad Hesiod. Opp. 717. connects *Pittacus* with *Amasis*: ὁς Πιττακὸν φασι πέμψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀμάσιδος ιερείον κ. τ. λ. Repeated by Tzetzes Ibid. *Pittacus*, who died in Ol. 52. 3, might survive the accession of *Amasis*, who began to reign, according to Herodotus, in the middle of that Olympic year. Perhaps, however, Proclus has ascribed to *Pittacus* what belonged to another. The communications of *Pittacus* with *Cræsus*, described in Laërt. I. 75. 77. 81. are also perhaps doubtful, since at the death of *Pittacus* *Cræsus* was only 25 years of age. Herodotus I. 27., who mentions *Pittacus* and *Cræsus*, admits that some accounts ascribed the fact to *Bias*: οἱ μὲν Βιαγτα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνία ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
568.	Ol. 53. <i>Agnon Peparethius.</i> Anon Euseb. p. 147. * ^{Αγνων} Scal. p. 40.	
566.	53, 3.	The <i>Panathenæa</i> at Athens : Euseb. Chron. <i>Anno 1451 Ol. 53. 4.</i> <i>Apud Athenienses gymnicus agon institutus est.</i> Hieronymus also has the year 1451. Syncellus p. 239. B. at the right date : see col. 3. As the <i>Panathenæa Magna</i> were celebrated in <i>Hecatombæon</i> of every third Olympic year, these games would fall within <i>Hecatombæon</i> of B.C. 566 Ol. 53. 3, at the close of the Eusebian year 1450. The name of the archon is preserved by Pherecydes apud Marcellin. Vit. Thucyd. p. I. <i>Ιπποκλείδης οφ' οὐ ἀρχοντος Παναθήναια ἐτέθη.</i>
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564.	Ol. 54. <i>Hippostratus Crotoniates.</i> Eus. Chron. I. p. 147.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 147. <i>Ol. 54. Arelion [Αριχίων Scal. Αρριχίων Syncell. Αρριχίων Pausan.] Phigalensis duobus jam pancratiiis victor fracto crano interierit [ψιλωθεὶς ἀπέθανε Scal.], et cadaver ejus coronatum est : namque adversarius antea victimus dimisit quia sibi pedem frangeret.</i> Conf. Pausan. VIII. 40, 2. τῷ Αρριχίωνι ἐγένοντο Ολυμπικαὶ νίκαι δύο μὲν Ολυμπιάσι ταῖς πρὸ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τεντυκοστής, κ. τ. λ.</p> <p>Alalia was founded by the Phocæans twenty years before they abandoned Phocæa : Herodot. I. 165. 166. οἱ Φωκαῖς—ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνουν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροτίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη.—ἐπει τε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἵκειν κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπίκομένων ἐπ' ἔτεσι πέντε καὶ ἱρά ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἀγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιόκους ἀπαντας· στρατεύονται ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νησοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα. The conquest of Phocæa by Harpagus we may refer to B.C. 544. For the conquest of Lydia B.C. 546 was followed by the revolt of Pactyes I. 154. and the expedition of Mazares I. 161. whom Cyrus despatched while yet on his march : ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ 157. This expedition might occupy B.C. 545. Mazares was succeeded by Harpagus, whose first attack was upon Phocæa : c. 162. <i>Ἀρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος—πρώτη δὲ Φωκαΐη Ιωνίης ἐπεχείρησε.</i> If the Phocæans, then, withdrew in B.C. 544, Alalia (which was founded twenty years before) will be placed at B.C. 564. When the Phocæans in B.C. 544 abandoned Phocæa, the Teians withdrew to Abdera : Herodot. I. 168. ἐπει τε γάρ σφεων εἶλε χάρματι τὸ τείχος <i>Ἀρπαγος</i>, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηικίης καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν <i>Ἀβδηρα</i>. τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας [conf. a. 654] οὐκ ἀπώνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηικῶν ἐξελαθεῖς τιμᾶς γῦν ὑπὸ Τηῖσιν τῶν ἐν <i>Ἀβδηροισι</i> ὡς ὥρως ἔχει. Strabo XIV. p. 644. <i>Ἀνακρέων</i>—<i>ιφ' οὐ Τήῖσιν τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες εἰς <i>Ἀβδηρα</i> ἀπώκησαν Θρηικίαν πόλιν, οὐ φέ-</i></p>

3. POETS, &c.

Eugamon flourished: Eusebius Armen. V. Anno 1450 Ol. 53. 3. *Eugamon Cyrenæus qui Telenionam composuit agnoscebat*. Placed in Armen. M. Anno 1449. In Hieronymus, anno 1451. Acknowledged by Syncellus p. 239. B. who has these notices in the following order:

1. Νίμεα πρῶτον ἥχθη ἀγὰν ὑπ' Ἀργείων μετὰ τὸν ἐπ' Ἀρχεμέρων.
2. Αἴσωπος μυθοποιὸς ἐγνωρίζετο, ὃς ὑπὸ Δελφῶν ἀπώλετο.
3. ὁ τῶν Παναθηναϊάν γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν ἥχθη.
4. Εὐγάμαν Κυρηναῖος ὁ τὴν Τηλεγούσαν ποιήσας ἐγνωρίζετο.
- (5.) Πιθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος ὀλυμπίασιν ἐκκριθεὶς παιδῶν κ. τ. λ. ὥλ. να' [conf. a. 588].
- (6.) Ἀρριχίαν Φιγαλίν τὸ τρίτον νικῶν παγκράτιον [Ol. 54].
7. Πειστράτος Ἀθηναίων ἐπυράνυσε.

In the Armenian copy and Hieronymus in this order: 1. 4. 3. 2. 7.

Eugamon is mentioned by Clemens Strom. VI. p. 628. B. τὰ ἔτερων ὑφελόμενοι ὡς; ἵδια ἐξήνεγκαν, καλάπερ Εὐγάμαν ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐκ Μουσαίου τὸ περὶ Θεοπρωτῶν βιβλίον ὀλόκληρον. Repeated by Eusebius Praep. X. p. 462. D. The poems ascribed to *Musacius* were forged after the time of *Eugamon*: Pausan. I. 22, 7. δοκεῖ δέ μοι, πεποίχεν αὐτὰ Ὄνομακρίτος, καὶ ἔτιν οὐδὲν Μουσαίου βεβχίως ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἐς Δημήτερα ὄμνος Λυκομίδαις. Clem. Strom. I. p. 332. D. τοὺς μὲν ἀναφερομένους εἰς Μουσαίου χρησμοὺς Ὄνομακρίτου εἶναι λέγονται. And this passage on the *Thesproti* might have been borrowed from *Eugamon*.

The death of *Aesopus* is placed here by Eusebius: Anno 1452 Ol. 54. 1. *Aesopus fabulator a Delphis peremptus est*. By Hieronymus, anno 1453. Suidas agrees in Ol. 54: Αἴσωπος—ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀδίκως ἀπολέθει, ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατακρημνισθέντα ἀπὸ τῶν Φαιδριάδων καλουμένων πετρῶν κατὰ τὴν ιδὲ ὀλυμπιάδα. οἰκέτην δὲ γενέσθαι Ξάνθου τοῦ Λυδοῦ. A mistake for *Xanthus of Samos*. Syncellus marks *Aesopus* at a different point: conf. a. 566. If the fable written after the usurpation of *Pisistratus*, which Phædrus I. 2. ascribes to *Aesop*, was really composed by *Aesop*, we must with Larcher Herodot. tom. VII. p. 540. reject this date for his death, and admit that he survived Ol. 55. 1 B. C. 560. It may be doubted, however, whether all the fables ascribed to *Aesop* in the time of Phædrus were really his composition. The death of *Aesop* through the Delphians is noticed by Herodotus II. 134. and by Plutarch S. N. V. p. 556. F. ἐπαῦθα δύπουθεν λέγεται ἐλθεῖν Αἴσωπον ἔχοντα παρὰ Κροίσου χρυσὸν, ὅπως τε θύσται τῷ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ Δελφῶν ἐκάστῳ δανείμη μνᾶς τέσσαρας: ὄργης δέ τινος, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ διαφορᾶς αὐτῷ γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς αὐτούς, τὴν μὲν θυσίαν ἐποίησατο τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Σάρδεις—οἱ δὲ συνθέντες αἵτιαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ιεροσυλίας ἀπίκεταιναν ὀσταντες ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ἐκείνης ἦν Ὑάμπειαν καλοῦσι. Upon *Aesopus* see Fabricius and Harles B. G. tom. I. p. 618. 619. We may remark, however, 1. that Syncellus p. 239. supplies no means for determining the date of *Aesop's* death: conf. a. 566. 2. that Plutarch VII. Sap. p. 150. A., where he describes *Aesopus* as coming from *Cræsus* to *Periander*, neglects historical precision, as Plato had done in his dialogues. At the time of the death of *Periander*, *Cræsus* was only ten years of age: conf. a. 585. F. H. II. p. 6.

B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>ροντες τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ὥβριν ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοῦτ' εἰρηται· “Αβδηρα καλὴ Τῆιων ἀποικία.” Scymnus 670. —Τήιοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν Συνάχισαν φυγόντες ὑπὸ τὰ Περσικά. The date of Strabo is consistent. <i>Anacreon</i> flourished B.C. 559—525 (F. H. II. p. 3. 15); the Teians withdrew in B. C. 543. They returned, however, afterwards to their own country: Strabo Ibid. πάλιν δ' ἐπανῆλθον τινες αὐτῶν χρόνων ὕστερον. <i>Timesias</i> the original founder of Abdera—Τιμησίας ὁ Κλαζομένιος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς, τῷ δὲ πάντα πράσσειν δι' ἑαυτοῦ φθονούμενος—is described by Plutarch Mor. p. 812. A.</p>
563.	54, 2.	<p>The Phocæans found Amisus four years before the foundation of Heraclea, according to Scymnus fragm. 181.</p> <p>—'Αμισὸς ἐν τῇ Δευκοσίρων γῇ κειμένη, τῶν Φοκαῶν ἀποικίᾳ, τέσσαρις πρότερον ἔτεσιν οἰκισθεῖσα * τῆς Ἡράκλειας ἔλαβε' Ιωνικὴν κτίσιν.</p> <p>Strabo XII. p. 547. makes no mention of the Phocæans: 'Αμισὸς πόλις ἀξιόλογος—φησὶ δὲ αὐτὴν Θεόπομπος πρώτους Μιλησίους κτίσαι, εἴτα Καππαδόκων ἀρχοντα· τρίτον δ' ὑπ' Ἀθηνοκλέους καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐποικισθεῖσαν Πειραιᾶ μετονομασθῆναι.</p>
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560.	Ol. 55. Hippostratus II. Euseb. p. 147.	Comias archon at Athens: F. H. II. p. 2.
559.	55, 2.	<p>Heraclea on the Euxine founded: Scymnus fragm. 230.</p> <p>—'Ηράκλεια Βοιωτῶν κτίσις καὶ Μεγαρέων· ἐντὸς δὲ ταύτην Κνανέων κτίζουσιν ὄρμηθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καθ' οὓς χρόνους ἐκράτησε Κύρος Μηδίας.</p> <p>Xenoph. Anab. V. 10, 1. 'Ηράκλειαν πόλιν Ἐλληνίδα, Μεγαρέων ἀποικον, οὖσαν ἐν τῇ Μαριανδυνῶν χώρᾳ. Schol. Apollon. II. 746. 'Ηράκλεωται Μεγαρίσιοις ἀποικοι καὶ Βοιωτῶν. Pausan. V. 26, 6. ἡ δὲ 'Ηράκλεια πεπόλισται μὲν ἐπὶ Εὔξείνῳ πόντῳ, ἀπωκίσθη δὲ ἐπὶ Μεγάρων· μετέσχον δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν Ταναγραῖοι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ. Diod. XIV. 31. 'Ηράκλειαν Μεγαρέων ἀποικον. Arrian. Peripl. Eux. p. 125. 'Ηράκλειαν πόλιν Ἐλληνίδα Δωρικὴν, Μεγαρέων ἀποικον. Strabo, however, XII. p. 542. ascribes this colony to Miletus: τὴν 'Ηράκλειαν ἐν τοῖς Μαριανδυνοῖς ιδρῦσθαι φασι, Μιλησίους κτίσμα· πρώτοι τὴν 'Ηράκλειαν κτίσαντες Μιλήσιοι τοὺς Μαριανδυνοὺς εἰλωτέουσιν ἡμάγκασταν τοὺς προκατέχοντας τὸν τόπον. On these native slaves compare Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 62. On the error of Strabo conf. Palmer. Exerc. p. 333. Wess. ad Diod. XIV. 31. Strabo adds, ἡ 'Ηράκλεια—ἥν αὐτόνεμος· εἴτα ἐτυραννήθη χρόνους τινάς· εἰτ' ἡλευθέρωσεν ἑατὴν πάλιν· ὕστερον δὲ ἐβασιλεύη, γενομένη ὑπὸ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις. For the period of the tyranny see F. H. III. p. 21.</p>

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4024	58	3	64	690		Gela. Phaselis	
4025	59	4	65	689			
4026	60	23. 1	66	688	Icarius	Smyrna	
4027	61	2	67	687		Median empire	Archilochus
4028	62	3	68	686			
4029	63	4	69	685		(2nd Messenian war)	
4030	64	24. 1	70	684	Cleoptolemus		
4031	65	2	71	683		Creon Athenian archon	Tyrtæus
4032	66	3	72	682			
4033	67	4	73	681		Lysias Athenian archon	
4034	68	25. 1	74	680	Thalpis		
4035	69	2	75	679		(Battle of the trenches)	
4036	70	3	76	678		Ardys	
4037	71	4	77	677		[Glaucus of Chios]	
4038	72	26. 1	78	676	Callisthenes . . .	Carnia	Terpander
4039	73	2	79	675		Cyzicus	
4040	74	3	80	674		Chalcedon	
4041	75	4	81	673		Locri	
4042	76	27. 1	82	672	Eurybus	Pantaleon king of Pisa	
4043	77	2	83	671		Leostratus arch. Lesbian nav.emp.	Alcman
4044	78	3	84	670		Psammetichus king of Egypt	
4045	79	4	85	669		Pisistratus arch. Battle of Hysiae	
4046	80	28. 1	86	668	Charmis	Autosthenes arc. (Mess.war ended)	
4047	81	2	87	667			
4048	82	3	88	666			
4049	83	4	89	665		Gymnopædia	Archilochus. Simonides. Tha- letas

Jul. P.	N.E.	Olymp.	U.C.	B.C.	1. OL. VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.	3. POETS, &c.
4050	84	29. 1	90	664	Chionis.....	Miltiades archon. Acræ, Enna..	Arion
4051	85	2	91	663		(Selymbria).....	[enus
4052	86	3	92	662			Archilochus. Simon. Aristox-
4053	87	4	93	661			
4054	88	30. 1	94	660	Chionis II. . .	The Pisæans and Eleans.....	Zaleucus
4055	89	2	95	659		Miltiades archon. Phigalia taken	Epimenides born
4056	90	3	96	658			
4057	91	4	97	657		Byzantium	Alcman. Lesches
4058	92	31. 1	98	656	Chionis III. . .	Phaortes	
4059	93	2	99	655		Cypselus	
4060	94	3	100	654		Acanthus. Stagira	
4061	95	4	101	653			
4062	96	32. 1	102	652	Cratinus		Pittacus
4063	97	2	103	651			
4064	98	3	104	650		(Selinus)	
4065	99	4	105	649			
4066	100	33. 1	106	648	Gylis	Myron of Sicyon. Himera	
4067	101	2	107	647			Pisander
4068	102	3	108	646			
4069	103	4	109	645			
4070	104	34. 1	110	644	Stomus.....	Dropilus arch. Pantaleon. Casmenæ	Terpander. Thaletas
4071	105	2	111	643			
4072	106	3	112	642			
4073	107	4	113	641			
4074	108	35. 1	114	640	Sphæron	Cylon of Athens	
4075	109	2	115	639		Damasias archon. Battus	Thales born
4076	110	3	116	638			
4077	111	4	117	637		Battus	
4078	112	36. 1	118	636	Phrynon	Phrynon of Athens	
4079	113	2	119	635		The Cimmerians take Sardis	
4080	114	3	120	634		Death of Phaortes	
4081	115	4	121	633		Istrus. Tomi	
4082	116	37. 1	122	632	Euryclidas	3rd year of the Scythians in Asia	Stesichorus born
4083	117	2	123	631		Battus founds Cyrenë.....	Pisander
4084	118	3	124	630		Milesians in Egypt	Mimnermus
4085	119	4	125	629		Sinopë	
4086	120	38. 1	126	628	Olyntheus	Selinus. Byzantium	Aristoxenus
4087	121	2	127	627		Lipara	
4088	122	3	128	626		Prusias	
4089	123	4	129	625		Epidamus. Periander	Arion
4090	124	39. 1	130	624	Rhipsoleus	Procles of Epidaurus	
4091	125	2	131	623		Milesian war	
4092	126	3	132	622			
4093	127	4	133	621			Draco
4094	128	40. 1	134	620	Olyntheus II. . .	(Attempt of Cylon)	Æsopus
4095	129	2	135	619			
4096	130	3	136	618			
4097	131	4	137	617		Alyattes	
4098	132	41. 1	138	616	Cleondas	Neco succeeds Psammetichus	
4099	133	2	139	615			
4100	134	3	140	614			
4101	135	4	141	613			
4102	136	42. 1	142	612	Lycotas	Periander of Ambracia	
4103	137	2	143	611		Pittacus	
4104	138	3	144	610			Sappho. Alcæus. Stesichorus
4105	139	4	145	609			Anaximander born. Arion fl.

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4107	141	2	147	607		Scythians expelled from Asia	
4108	142	3	148	606		Capture of Nineveh	Alcæus
4109	143	4	149	605				
4110	144	44. 1	150	604		Gelon		
4111	145	2	151	603				
4112	146	3	152	602				
4113	147	4	153	601				
4114	148	45. 1	154	600		Anticrates ...	Psammis. Massilia	
4115	149	2	155	599		.....	Camarina	
4116	150	3	156	598				
4117	151	4	157	597		.....	[Cyrenë]	
4118	152	46. 1	158	596		Chrysomachus	.....	Epimenides. Chilon
4119	153	2	159	595		.....	Philombrotus arch. Cirrhaean war	Sappho. Alcæus. Damoph. E-
4120	154	3	160	594		.....	Solon archon	Solon [rinna]
4121	155	4	161	593		.....	Dropides archon	
4122	156	47. 1	162	592		Eurycles ...	(Eucrates archon.) Odessus	Anacharsis
4123	157	2	163	591		.....	Simonides archon. Arcesilaüs I.	
4124	158	3	164	590				
4125	159	4	165	589		.....	Pittacus	Tragoedi. Alcæus
4126	160	48. 1	166	588		Glycon	Damophon king of Pisa	
4127	161	2	167	587				
4128	162	3	168	586		.....	Damasias archon. Pythia	Sacadas. Septem sapientes
4129	163	4	169	585		.....	Death of Periander	
4130	164	49. 1	170	584		Lycinus		
4131	165	2	171	583				
4132	166	3	172	582		.....	Clisthenes. Agrigentum	
4133	167	4	173	581		.....	Cypselidæ ended	
4134	168	50. 1	174	580		Epitelidas ...	Two Hellanodicæ	
4135	169	2	175	579		.....	Lipara	Pittacus
4136	170	3	176	578				
4137	171	4	177	577		.....	Archestratides archon	
4138	172	51. 1	178	576		Eratosthenes		
4139	173	2	179	575		Naval empire of the Phœceans	
4140	174	3	180	574		Pythocritus
4141	175	4	181	573			
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4144	178	3	184	570		Aristomenes archon. Phalaris	
4145	179	4	185	569		Amasis king of Egypt	Pittacus ob.
4146	180	53. 1	186	568		Agnon		
4147	181	2	187	567				
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APPENDIX.



I.

PHIDON.

IT is remarked in the Tables at B.C. 748 that two dates are assigned to *Phidion*. He is placed by some in the time of *Lycurgus*, and by others at the eighth Olympiad B.C. 748. The testimonies to the earlier date are to the following effect. The Parian Marble^a: ἀφ' οὐ Φ.. δων δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἐδήμευστ..... νεσκεύαστε, καὶ νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐποίησαν, ἐνδεκατὸς ἀνὴρ Ἡρακλέους, ἐτη ΠΗΓΑΔΔΙ βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν..... οὐς. This date, B.C. 895, when reduced to the dates of Eratosthenes, will give B.C. 869, coinciding with the times of *Iphitus* and *Lycurgus*^b. Syncellus^c: Κάρανος Μακεδόνων αἱ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λ'. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἡνὶ ἔτος δῆμα. πρὸ τῆς πρώτης δλυμπιάδος ἔτεσιν ιη.—Φείδων^d Ἀργους κρατῶν ἀδελφὸς Κάρανου τοῦ αἱ βασιλέως Μακεδόνων μέτρα καὶ στάθμια πρώτος ἐφεύρεν, ὡς τινες.—^e Κάρανος δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἀδελφὸς ὡς Φείδωνος ἐνὶ τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους καταγόντων τὸ γένος καὶ τῆς Ἀργείας βασιλεύοντος—δύναμιν ἥθροιστε παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς δῆλης Πελοποννήσου, μεθ' ἡς τοῖς ὑπὲρ Μακεδονίαν τόποις ἐπιστρατεύσας—τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἔλαβε χάραν.—οὗτος δὲ Κάρανος ἀπὸ μὲν Ἡρακλέους ια' ἡνὶ ἀπὸ δὲ Τημένου—ἔβδομος. γενεαλογοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν οὕτως, ὡς φησιν ὁ Διόδωρος καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων, ἀνὴρ εἰς καὶ Θεόπομπος. Κάρανος Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀριστοδαμίδα τοῦ Μέροπος τοῦ Θεοστίου τοῦ Κισσίου τοῦ Τημένου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεαδάτους τοῦ "Τλαλού τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. ἔνιοι δὲ ἄλλως, φησι, γενεαλογοῦσι, φάσκοντες εἶναι Κάρανον Ποιάντος τοῦ Κροίσου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Εύρυθιάδα τοῦ Δεβάλλου τοῦ Λαχάρους τοῦ Τημένου. In one of these lists *Caranus* and *Phidion* are the seventh from *Temenus*; in the other the eighth. Satyrus^e computes five generations between *Temenus* and *Caranus*: Τήμενον, τοῦ δὲ Κεῖσον, τοῦ δὲ Μάρωνα, τοῦ δὲ Θέστιον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀξον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστομίδαν, τοῦ δὲ Κάρανον. *Maron* in Satyrus (whom Syncellus omits^f) is probably the same person as *Medon* in Pausanias^g: Τημένῳ—Κεῖσος πρεσβύτατος ἀνὴρ ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ—τὰ τῆς ἔξουσίας τῶν βασιλέων ἐς ἐλάχιστον προήγαγον, ὡς Μῆδωνι τῷ Κεῖσου^h καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τὸ ὄνομα λειψθῆναι τῆς βασιλείας μόνον. And the descent, from the combined accounts of Diodorus and Satyrus, will be this:

5. *Temenus*, the fifth from *Hercules*.
6. *Cissus*.
7. *Maron* or *Medon*.
8. *Thestius*.
9. *Merops* or *Acoüs*.
10. *Aristodamidas*.
11. *Caranus* and *Phidion*.

^a Ep. 31 (30).

^b *Phidion* according to the Marble (Ep. 25. 31) was 945—631=314 years below the fall of Troy. But this according to the chronology of Eratosthenes will give B.C. 1183—314=B.C. 869 for the time of *Phidion*. The Marble refers these two epochs to B.C. 1209. 895.

^c P. 198. C.

^d P. 262. A.

^e Apud Theophil. ad Autolyc. II. 7. p. 298.

^f Wesseling ad Diod. tom. IV. p. 292. observes that in Syncellus Κάρανος Φείδωνος means *Phidonis frater*. In this case, to make the number of generations complete, we must with Wesseling suppose *Maron* to have been omitted by Syncellus or by a transcriber.

^g Pausan. II. 19, 2.

^h Μῆδων τῷ Κεῖσου, the correction of Musgrave, is now adopted by every judicious editor; by Facius, Siebelis, and Bekker.

The reign of *Caranus* is placed by Eusebiusⁱ 36 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus* and 369 after the fall of Troy. These accounts, then, place *Phidon* about 55 years lower than the date of the Marble, but agree with the Marble in making him the eleventh from *Hercules*.

The lower epoch for *Phidon* is given by Ephorus and Pausanias. The passage of Ephorus^k, referred to in the Tables, is as follows: Φείδων τὸν Ἀργείον δέκατον μὲν ὅντα ἀπὸ Τημένου δυνάμεις δὲ ὑπερβεβλημένον τοὺς κατ' αὐτόν, ἀφ' ἣς τὴν τε λῆσιν ὅλην ἀνέλαβε τὴν Τημένου διεσπασμένην εἰς πλείω μέρη· καὶ μέτρα ἔξυπρε τὰ Φειδώνεια καλούμενα, καὶ στάθμον, καὶ νόμισμα κεχαραγμένον τὸ τε ἄλλο καὶ τὸ ἀγρυποῦν^l. πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ ταῖς ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους αἰρεθεῖσαι πόλεσι, καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀξιοῦν τιθέναι αὐτὸν οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἔθηκε· τούτων δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν καὶ δὴ βιασάμενον ἐπελθόντα θεῖναι αὐτόν, οὔτε τῶν Ἡλείων ἐχόντων ὅπλα ὥστε κωλύειν, διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην—οὐ μὴν τούς γε Ἡλείους ἀναγράψαι τὴν θέσιν ταύτην ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπλα κτήσασθαι διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ἀξιαμένους ἐπικουρεῖν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· συμπράττειν δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, εἴτε φθονήσαντας τῇ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην εὐτυχίᾳ εἴτε καὶ συνεργοὺς ἔχειν νομίσαντας πρὸς τὸ καταλῦσαι τὸν Φείδωνα, ἀφρημένον αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἥν ἐκεῖνοι προσέκτηντο· καὶ δὴ καὶ συγκαταλῦσαι τὸν Φείδωνα. The testimonies of Ephorus and Pausanias^m establish that the Olympiad which *Phidon* celebrated (which according to Pausanias was the eighth) was omitted in the Elean register. But, as no Olympiads were registered before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, it is manifest that this eighth Olympiad was Ol. 8 B. C. 748. And this eighth Olympiad was in the time of *Archias*, who was the tenth from *Temenus*. Pausanias therefore agrees with Ephorus, who made *Phidon* the tenth from *Temenus*. Again, the Lacedæmonians had already acquired the lead in Peloponnesus: προσέκτηντο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. But this had not yet occurred in the time of *Lycurgus*.

The lower date for *Phidon* is farther confirmed by a narrative which connects him with the times of *Archias*. *Phidon* was contemporary with *Melissus*, and *Melissus* was contemporary with *Archias*ⁿ: Βαχχιάδαι—ἴξεβλάχθησαν ἐκ Κορίνθου διὰ τὸν Ἀκταίωνος θάνατον. ή δὲ ιστορία ἐστιν ἡδε. Μέλισσος σύνεργετήσας τοὺς Κορινθίους (μέλλοντας γὰρ ὑπὸ Φείδωνος τοῦ τῶν Ἀργείων βασιλέως δια-

ⁱ Euseb. Chron. Anno 835 *Ilium captum*. Anno 1204 *Caranus*. Anno 1240 *Olymp. I*. The numbers in Syncellus, ἔτη ηγ., are evidently corrupt, and inconsistent with his other dates.

^k Strabo VIII. p. 358.

^l The inventions of *Phidon* are noticed in the following testimonies: Strabo VIII. p. 376. Εφόρος ἐν Αιγαίῃ ἄργυρον πρότοις κοπῆναι φησιν ὑπὸ Φειδώνεος. Plin. H. N. VII. 56. *Mensuras et pondera Phidon Argivus (invenit)*. Pollux X. 179. φείδων τις ἀργεῖον ἐλαμηρὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν Φειδωνίων μέτραν ἀνομασμένον ἔπειρ ἀνὴν ἐν Ἀργείων πολιτείᾳ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει. Idem IX. 83. τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ νομίσματι λόγον ἐπιζητεῖν, εἴτε Φείδων πρότοις ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἔγραψε νόμισμα—εἴτε Διδοί, κ. τ. λ. Etymol. ὁβελίσκος. πάντων πρότοις Φείδων Ἀργεῖος νόμισμα ἐκόπει ἐν Αιγαίῳ. Idem Εἰδοῦλον νόμισμα. ἐπειδὴ Φείδων ὁ Ἀργεῖον βασιλεὺς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ χωρίφ τοῦ Ἀργους πρότοις ἐκοψε χρυσὸν νόμισμα. Herodot. VI. 127. Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείου τυράννου πάις Λεωκίδης, Φείδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα τοιήσαντος Πελοποννησίος καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἐλλήνων ἀπάντων, ὃς ἔξαντατήσας τοὺς Ἡλείων ἀγωνόθετας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε, τούτου τε δὴ πάις. Where Mr. Mul-

ler Dor. vol. II. p. 113. f. supposes that Herodotus has confounded *Phidon II.* with *Phidon I.* But as it is not probable that Herodotus should have placed so remarkable a person as *Phidon I.* two centuries below his real time, it is more likely, as Palmerius and Wesseling have conjectured, that the text is mutilated: conf. Wess. et Schweigh. ad loc. *Phidon* is also mentioned Schol. Pindar. Ol. XIII. 27. Φείδων ὁ πρότος κόλας Κορινθίου τὸ μέτρον Ἀργείος ἦν. Ibid. XIII. 20. Φείδων τις ἀνὴρ Κορινθίος εὑρε μέτρα καὶ στάθμα, where the Argive is confounded with an ancient Corinthian legislator of the name mentioned by Aristotle Rep. II. 3, 7=II. 6. Φείδων ὁ Κορινθίος, ἐν νομοθέτης τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων, τοὺς οἰκους ἵσους φῆσθη δεῖν διαμένειν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν, κ. τ. λ. The Argive *Phidon* invented weights and measures, and probably the Argive *Phidon* prescribed their use to the Corinthians, whom he held in subjection.

^m The testimony of Pausanias is in the Tables at B. C. 748. 644.

ⁿ Schol. Apollon. IV. 1212.

φθαρῆναι ἐρδύσατο) τιμῆς ἡξιάθη παρ' αὐτοῖς. καὶ πότε οἱ Βακχιάδαι νυκτὸς ἐπελθόντες τῇ οἰκίᾳ τούτου ἐβούλοντο ἀποστᾶν τὸν παῖδα Ἀχταίων κ. τ. λ. The account of Plutarch^o places the birth of *Melissus* within the reign of *Phidion*: Φείδων τις τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐπιτιθέμενος ἀρχῆ, τὴν Ἀργείων πόλιν τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἥγεμονεύειν τῶν λοιπῶν βουλόμενος, πρῶτον ἐπεβούλευσε Κορινθίους· πέμψας γὰρ ὅτει παρ' αὐτῶν νεανίας χιλίους τοὺς ἀκμῇ διαφέροντας καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ· οἱ δὲ πέμπουσι τοὺς χιλίους, στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἀποδεῖξαντες Δέξανδρον. ἐν γῷ δὲ ἔχων δὲ Φείδων ἐπιθέσθαι τούτοις—τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀνέθετο τῶν ἑταίρων τισίν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀβρων ἐν αὐτοῖς· οὗτος δὲ ἔνος ὀνὸς τοῦ Δεξανδροῦ ἔφρασεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν.—Φείδων δὲ ἀνευρεῖ ἐπειράτῳ τὸν προδόντα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔζητει. δεῖσας δὲ ὁ Ἀβρων φεύγει εἰς Κόρινθον, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἐν Μελίσσων κώμῃ τινὶ τῆς Κορινθίων χώρας· ἔνθα καὶ παῖδα γεννήσας Μέλισσον προσηγόρευσεν—τούτου δὲ τοῦ Μελίσσου υἱὸς Ἀχταίων γίνεται. The fate of *Actaeon*, which led to the foundation of Syracuse, has been already told p. Now according to this narrative of Plutarch the settlement of *Habron* in the Corinthian territory may have been 45 years before the death of *Actaeon* his grandson; and the attempt of *Phidion* upon Corinth in the beginning of his reign might be 47 or 48 years before the foundation of Syracuse in B. C. 734. We may assume that he reigned 40 years B. C. 783—744; that he presided at the eighth Olympiad in the 36th year of his reign: and that he was put down by the Lacedæmonians three or four years afterwards. By this arrangement *Phidion*, the tenth from *Temenus*, might be about 40 years older than *Archias*, who was also the tenth from *Temenus*; a difference in age which is justified by similar cases where the facts are known. But the higher date of the Marble for *Phidion* is quite inconsistent with the time of *Melissus*; since according to that higher date the attempt upon Corinth in the beginning of the reign of *Phidion* would have been made 140 years before Syracuse was founded by *Archias*, with whom *Melissus* was contemporary^q. And if the 8th Olympiad, at which *Phidion* presided, is placed at B. C. 856^r, this again would leave 122 years between the time of *Phidion* and the foundation of Syracuse.

It appears from Aristotle^s that *Phidion* was already king, and made himself absolute: πᾶσιν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς τρόποις τούτοις τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ρᾴδιος—διὰ τὸ δύναμιν προϋπάρχειν τοῖς μὲν βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ τὴν τῆς τιμῆς, οἷον Φείδων μὲν περὶ Ἀργος καὶ ἕτεροι τύραννοι κατέστησαν βασιλείας ὑπάρχοντος, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Φάλαρις ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν. This passage, however, does not determine the time of *Phidion*. For kings may be traced at Argos to a late period. There was a king of Argos in the second Messenian war, B. C. 669^t; and *Lacydes* or *Lacedes* reigned in the time of *Clisthenes* of Sicyon. His son *Meltas* was deposed by the people^v. But the office

^o Plutarch. Amat. Narr. c. 2. p. 772. 773.

^p See the Tables B. C. 734.

^q The numbers of the Parian Marble place the ἀκμὴ of *Phidion* at the year 631, and the foundation of Syracuse at the year 493, according to the supplement of the editors founded on the 21st of *Aeschylus*. An interval of 138 years.

^r Computed from the Olympiad of *Iphitus* in B. C. 884 according to Eratosthenes, the 8th will fall within B. C. 856; where *Phidion* is placed by Larcher Herodot. tom. VII. p. 591.

^s Aristot. Rep. V. 8, 4=V. 10.

^t See the Tables B. C. 669.

^v Among the kings of Argos *Eratus* reigned in the time of *Nicander* king of Sparta: Pausan. II. 36, 5. Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Νικάνδρου—

ἔς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλόντων στρατιῇ συνεσέβαλόν σφισιν οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι.—ἄς δὲ ὁ στόλος τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε, στρατεύονται ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίνην οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ διβασίλεις αὐτῶν Ἐρατος, which would place *Eratus* at about B. C. 800; whence the conjecture of Mr. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 113. f. is probable that he was the immediate predecessor of *Phidion*. *Leocedes* is one of the suitors of *Agaristē* in Herodotus VI. 127. already quoted. Plutarch. Mor. p. 89. E. Δακύδηη τὸν Ἀργείων βασιλέα κόμης τιὸς διάθεσις καὶ βάσισμα τριφερότερον εἰς μαλακιαν δέβαλε. Pausan. II. 19, 2. Μέλτας τὸν Δακίδην τὸν ἀπόγονον Μήδανος τὸ παράπονον ἔπαυσεν ἀρχῆς καταγνών δῆμος. Wytttenbach ad Plutarch. l. c. supposes *Phidion* the father of *Lacydes* to be *Medon* of Pausanias, and brings down *Medon* to the time

of king was afterwards conferred upon *Aēgon*^w. And in B.C. 480 a king of Argos is mentioned by Herodotus^x. We may suppose that these kings had no great authority, and that they were only nominally kings, while the real power was in the hands of the people. In the Epistles, however, ascribed to Plato^y tyrants are mentioned at Argos in the time of *Lycurgus*: Λυκοῦργος ἴδιαν τὰ τῶν οἰκείων γένος ἐν Ἀργείᾳ καὶ Μέσηνη ἐκ βασιλέων εἰς τυράννων δύναμιν ἀφικομένους καὶ διαφθείραντας ἑαυτούς τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκατέρους ἐκατέραν. We might suspect that the author followed the higher epoch, which placed *Phidion* in those times.

It is no objection to the lower date that some early authorities refer *Phidion* to a higher; for two dates are assigned to others, who may nevertheless be determined to their true era. Thus *Daicles* is referred by Phlegon to the time of *Iphitus*, 27 Olympiads or 108 years before his true era, which was in the 7th registered Olympiad^z. *Thaletas* had two dates. He was placed by some accounts before *Homer*, or in the time of *Lycurgus*; but his true time was two centuries later than *Lycurgus*^a. *Terpander* was assigned by high authorities to a remote period; but other accounts place him at the 30th Olympiad^b.

II.

MESSENIAN WARS.

THE first Messenian war is fixed by Pausanias to B.C. 743—723; and the commencement of the war in B.C. 743 is consistent with the time of *Polychares*, who was victor at Olympia in B.C. 764^c. The interval of rest is fixed by Pausanias at the 39th year current;

of *Clisthenes*: *Quae hoc loco notatur mollities convenire videtur in Leocedem Phidonis Argivorum regis filium, quem Herodotus numerat in procis Agaristæ, quem Lacidem appellat Pausanias, ejus filium Meltam Medonis nepotem ultimum Argivorum regem perhibens; ubi Μῆδων, nomen pro Φείδων, ex errore librarii venisse videatur, indeque temere ab hodiernis quibusdam in stemmate illius stirpis positum.* But in that passage of Pausanias, as now amended, *Medon* is the son of *Cissus* in the third generation from *Temenus*; and this emendation is confirmed by the expression *tὸν δεκόνον Μῆδων*. *Meltas* is not the grandson but the descendant of *Medon*, and many generations came between them. The rest of Wytténbach's interpretation, which brings down *Meltas* to the time of *Pisistratus*, is far superior to that of Clavier des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 94. who carries back *Meltas* to the fifth generation after *Temenus*, arranging the descent in this order: 1. *Temenus*. 2. *Cissus*. 3. *Medon*. 4. *Lacydes*. 5. *Meltas*. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 113. concurs with Wytténbach in understanding *Λεωκήδης* in Herodotus, *Λακίδης* in Plutarch, and *Λακίδης* in Pausanias, to be the same person.

^w Plutarch. Mor. p. 340. C. ἔβαλπεν Ἀργείου ποτὲ τὸ Ἡρακλεῖδον γένος, ἐξ οὐ βασιλεύεσθαι πάτρια τὴν αὐτοῖς. Σητοῖς δὲ καὶ διατιθανατηρέους ὁ θεὸς ἔχοντες δεῖται δεῖκεν· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας διάγιας δεῖται ὑπερφανεῖς καὶ κατάρας ἐτεί τὴν Αἴγανος οἰκίαν ἐκάλισε, καὶ βασιλεὺς γέρθει Αἴγανος. Idem Pyth. Or. p. 396. C. χρησμοῦ τινας ἐμμέτρου λεχθέντος οἷμας τερι τῆς Αἴγανος τοῦ Ἀργείου βασιλεῖας. Wytténbach, in commenting on the former passage, appears to have forgotten the latter. *Aēgon*, as Muller supposes, probably was elected after the time of *Meltas*.

^x Herodot. VII. 149. καὶ δὴ λέγεν (ταῦς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους) σφὶ μὲν εἴρει δύο βασιλῆς Ἀργείου: δὲ ἑνα—μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὄμοιώφερ τὸν Ἀργεῖον εἴρει κωλύειν οὐδέν.

^y Epist. Platon. VIII. p. 354. b.

^z See p. 141. and the Tables B.C. 752.

^a See the Tables B.C. 750. 665. 644.

^b See the Tables B.C. 676. 644.

^c See the Tables B.C. 764. The injuries received by *Polychares* were the immediate cause of the first war: Pausan. IV. 4, 4—5, 3. But a cause of quarrel between the two nations had already occurred before in an affray at the temple of *Diana Limnatis*, in which *Teleclus* king of Sparta was slain. The Messenians and the Spar-

and he collects from Tyrtaeus that the second war was carried on by the grandsons of those who were engaged in the first^b. Other accounts, however, placed 80 years between the two wars. Justin^c: *Messenii expugnantur. Dein cum per annos octoginta gravia servitutis verbera—perpessi essent,—bellum instaurant*^d. Eusebius agrees with Pausanias in the beginning of the first war^e. His dates for the second are these: *Anno 1382 Ol. 36. 3. Messene deficit a Lacedæmoniis. Anno 1384 Ol. 37. 1. Timæus Atheniensis cognoscetatur*. Hieronymus with some variation: *Anno 1379 Messena a societate Lacedæmoniorum discedit. Anno 1383 Myrthæus Atheniensis poëta agnoscitur*. Syncellus^f: Μυρταῖος Ἀθηναῖος ποιητὴς ἦγετο. whence we may collect that the name *Tyrtaeus* had been already corrupted in the copies of Eusebius before the time of Syncellus. These notices go beyond the interval of Justin, and give a space of 90 years between the two wars^g. Suidas follows the lower date for the second war: Τυρταῖος Ἀρχιμβρότου Λάχων ἡ Μιλήσιος, ἐλεγειοποίος καὶ αὐλητής· ὃν λόγος τοῖς μέλεσι χρησάμενον παροτρύναι Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ πολεμοῦντας Μεσσηνίους ταύτη ἐπιχρατεστέρους ποιῆσαι. ἔστι δὲ παλαιτάτος· σύγχρονος τοῖς ἑπτὰ κληθεῖσι σοφοῖς, ἡ καὶ παλαιτέρος. ἥκμαζε γοῦν κατὰ τὴν λέξην ὀλυμπιάδα.

Valesius^h adapts Tyrtaeus to this lower date: *Eam sententiam prope est ut veriorem putem. Nam Tyrtaeus tertia cætate post primum bellum rebellasse Messenios innuit his versibus: ἀμφ' αὐτὴν κ. τ. λ. tres autem cætates seu γενεαὶ octoginta plus minus annos conficiunt. And Græviusⁱ: A Justino stat Eusebius; quod confirmat Tyrtaei cætas.—Ipse enim Tyrtaeus cecinit se tertia γενεὰ seu cætate post primum bellum missum esse ad Lacedæmonios; γενεὰ vero erat triginta annorum, ut tres γενεαὶ sint 90 anni. Clavier^k also adopts the longer interval: *Cet intervalle [the interval of Pausanias] est trop court; car Tyrtae dit que cette seconde guerre fut faite par les petits-enfants de ceux qui se trouvoient à la première. Ce qui suppose un intervalle de 60 ans au moins; aussi crois-je que Justin ne se trompe pas de**

tans gave different accounts of this transaction: Pausan. IV. 4, 2. Strabo VI. p. 257. indicates that there were two parties among the Messenians: κτίσμα ἔστι τὸ 'Ρήγιον Χαλκιδέων.—ἵσσαν δὲ τῆς ἀποκίνης καὶ οἱ Μεσσηρίου φυγάδες τῶν ἐν Πελοπονῆσῃ, καταστασισθέντες ἦδ τὸν μὴ βιωμένον δῶναι δίκαιος ἐπέρ τῆς φθορᾶς τῶν παρέθεντος τῆς ἐν Δίμναις γενομένης τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις^j δις καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰβιάσαστο πεμφθείσας ἐπὶ τῷ ιερουργίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας ἀπέκτεναν. παραχωρίσαστες ὅν εἰς Μάκιστον οἱ φυγάδες πέμπουσι εἰς θεοῦ κ. τ. λ.—οὐδὲ δ' Ἀπόδλων ἐκέλευσε στέλλεοθαι μετὰ Χαλκιδέων εἰς τὸ 'Ρήγιον—οὐ γάρ ἀπολέσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ στεῖσθαι, μέλλοντάς γε δὲ μὴ συναφανισθεσθαι τῷ πατρίδι δίλιστούγε μικρὸν ὕστερον ἵππο Σπαρτιατῶν. οἱ δὲ ὑπέκυναν. Heraclides περὶ πολιτειῶν p. 214. 'Ρήγιον ἔκισαν Χαλκιδεῖς εἰ δέ τοι Εὐρέτων διὰ λιμὸν ἀναστάτες παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ έκ Πελοπονῆσου τοὺς Μεσσηνίους τοὺς ἐν Μακίστῳ τυχόντας διὰ τὴν ὄβριν τῶν Σπαρτιάδων παρέθεντο. According to these passages Rhegium was founded soon after the death of Teleclus, and a few years before the beginning of the first Messenian war.

^b Pausan. IV. 15, I. ἀπόστοσαν ἔτει τριακοστῷ καὶ ἑάτῳ μετὰ ἱθάμης ἀλλοιον.—ἐν δὲ Δακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς τρικαῦτα ἔτυχον βασιλεύεστες Τυρταῖος μὲν τὰ διδυμάτα εἰς Ἕγραψε.—Τυρταῖον δὲ καὶ οἱ λέγοντα ὅμως εἰργίσαντις ἀν δὲ τῷδε ἥγετο, θλεγεῖα γάρ δι τὸν πρότερον

ρὸν ἔστιν αἰτῷ πόλεμον [see the Tables B. C. 723].—δῆλα οὖν ἔστιν ὡς ὑπερεργον τρίτη γενεὴ τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Μεσσηνίους τόνδε ἐπολέμησαν.

^c Justin III. 5.

^d Rollin Hist. Ancienne tom. III. p. 34. treating of the Messenian wars quotes this passage of Justin, and substitutes *complures* for *octoginta*: *Cum per complures annos gravia servitutis verbera, &c.* He had adopted the dates of Pausanias, and, wishing to use the passage of Justin, kept out of view the controversy respecting the date of the second war.

^e See the Tables B. C. 743.

^f Syncell. p. 213. C.

^g B.C. 724—634. Hieronymus indeed places the termination of the first war *anno 1285 Ol. 12. 1=2 Armen.* But he had himself at the year 1273 ascribed to that war a duration of twenty years: *Lacedæmonii contra Messenios vicennale bellum habebant*; which places the termination at the year 1292, or B.C. 725. In the Armenian copy neither the term *vicennale* nor the notice of its termination occurs.

^h Apud Weiss. ad Diod. tom. IV. p. 294.

ⁱ Ad Justin. III. 5.

^k Hist. des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 233.

beaucoup en mettant cette guerre 80 ans après la première. Valesius and Grævius have misrepresented the meaning of Tyrtæus. The poet does not say that three generations intervened between the two wars. The three generations included both wars, together with the interval which divided them : ἐμάχοντο πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες. One generation, then, and not three, came between, as Pausanias has rightly explained it.

1. The first generation conducted the first war.
2. The second rested from war [38 years].
3. The third generation carried on the second war¹.

Pantaleon king of Pisa was engaged in the second war^m, whose son *Pyrrhus* was still living in B. C. 572. Strabo does not absolutely determine in what year of the war *Pantaleon* became an ally of the Messenians. Probably after the battle at the boar's grave, in which the Eleans succoured themⁿ; and in that case not before the sixth year of the war B.C. 680, according to the dates of Pausanias. But if *Pantaleon* participated in the campaign of B. C. 680, and if we place his accession in that year at the age of 23 or 24 years, and the death of *Pyrrhus* in B. C. 570 after the war with the Eleans which occurred in the 52nd Olympiad^o, this will suppose an interval of 110 years for the successive reigns of *Pantaleon* and his two sons, *Damophon* and *Pyrrhus*; and of 133 or 134 years from the birth of the father to the death of the youngest son. It is very possible that *Pyrrhus*, although called the son of *Pantaleon* in the account which had descended to Pausanias, was in reality his grandson. The interval, however, may be justified by similar intervals in times of authentic history. *Archidamus* and his two sons, *Agis* and *Agesilaüs*, reigned successively 108 years; and the space from the birth of *Archidamus* to the death of *Agesilaüs* might be 138 or 140 years^p. The three successive reigns of *Attalus I.* and his two sons, *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, occupied 103 years; and from the birth of *Attalus* the father to the death of *Attalus II.* were 131 years^q.

¹ Pausanias concludes that *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* carried on the first war, that their successors *Euryocrates* and *Zeuxidamus* abstained from war, and that it was renewed in the next reigns of *Anaxander* and *Anaxidamus*. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 166. who admits "that the "grandfathers were engaged in the first war "and the grandchildren in the second," without reason affirms that Pausanias is contrary to Tyrtæus in stating the interval at 39 years.

^m See the Tables at B. C. 672.

ⁿ Strabo names the Eleans among the allies of Messenia. But in VIII. p. 355. he calls the Eleans allies of Lacedæmon : συνέπραξαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τὴν ἑσχάτην κατάλυσιν τῶν Μεσσηνῶν συμμαχήσασιν αὐτοῖς, τάνατια τῶν Νέστορος ἀπογόνων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμμαχήσανταν τοῖς Μεσσηνοῖς· καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γε συνέπραξαν ὅστε τὴν χώραν ἀπασταν τὴν μέχρι Μεσσῆνης Ἡλείαν ἥπερναι, καὶ διαμεῖναι μέχρι καὶ νῦν. Phavorinus v. Αὐγείας, referred to by Mr. Muller vol. I. p. 171., also attests the same thing: τρὸς δὲ τούτου ἴστορεῖται καὶ διτὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Πισσᾶται τοῦ ἀγώνος ἐπειδόντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς Μεσσηνοῖς αὐτοὶ κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων συνεμάχησαν, καθελόντες ὑπερον αὐτοὺς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρέσχον τὴν τοῦ ἀγώνος

ἀρχὴν τοῖς Ἡλείοις, εἰ κατὰ Μεσσηνῶν τοῖς Λάκωνις συνεμάχησαν. Pausanias IV. 15, 4, enumerating the allies of the Messenians at the battle of the boar's grave, names the Eleans but omits the Pisatae: παρεσκεύαζοτο δὲ μάχην συνάμφοντες ἐπὶ τῷ καλούμενῷ Κάπρῳ σύμματι. Μεσσηνοίς μὲν οὖν Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, ἔπει δὲ ἐξ Ἀργονός ἀφίκετο καὶ Σικελίος βοηθεία. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἥπλους Κορίνθιοι συμμαχήσαντες καὶ Λεπρεατῶν τινὲς κατὰ ἔχθρον τὸ Ἡλεῖον. It is probable, then, that the Pisatae were not allies of Messenia till the Eleans ceased to be so; that the Eleans assisted in the beginning of the war; that the Pisatae, becoming independent under Pantaleon in Ol. 26, joined the Messenians, and that the Eleans then transferred themselves to the Lacedæmonian party.

^o See the Tables B. C. 644. 588. 572.

^p They reigned B. C. 469—361. See F. H. II. p. 205. The birth of *Archidamus* we may place at B. C. 499 or 500.

^q They reigned from B. C. 241 to 138. *Attalus I.* being 72 at his death in B. C. 197 was born B. C. 269; *Attalus II.* died in B. C. 138: F. H. III. p. 401—408.

Again, from the birth of *L. Seneca* to the death of his youngest son *Seneca* the philosopher were at least 126 years^r. The extent, then, of the interval from *Pantaleon* to *Pyrrhus*, even if *Pyrrhus* were the son and not the grandson, is no objection to the date which Pausanias assigns for the second war. I incline, however, to place his accession to the war a few years later than B. C. 680. The *Pisatæ* would not be named as parties in the war till after they had become independent. But according to Strabo compared with Africanus they acquired independence in Ol. 26^s; they celebrated Ol. 28, and assisted in the presidency in Ol. 30—52 inclusive. The commencement of their independence, according to Strabo, was after Ol. 26, July B. C. 676, and before Ol. 27, July B. C. 672. It is probable, then, that *Pantaleon* began to reign and that the *Pisatæ* participated in the war within that period, about B. C. 674; which would reduce the duration of the three reigns to 104 years. In this case, if they became allies of the Messenians before the siege of Ira (which the terms of Strabo render probable), Pausanias has placed the whole war about six years too high; and the dates may be reduced to B. C. 679—662; which is quite consistent with the account of *Tyrtæus*^t.

Pausanias in one place calls the interval from the close of the second war to the restoration of the Messenians by *Epaminondas* almost 300 years; in another, 287 years^v: κατῆλθον ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν αὐτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ὄγδοηκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἔτεσιν ὕστερον μετὰ Εἵρας ἀλωσιν.—Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ἐκτὸς Πελοπονῆσου τριακόσια ἔτη μάλιστα ἤλաντο. As the dates of Pausanias himself, Ol. 28. 1—102. 3, give 297 years for the interval (excluding both extremes), we may with Palmerius^w and Perizonius^x substitute ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑνεκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. Other ancient writers give vague accounts of the period of subjection. Isocrates^y calls it 400 years: ἡμεῖς τοίνυν Μεσσήνην εἶλομεν πρὶν Πέρσας λαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ κρατήσας τῆς ἡπείρου, καὶ

^r From B. C. 61 to A. D. 65: F. H. III. p. 257.

^s See the Tables B. C. 668. 660.

^t Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 45. supposes that the passage of Strabo VIII. p. 355. quoted in note n. fixes the termination of the war to B. C. 668 with Pausanias: *Olymp.* 28 non ab *Eleis* sed a *Pisæis* celebrata est. *Itaque quum Strabo subdat* "post ultimam Messeniorum destructionem" *Olympiorum decus ad Eleos iterum Lacedæmoniis opem ferentibus rediisse, appareatque Olymp.* 29 *Eleos præfuisse, perspicue certoque colligitur Messeniorum destructionem in Ol. 28 certissime collocandam esse.* But, as we learn from Africanus (whom Corsini p. 47. unreasonably calls in question), the Pisæans presided again in Ol. 30 and in twenty-two following Olympiads; so that this account of Strabo cannot refer to Ol. 29. Clavier tom. II. p. 238. from the mention of *Pantaleon* brings down the beginning of the war below the date of Pausanias: *Comme ce prince fit célébrer les jeux Olympiques en Olymp. 34, malgré les Eléens, il est évident que Pausanias a trop reculé cette guerre.* And Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 171. for the same reason places it at B.C. 644. In vol. II. p. 520. quoting Justin, he places the second war at Ol. 35. 3 B.C. 638. which would make the interval according to his own dates 86 years instead of 80. But it does

not follow that *Pantaleon* engaged in the Messenian war precisely at the year in which he assumed the presidency of the games, especially when we know that the Pisæans were independent 30 years before. And the testimony of *Tyrtæus*, that only one generation intervened between the two wars, will not admit that a longer space than 44 or 45 years at the most should be placed between them. Strabo already quoted in note n., and Phavorinus p. 134. who says "that the Lacedæmonians deprived the Pisæans of this privilege for siding with Messenia and gave it to the Eleans who took their part," Mr. Muller I. p. 171. understands to imply "that Sparta rejected the claims of *Pantaleon* to the ἀγωνίστεια after Ol. 34." But from the notices in Africanus it is manifest that the description given by Strabo of the ascendancy acquired by the Eleans did not come to pass till after the time of *Pyrrhus*, and after the 52nd Olympiad. The words of Strabo, then, are to be understood in a wider and more general sense, not precisely marking the close of the second war, but referring to a later period.

^v Pausan. IV. 27, 5.

^w Palmer. Exercit. p. 390.

^x Perizon. ad Ælian. V. H. XIII. 42.

^y Archidam. p. 121. a.

πρὶν οἰκισθῆναι τινας τῶν πόλεων τῶν Ἐλληνίδων. καὶ τούτων ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων τῷ μὲν βαρβάρῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς πατρών οὐσαν ἀποδίδοσιν, ὃς οὕτω διακόσια ἔτη κατέσχηκε τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἡμᾶς δὲ Μεσσήνην ἀποστεροῦσιν, οἱ πλέον ἡ διπλάσιον χρόνον ἡ τοσοῦτον τυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες αὐτὴν καὶ Θεσπιὰς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἔχθες καὶ πρώτην ἀναστάτους πεποίκασι, ταύτην δὲ διὰ τετρακοσίων^z ἐτῶν μέλλουσι κατοικίζειν. Dinarchus^a agrees with Isocrates: Μεσσήνην τετρακοσιοστῷ ἔτεις κατάκισαν. Reckoned upwards from B. C. 369, the 400 years would carry us to B. C. 769, twenty-six years before the first war began. Orosius^b places the commencement of the first war at B. C. 772. Lycurgus^c calls the space 500 years: Μεσσήνην πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων συνοικισθεῖσαν. which would ascend to the time of *Lycurgus*. Plutarch^d, on the contrary, computes 230 years: τοὺς Θεβαίους Ἐπαμινάνδας ἡγάγακεν—οἰκῆσαι Μεσσήνην δι’ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίων^e. This number = B. C. 599^f would place the subjection of Messenia twenty years below the conclusion of the second war according to the dates of Eusebius. The number in Plutarch may probably be corrupt: the general statements of Isocrates, Dinarchus, and Lycurgus, afford no assistance in fixing the date of the second war.

The date of Pausanias is confirmed by the account which is given of *Aristomenes*, who is said after his settlement at Rhodes to have meditated a visit to *Ardys* king of Lydia and *Phraortes* king of Media^g. *Ardys* reigned B. C. 678—630; *Phraortes* B. C. 656—635.

^z Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 167. r. supposes Isocrates to reckon "only 300 years." But the word *τριακοσίων* in Isocrates, which contradicted his own statement of "twice two hundred years," has been corrected by Bekker from a MS.

^a In Demosth. p. 99, 29.

^b Oros. I. 21. *Anno vicesimo ante urbem conditam Lacedæmonii contra Messenios propter spretas virginis suas—per annos virginli indefesso furore bellantes.*

^c In Leocratem p. 155, 42.

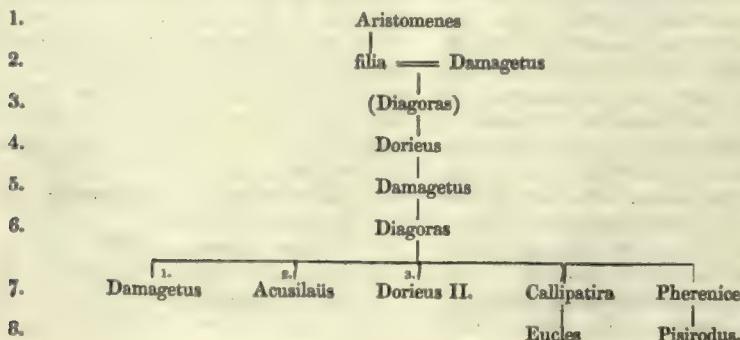
^d Apophthegm. p. 194. B.

^e Älian V. H. XIII. 42. has the same numbers.

^f Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 167. r. understands Plutarch to mean "230 years before the "death of *Leonidas*; i. e. B.C. 711 Ol. 17. 2." But there is no question concerning any fact except the restoration by *Epaminondas* in B.C. 369.

^g Pausan. IV. 24, 1. *Αριστομένης δὲ ὁς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπέκτατο τῶν ἐξ τὴν ἀποκίλαν στελλομένων, τὰς θυγατέρας τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτη καὶ Ἀγνα-*

γόραν τὴν ἀδελφὴν, τὴν μὲν Θάρυκην ἐξ Φιγαλίᾳν, Δαμοθοῖδην δὲ Λεπράτη καὶ Ἡραιῆ Θεοπόμπη τὰς θυγατέρας συνόψκισεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐξ Δελφῶν ἔχοντο τῷ θεῷ —Δαμαγήτῳ δὲ Ροδίῳ βασιλεύειται ἐν Ἱαλυσῷ, τότε δὲ ἥκαντι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλανα καὶ ἐρωτῶντι διόπτεν ἀγαγέσθαι χρὴ γνωῖαι, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πιθία θυγατέρα ἀνδρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦ ἀρίστου λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ (ἥν γὰρ καὶ τρίτη τῷ Ἀριστομένῃ θυγάτηρ) γαμεῖ ταύτην.—Αριστομένης δὲ ἐξ μὲν τὸν Ρόδον ἀφίκετο σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἐκείθεν δὲ ἐς τε Σάρδεις ἐνενέδι παρὰ Ἄρδην τὸν Γύρον καὶ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα τὰ Μῆδικά ἀναβῆναι παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα Φραόρτην· ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρότερον τούτων συνέπεσεν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῇ νοσήσαντι. From this marriage descended the Olympic victors the *Diagoridæ*: Pausan. Ibid. γεγονότας ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τοῦ Δαριέως τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀριστομένου θυγατρός. Idem VI. 7, 1. γένος δὲ ὁ Διαγόρας τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Μεσσήνιος πρὸς γνωστὸν ἦν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριστομένου γεγόνει θυγατρός. The *Diagoridæ* are described in Pausan. VI. 7. V. 6, 5. Schol. Pindar. Ol. VII. Älian. V. H. X. 1. Cic. Tusc. I. 46. The descent may be thus arranged from Pausanias and Schol. Pindar. :



These periods of their reigns are consistent with the termination of the war at B. C. 668, or six years lower, at B. C. 662. But if the second war had not commenced till B. C. 644 or 634, *Aristomenes* could not have settled at Rhodes till after these two kings had ceased to reign.

The duration of the second war is not clearly ascertained. The dates of Pausanias do not agree with his detail, as Corsini^h has observed. His dates, Ol. 23. 4—28. 1 = B. C. 685—668, give 17 years, but his narrative only describes 14 years.

1. The battle at Deræ: ἔτει πρώτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν IV. 15.
2. The battle ἵπε τῷ κάπρῳ σήματι, ἐναυτῷ ὑστερον Ibid.
3. The battle of the trenches τρίτῳ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου IV. 17.
- 4—14. Siege of Ira eleven years: ἀντήρχεσαν μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ συμφορὰν ἐνὶ τε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν Ibid.

In Pausanias only two battles are related before the battle of the trenches. But Justinⁱ speaks of three: *Tyrtæus tribus præliis fusos eo usque desperationis Spartanos adduxit ut ad supplementum exercitus servos suos manumitterent*. And Orosius^k: *Lacedæmonii Tyrtæum poëtam Atheniensem ducem prælio legunt; qui tribus conflictibus fusi amissum exercitum vocata in libertatem servorum manu supplerunt*. The battle of the trenches, which gave the victory to the Lacedæmonians, is attested by Polybius^l and by Tyrtæus him-

Diagoras was victor—πυγμῆς ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελόμενος νίκην Paus. VI. 7, 1—in Ol. 79 B.C. 464, near 200 years after the marriage of his ancestor with the daughter of *Aristomenes*; whence we may suspect with Clavier tom. II. p. 261. 1. that one generation in the pedigree in Paus. IV. 24. is wanting. Palmerius Exerc. p. 389. transcribes the passage thus: γεγονός εἴδε Διαγόρου τῶν Δαμαγῆτων τε καὶ τῆς Ἀριστομένους θυγατρίς, overlooking the intermediate names; and remarks, γεγονός intelligo ἀπογόνους, vel desunt quædam personæ in genealogia. But if Palmerius overlooked two names in transcribing the passage, it is not unlikely that a transcriber of the text should omit one, either a second *Diagoras* or a third *Damagetus*; and the descent in Pausanias might originally be this: γεγονός ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τῶν Δαμαγῆτων τοῦ Δαμάριου τῶν Διαγόρου τῶν Δαμαγῆτων. The youngest son of *Diagoras*, *Dorieus II.*, who was thrice victor in the *pancratium*—Δαριεὺς ὁ νέότατος παγκρατίῃ νικήσας Ὄλυμπίδαις ἔφεντος τριῶν Pausan. VI. 7, 1. inaccurately called πόκτης by the Scholiast—and who is mentioned by Aristotle Rhet. I. 2. p. 1357. a., gained his first victory in Ol. 87 B.C. 432, 32 years after the victory of his father, and was put to death by the Lacedæmonians in B. C. 406: F. H. II. p. 64. *Damagetus* the elder brother—Δαμάριος ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν παιδῶν Schol. Pindar.—had been victor before Ol. 87: πρότερον ἔτι τοῦ Δαριεὺς ἐκράτησε καὶ Δαμάριος τοῖς ἑσδεύτατας ἐς τὸ παγκράτιον Pausan. VI. 7, 1. on the same day as *Acusilaüs* (*Ἀκούσιλαος*: μὲν λαβὼν πυγμῆς ἐν ἀνδράσι στέφανον Pausan. I. c.):

conf. Cic. Tusc. I. 46. The Scholiast adds that their victory was on the same day as the victory of *Diagoras* himself: κατὰ τὴν Ὁλυμπίαν νικήσαντας τοὺς παῖδας κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν τῷ πατρὶ. which is improbable, and refuted by the silence of Pausanias, Cicero, and Pindar. The last victory was that of *Pisirodus*, whose mother was present at the Olympic games. He is the son of *Callipatira* in the Scholiast and in Pausan. V. 6. but the son of *Pherenicē* in Pausan. VI. 7. and in *Ælian*. Pausanias V. 6. admits that there were two accounts: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖτην Φερενίκην καὶ οὐ Καλλιτάτειραν καλοῦσιν.

^h F. A. tom. III. p. 37.

ⁱ III. 5.

^k I. 21.

^l Polyb. IV. 33. οἱ Μεσσῆνοι πρὸς ἄλλους πολλοῖς καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λικαίου βωμὸν ἀνέθεσαν στήλην ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἀριστομένην καιροῖς, καθάπερ καὶ Καλλισθένης φησι, γράψαντες τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο:

πάντως ὁ χρόνος εὑρε δίκην ἀδίκῳ βασιλῆῃ,
εὑρε δὲ Μεσσῆην σὺν Διὶ τὸν προδότην
ρηγίδιων, χαλεπὸν δὲ λαθεῖν θεὸν ἄνδρ' ἐπίσκρον.
χαίρε, Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σάσιν Ἀρκαδίην.

ἔπει γάρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστερίθησαν, εἰσεὶ περὶ δευτέρας πατρίδος, ἃς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχόμενοι σάζειν τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τοῦτ' ἀνέθεσαν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότες ἐποίουν· οὐ γάρ μόνον αὐτοὺς Ἀριστόδες ἐποδεξάμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἔκπτωσιν τὴν ἐν τῆς Ιδίᾳ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀριστομένειον πόλεμον ὀμοσπονδίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ πολίτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐνηγρίσαντο τοῖς ἐν ἥλικι διδόναι τὸν Μεσσηνίων. πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἀναζητήσαντες τὴν Ἀριστοκράτους τοῦ βασιλέως προδοσίαν ἐν τῷ μάχῃ τῇ καλουμένῃ περὶ

self^m. According to Pausaniasⁿ the death of *Aristocrates* occurred eleven years after the battle of the trenches. But Plutarch^o assigns a much longer interval: τι γάρ Μεσσηνίοις ὄφελος τοῖς πραγματεῦσι τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους τιμωρίας; ὃς προδότης τὴν ἐπὶ τάφρῳ μάχην καὶ λαθὰν ὑπὲρ εἰκοσιν ἔτη καὶ πάντα ταῦτα βασιλεύσας Ἀρκάδων ὕστερον ἔδωκε δίκην φωρᾶσεις. οἱ δὲ οὐκέτ' ἡσαν. which would make the duration of the siege of Ira twenty years. Suidas also names twenty years: Τυρταῖος. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀμοσαν ἡ Μεσσήνην αἰρήσειν ἡ αὐτοὶ τεθνήξεσθαι. χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ στρατηγὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναῖν λαβεῖν, λαμβάνουσι Τυρταῖον τὸν ποιητὴν, χωλὸν ἄνδρα· ὃς ἐπ' ἀρετὴν αὐτοὺς παρακαλῶν εἶλε τῷ κ' ἔτει τὴν Μεσσήνην. But as eleven years current for the siege^p are much more probable, the period in Suidas, and perhaps in Plutarch, might arise from a confusion of the first war (which really lasted till the twentieth year) with the second. If the war lasted seventeen years according to Pausanias, his own account will place the battle of the trenches in the sixth year instead of the third; and a longer space than he has assigned must be given to the success of the Messenians before the arrival of *Tyrtæus*, which appears justified by the accounts of Orosius and Justin. Arranging the events by the dates of Pausanias, we may refer the battle of the trenches to the campaign of B. C. 679, the commencement of the siege to the beginning of 678, the capture of Ira in the eleventh year to the autumn of B. C. 668. That battle had been preceded by five campaigns, and was in the sixth year of the war, if the war commenced, as Pausanias affirms, in the autumn of B. C. 685.

Theopompus^q places the capture of Messene in the time of the philosopher *Pherecydes*: Φερεκύδης—τοῦτον φησι Θεόπομπος ἀνίσταται εἰς Ὁλυμπίαν ἐς Μεσσήνην τῷ ξένῳ Περιλάῳ συμβουλεῦσαι μετοικῆσαι μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων, καὶ τὸν μὴ πεισθῆναι, Μεσσήνην δὲ ἐσλαχέναι. As *Pherecydes* flourished within B. C. 600—544, this would be irreconcileable with every account of the Messenian

τάφρον, αὐτὸν τ' ἀνεῖλον καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἥφαστον. Callisthenes apud Polib.^r affirms that the race of *Aristocrates* was extinguished; and Pausanias VIII. 5, 8. to the same effect: αὕτη ἡ ἀδεκία καὶ τῷ γένει τῷ ἀπὸ Κυθέλου παντὶ παρέσχεν αἵτινα πανθῆγαν τῆς ἀρχῆς. And yet *Aristocrates* left a son who possessed authority in Arcadia, and a daughter who was married to *Procles* of Epidaurus. See the Tables B. C. 624. That there were kings in Arcadia after *Aristocrates* appears from Polyenus I. 8. "Ἄλνος βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων, Τεγέας πορθεόντων Λακεδαιμονίων, δοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀκμῇ, κατὰ κορυφῆς ἔπειμε τῶν πολεμίων κ. τ. λ.—οἱ δὲ κατὰ κορυφῆς ἐμπεσόντες τοὺς πλειστους αὐτῶν διέφευραν, πολλοὺς δὲ ζωγρήσαντες ἔδησαν. καὶ τὸ λόγιον ἐτελεύτησε [conf. Herodot. I. 66]. δῶσα τοις Τεγέην ποσσικροτὸν ὄρχηστον." In the war of Tegea with *Charilaüs*, *Polymestor* was king, as we know from Pausanias. See above p. 92. v. Although therefore Polyenus quotes the oracle which was referred by others to that war, yet we must reconcile his account with Pausanias by supposing *Alnus* to be king of Tegea in that later war which was carried on in the time of *Leon* and *Agesicles*: F. H. II. p. 417. e. which would place *Alnus* about a century after the death of *Aristocrates II*. A king of Orchomenus is mentioned 130 years later than *Alnus* by the Pseudo-Plutarch

Parallel. Min. p. 313. B. ἐν τῷ Πελοπονησιακῷ πολέμῳ Πεισιστράτος Ὄρχομενος. But according to Wytttenbach that writer is of no authority. Neither *Alnus* nor this Orchomenian king are said to be of the race of *Cypselus*.

^m Eustrat. ad Aristot. Eth. Nicom. III. 8, 5. tom. II. p. 102. Zell. καὶ εἰ πρὸ τῶν τάφρων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παρατάτοτες: τοῦτο περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων λέγοται ἄν. τοιάντη γάρ τινα μάχην ὅτε πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἐμπαχέσατο, ἐπόλεμουν, οἵς καὶ Τυρταῖος μημονεύει.

ⁿ Pausan. IV. 22. It happened immediately after the capture of Ira: παραντίκα τέ τὴν κατάληψιν ἐπινθάνοντο τῆς Εἴρας κ. τ. λ.

^o De S. N. V. p. 548. F.

^p Pausan. IV. 17, 6. ἐνί τε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀμυνόμενοι. τὸν δὲ χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας γενέσθαι τοσοῦτον δηλοῖ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ Ριανοῦ πεποιημένα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.

οὔρεος ἀργενοῦ περὶ πτύχας ἐστρατόντο
χειματά τε ποιας τε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι πάσας.

Although he quotes no other authority for the duration of the siege than Rhianus, yet the expression καὶ τάδε implies that he had other authorities. The eleven years are afterwards called eleven years current: IV. 20, 1. ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πολιορκίας τὴν τε Εἴραν ἐπέπρωτο ἀλλαναι καὶ ἀναστάτως γενέσθαι Μεσσηνίους.

^q Laert. I. 116.

wars. But we learn from Porphyry that Theopompos has inaccurately ascribed to *Pherecydes* and *Messene* what in reality belonged to *Pythagoras* and *Sybaris*^r.

The Messenians were not finally subdued in the war of *Aristomenes*, which ended according to Pausanias in B.C. 668. They made a third effort^s about the time of the battle of Marathon. Plato^t: Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπό τε τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσήνην ὃντος τότε πολέμου καὶ εἰ δή τι διεκώλυεν ἄλλο αὐτούς, οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν λεγομένον, ὑστεροὶ δ' οὖν ἀφίκοντο τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶν μάχης γενομένης μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. Pausanias^u: Ριανὸς δὲ ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι Λεωτυχίδην βασιλέα ἐπὶ τοῦδε εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου [the war of *Aristomenes*]. Ριανῷ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὐδαμῶς κατά γε τοῦτο συνθήσομαι.—Λεωτυχίδης δὲ μετὰ Δημάρατον βασιλεύσας φαίνεται τὸν Ἀρίστωνος.—^wΑναξίλας παρὰ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστειλεν [B.C. 667] ἐς Ἰταλίαν καλῶν· ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίλας ἐτυράννει μὲν Ρήγιον τέταρτος δὲ ἀπόγονος ἦν Ἀλκιδαμίδου· μετώκησε δὲ Ἀλκιδαμίδας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Ρήγιον μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν καὶ Ἰθώμης τὴν ἄλωσιν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀναξίλας τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μετεπέμπετο, ἐλθοῦσι τε ἔλεγεν ὡς Ζαγκλαῖοι διάφοροι μέν εἰσιν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.—προσεμένων δὲ τὸν λόγον, οὕτως Ἀναξίλας διεβίβασεν ἐς Σικελίαν αὐτούς.—ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει μετέθεσαν Μεσσήνην ἀντὶ Ζάγκλης καλεῖσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπράχθη τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, κ.τ.λ. Pausanias has partly discerned the error of Rhianus, and yet has fallen into a similar mistake himself. Each has confounded the third Messenian war with the second. Rhianus has brought down *Aristomenes* to the reign of *Leotychides*; Pausanias has carried back *Anaxilaüs* to the time of *Aristomenes*. But the true time of the third war, as marked by Plato, in reality coincided with the reigns of *Leotychides* and of *Anaxilaüs*. The battle of Marathon occurred in the second year of *Leotychides* at Sparta and the fifth of *Anaxilaüs* at Rhegium^x. The fourth war^y, which would be called the third by those who omit the war of B.C. 490, has been described in the Tables at B.C. 464. 455^z.

III.

KINGS OF MEDIA.

THE chronology of the Median kings as stated by Herodotus has given rise to much speculation. Wesseling^a gives the conjectures proposed by various critics, together with his own, principally to adapt the total period, which is computed at 156 years, to the amount of the four Median reigns, which are only 150 years. According to Conringius the supernumerary six years are to be understood as an *interregnūm* preceding the election of *Deioces*.

^r Porphy. apud Euseb. Præp. X. p. 464. D.—465. Β. ταῦτα τοῦ "Αὐδρανὸς περὶ Πιθαγόρου ιστορηκότος πάντα ἐφείδετο Θεόπομπος.—τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πράγμασι κέχρηται τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἔτερον δὲ ὄντα μετενήνοχε" Φερεκόδηρος γὰρ τὸν Σέριον τετζίκηκε ταῦτα προλέγοντα. οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτη τῷ διώματι ἀποκρίπτει τὴν κλοπὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπουν μεταθέσει.—τὴν γὰρ—Συβάρεως ἄλωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσήνης μετατρέψεικεν ἵνα δέ τι δοκεῖ λέγειν περιττόν, καὶ τοῦ ἔνοιου προτέθεικε τοῦνομα, Περίλαον αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι λέγειν.

^s Called by Strabo τρίτον πόλεμον. See the Tables B.C. 672.

^t Plato Leg. III. p. 698.

^v IV. 15, 1.

^w Idem IV. 23, 5.

^x For the time of *Anaxilaüs* see F. H. II. p. 32. Barthelemy Anacharsis tom. IV. p. 473. has seen the coincidence of the date in Plato with the time of *Anaxilaüs*.

^y Called τέταρτον πόλεμον in Strabo VIII. p. 362.

^z F. H. II. p. 40. 46.

^a Ad Herodot. I. 130.

Harduin alters the 28 years of the Scythian dominion to 22. Vignoles enlarges the reign of *Deioces* from 53 years to 59. Bouherius corrects the years of *Phraortes* from 22 to 28. Kalinsky reckons the whole period 128 years instead of 156, and deducts 22 years from the 53 of *Deioces*. Valckenaer reasons in this manner: "The Medes governed Asia 128 years, "excepting those (*παρὲς ἡ ὅσον*) of the Scythian dominion: therefore they governed it 100 "years." And these 100 years he obtains by computing them from the second year of *Phraortes*, and by making *Cyaxares* reign 68 years and *Astyages* 39. Wesseling himself justly disapproves of the conjecture of Valckenaer, and appears from the same interpretation of *παρὲς ἡ ὅσον* to arrive at a contrary conclusion. Jackson^b supposes *τριήκοντα* in Herodotus to be an interpolation, and reads *ἕτερα [τριήκοντα καὶ] ἑκατὸν δυοῖν δέοντα* or 98 years, expressing the period of the three last reigns excluding *Deioces*. Lastly, Hales^c, to give space for *Cyaxares II.*, whom he introduces on the authority of Xenophon and Daniel, reduces the reign of *Deioces* to 40 years, for which he attempts to find authority in Ctesias; and supposes before the election of *Deioces* an *interregnum*, which he determines to be of seven years, because^d that space "was sufficient to afford a fair trial of his judicial talents."

The result of so many conjectures is, that not one of the numbers in Herodotus has escaped unaltered, as will appear in the following summary:

	<i>y.</i>
Scythian Empire	28 Herodot. I. 106. IV. 1. 22 Harduin.
<i>Deioces</i>	53 I. 102. 59 Vign. 31 Kalinsk. 40 Hales.
<i>Phraortes</i>	22 Ib. 28 Bouher.
<i>Cyaxares</i>	40 I. 106. ....(68 ^e Valcken.)
<i>Astyages</i>	35 I. 130. 39 Valcken.
Median Empire	128 Ibid. 98 Jackson.

But the numbers of Herodotus are unaltered and genuine, as appears from Diodorus^f: *κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἐπτακαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἥρεθη βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Μήδων Κυαξάρης, καθ' Ἡρόδοτον.* The whole series of reigns in Herodotus is this:

	<i>y.</i>
<i>Deioces</i>	53
<i>Phraortes</i>	22
<i>Cyaxares</i>	40
<i>Astyages</i>	35
	150
<i>Cyrus</i>	29 ^{m.}
<i>Cambyses</i>	7. 5
<i>Smerdis</i>	0. 7
<i>Darius</i>	36
	73
	223

^b Chronological Antiquities vol. I. p. 422.

^c Ancient Chronology vol. III. p. 85.

^d Ibid. p. 88.

^e These, however, he obtains, not by altering the text, but by interpreting *τεσσεράκοντα ἕτερα σὺν τοῖσι*: *Σκίθαις ἥρξαν* to mean $40 + 28 = 68$.

^f II. 32.

^g An error for Δηϊόκης. Diodorus had observed l. c. "Ἡρόδοτος μὲν ἐν—φησὶν Ἀσσυρίους ἔτη πεντακόσια πρότερον τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρκανταις ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι· ἔπειτα βασιλέα μὲν μιδένα γενέσθαι τὸν ἀμφισβητήσαντα τῶν ὅλων ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενέας, τὰς δὲ πόλεις καθ'

The last year of *Darius* ended according to Herodotus in Ol. 73. 3 B. C. $48\frac{6}{7}$ ^h. The first year of *Cyrus* will accordingly be in his computation Ol. 55. 2 B. C. $55\frac{2}{7}$, and the beginning of the period $48\frac{6}{7} + 223 =$ B. C. $70\frac{2}{7}$ will be Ol. 17. 4 according to Herodotus, who gives only 29 years to *Cyrus*, but according to the general concurrence of testimonies, which assign to *Cyrus* 30 years and place his accession in Ol. 55. 1, the commencement of the period, as stated in the Tables, will be at Ol. 17. 3, one year higher than this computation.

Diodorus obtained his date for the beginning of the Median empire according to Herodotus by collecting the amount of the numbers which he supplied in detailⁱ; and as Diodorus himself fixed the accession of *Cyrus* at Ol. 55. 1^j, he computed the four Median reigns at 151 years, and obtained Ol. 17. 2 for their beginning, an excess of only one year above the numbers in Herodotus.

But not only is the date supplied by the present text consistent with the account of Diodorus, it is also consistent with the true period of the Median independence. For we may collect from Scripture that the Medes did not become independent till after the death of *Sennacherib*; and accordingly Josephus^k, having related the death of this king and the miraculous recovery of *Hezekiah* from sickness, adds, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μῆδων καταλυθῆναι. But the death of *Sennacherib*, as will be shewn hereafter^l, is determined to the beginning of B. C. 711. The Median revolt, then, did not occur before B. C. 711; which refutes Conringius, who raises it to B. C. 715; and Valkenaer, who raises it to B. C. 741: and is conclusive against all innovations of the text of Herodotus which would suppose an interregnum of an additional 6 years exclusive of and prior to the 53 years ascribed to *Deioces*. The date, then, B. C. $70\frac{2}{7}$ or Ol. 17. 3, is the true date, and the numbers as they now stand are genuine.

Herodotus^m indeed implies an interval of some space between the revolt of the Medes and the election of *Deioces* to be king. But these *anni ἀβασίλευτοι* could not have been prior to the 53 years of *Deioces*, since the revolt is limited by Scripture to B. C. 711. Dr. Halesⁿ, adopting this idea of an interregnum, the duration of which was six years, imagines this interregnum to have commenced at the revolt, and dates the 53 years of *Deioces* six years lower, and so all the succeeding reigns. But the series of reigns from *Deioces* to *Xerxes*, 223 years, is fixed and determined at both extremes. The first term of the series could not have been earlier than B. C. 711; the last could not have been later than B. C. 485. But

ἐαυτὰς ταττομένας διοκεῖσθαι δημοκρατικῶς· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖν, πολλῶν ἔτον διελθόντων, αἰρεθῆναι βασιλέα παρὰ τοὺς Μῆδους ἄνδρα δικαιοσύνης διάδοτον, ὃνος Κυαξάρην, κ. τ. λ. The term *τεττακόσια* is in round numbers for εἴκοσι καὶ τεττακόσια Herodot. I. 95. Κυαξάρης is evidently an error of Diodorus. The cause of his misrepresentation of Herodotus in the period of Median independence is not obscure. Diodorus had derived his notion from Ctesias that the Median revolt preceded the reign of *Astyages* 282 years (as will be shewn hereafter), and, finding only 115 years in Herodotus, he endeavoured to reconcile the two by imagining many generations (or 167 years) before a king was appointed. Eusebius Chron. II. anno 1197 in the same manner accounts for the interval between *Arbaces* and *Deioces*.

^h See F. H. II. p. 247. Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 387.

ⁱ As Wesselink has remarked ad Diod. II. 32. tom. II. p. 436.

^j See F. H. II. p. 2. ^k Joseph. Ant. X. 2.

^l Appendix c. 4. ^m I. 96.

ⁿ Vol. III. p. 85. "Herodotus has not expressly given the length of the interregnum, but he has furnished the *data*. He reckons the Scythian dominion in Media 28 years and the whole length of the Median dynasty 128 years more, or 156 in all. But the reigns of the four kings amount to 150 years; which being subtracted from 156 years leave 6 years for the interregnum." Conringius had before adopted the same opinion. See Wess. ad Herodot. I. 130.

the interpretation of Hales would bring down the accession of *Cyrus* to B. C. 554°, and of *Xerxes* to B. C. 480, contrary to the tenour of history. The interregnum, then, was included in the 53 years of *Deioces*, and was counted to his reign; nor can we supply an additional six years by supposing an interregnum exclusive of the four reigns.

A plain and natural interpretation, agreeing in the outline with Kalinsky, but without alteration of the historian's numbers, will probably solve the difficulty. The term of 156 years, which has caused so much embarrassment, is not expressed in Herodotus. He affirms that the Median dominion lasted 128 years. These 128 years terminated at the defeat of *Astyages* B. C. 559. They commenced, then, $559 + 128 = \text{B. C. } 687$ in the 23rd year of the independence of the Medes. He therefore considered the period to begin after the regal government was settled; perhaps after the *anni ἀβασίλευτοι* had expired; and to include the last 31 years of the government of *Deioces*. The term $\pi\tau\pi\zeta$ we may interpret with Valckenaer. The Median empire lasted 128 years B. C. 687—560, excluding from the account a period of 28 years B. C. 634—607 within that interval, during which years the Scythians occupied Asia. The 53 years, then, of *Deioces* are divided into two portions, 22 years of his government before he was appointed king and 31 years of his reign after the kingdom was established.

This period of 22 years is confirmed by a comparison of Ctesias with Herodotus. Dr. Hales^p, giving a comparative view of the Median chronology of Ctesias and Herodotus, out of which he forms his own, speaks of the interregnum as stated by Ctesias at 22 years. He observes that Ctesias interpolates four Median kings, *Arbaces*, *Mandauces*, *Sosarmus*, and *Articas*, as reigning 108 years B. C. 821—713; that in the ensuing Median dynasty, however, he nearly agrees with Herodotus, and has given correctly the length of the dynasty, 159 years. Hales then subjoins the respective lists; that of Ctesias is thus stated:

	y.	B.C.
1. <i>Arbianes</i> and interregnum	22	710
2. <i>Artæus</i>	40	688
3. <i>Artynes</i>	22	648
4. <i>Astybaras</i>	40	626
5. <i>Astyigas</i>	(35)	586

He remarks that the sameness of the persons may be fairly collected from the sameness of their reigns. Hence *Phraortes*, and *Artynes*, &c. and the last, *Astyages* and *Astiagis*, are evidently the same. He proceeds to supply the 35 years which are wanting in Ctesias, and observes that the only variation in the times between Herodotus and Ctesias lies in the interregnum and the first reign; and he reduces the excessive reign of *Deioces* from 53 in Herodotus to 40 in Ctesias.

This representation is far from accurate. *Astyages* is identified with *Astiagis* by Diodorus himself^q; and, although there is no similarity in the account of Ctesias between the two preceding reigns and the two predecessors of *Astyages* except in the number of years ascribed to them by each historian, yet from hence we may identify *Astybaras* with *Cyaxures* and *Artynes* with *Phraortes*. For the rest, the account of Ctesias is as follows^r: φησὶν οὖν μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίας Μήδους προστῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας, Ἀρβάκου βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Σαρδανά-

° See his representation of the chronology of Herodotus in vol. III. p. 85.

p Ancient Chronology vol. III. p. 84—86.

q II. 34. r Apud Diod. II. 32—34.

παλον καταπολεμήσαντος.—τούτου δ' ἄρξαντος ἔτη δυσὶ λείποντα τῶν τριάκοντα, διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τὸν οὐδὲ Μανδαύκην, ὃν ἀρξαὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔτη πεντήκοντα· μετὰ δὴ τοῦτον τριάκοντα μὲν ἔτη βασιλεῦσαι Σώσαρμον πεντήκοντα δὲ Ἀρτύκαν, δύο δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἶκοσι τὸν προσαγορευόμενον Ἀρβιάνην, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ Ἀρταῖον. Ctesias then relates some unsuccessful wars of *Artæus* with the Cadusians, and subjoins, τῶν δὲ Μήδων βασιλεῦσαι μετὰ τὴν Ἀρταίου τελευτὴν Ἀρτύνην μὲν ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι Ἀστιβάραν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα κ.τ.λ. The Median dynasty, then, of Ctesias is this:

	y.
1. <i>Arbaces</i>	28
2. <i>Mandaucas</i>	50
3. <i>Sosarmus</i>	30
4. <i>Artycas</i>	50
	158
5. <i>Arbianes</i>	22
6. <i>Arteus</i>	40
7. <i>Artynes</i>	22
8. <i>Astybaras</i>	40
	124
9. <i>Aspadas</i>	—

This account gives 282 years down to the accession of *Astyages*; and B.C. 594 + 282 = B.C. 876. The sum therefore of the first four reigns in Ctesias is 158 years instead of 108, and they raise the date of the Median revolt to B.C. 876 instead of B.C. 821. If we supply 35 years for *Astyages*, the whole Median period according to Ctesias will be 317 years; called in round numbers 300 years by Agathias^s: ἔτη δὲ καὶ (Μήδων) ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ διανυσάντων οὐ μεῖον ἡ τριακόσια, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσου τὸν Ἀστυάγην καταπολεμήσας ἐπὶ Πέρσας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μετήγαγε. The numbers which Hales ascribes to the first four reigns were in reality derived from Syncellus by Jackson^t, who is quoted by Hales. And Syncellus in the Median reigns follows Eusebius; the two lists being these:

EUSEBIUS ^v . SYNCCELLUS ^w .		
1. <i>Varbaces</i>	28	28
2. <i>Mandauces</i>	20	20
3. <i>Sosarmus</i>	30	30
4. <i>Artycas</i>	30	30
	108	108
5. <i>Deioces</i>	54	54
6. <i>Phraortes</i>	24	
7. <i>Cyaxares</i>	32	
8. <i>Asdahages</i>	38	
	148	

The first four kings, who reigned 108 years in Eusebius, but 158 in Ctesias, if they existed at all, governed Media during the empire of the Assyrians, as we know from Scripture. In the four last reigns Eusebius agrees with Herodotus in the names and nearly in the total

^s II. 25.

^t Chronological Antiquities vol. I. p. 253.

^v Euseb. Chron. I. p. 46. *Medorum reges.*

1. *Varbaces annis* 28, &c.—*Cyrus dejecto Asda-hage Medorum imperium extinxit, quod quidem annis* [298] *viguerat. Nonnulli tamen alios re-*

ges Medorum in codicibus scribunt. The numbers 298 are corrupt. His list in lib. II. p. 257. differs from this both in the names and the total amount. His account of the Median kings in his Tables varies from both the others in the following manner:

amount of years, though he varies in the years of each particular reign. Ctesias inserts a ninth reign, to which he assigns 22 years; and gives the numbers of Herodotus $22+40=62$ years to the two predecessors of *Astyages*. That interpolated reign in Ctesias, which is made to precede *Deioces*^x, precisely agrees with the term of 22 years obtained for the interregnum in Herodotus.

The acquisition of Media by *Cyrus* is represented as a forcible seizure not only by Herodotus^y, but by Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Anaximenes, Dinon, Ctesias^z, Amyntas^a; and

P. 257. *Medorum reges orsi ab anno 1196 de-siverunt Ol. 58 [55].*

1. <i>Varbaces</i>	28
2. <i>Sosarmus</i>	30
3. <i>Mamycus</i>	40
4. <i>Cardaces</i>	13
	—111
5. <i>Deioces</i>	54
6. <i>Phraortes</i>	24
7. <i>Cyaxares</i>	32
8. <i>Asdahages</i>	38
	—148

Lib. II. p. 315—332.

Anno
1197 [B. C. 819] *Arbaces Medus Assyriorum imperio destructo regnum in Medos transtulit; et interim sine principibus res agebatur usque ad Deiocem regem Medorum.*

1309 *Deioces* 54
1363 *Phraortes* 24
1387 *Cyaxares* 32
1419 *Asdahages* 38

—148

1457 Ol. 55. 2. [B.C. 559] *Cyrus dejecto Asda-hage Medorum impe-rium leavit.*

y I. 126—130.

z Plato Leg. III. p. 694. Πέρσαι δὲ μὲν τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον δυνείας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἦγον ἐπὶ Κύρου, πρότον μὲν ἐλεύθεροι ἔγενοντο ἐπειτα δὲ ἄλλων δεσπότας. Idem Menex. p. 239. Κύρος ἐλευθερώσας Πέρσας τοὺς αὐτοῦ πόλιτας τῷ αὐτῷ φρανήματι ἄμα καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας Μῆδους ἐδυνάσθατο καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας μέχρι Αἰγαίου ἥρξε. Aristot. Rep. V. 8=10. ἀπαντες εὐεργετήσαντες ἡ δυνάμειν τὰς πόλεις ἡ τὰ ἔθνη εὐεργετεῖν ἐτίγχανον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης (τῆς βασιλείας), οἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον καλύπταντες δυνείειν, ὁσπερ Κόδρας, οἱ δὲ ἐλευθερώσαντες, ὁσπερ Κύρος.—τῶν φίλων τινὲς ἐπιτίθενται διὰ καταφρόντιον—οἶον Κύρος Ἀστυάγη καὶ τοῦ βίου καταφρόντιον καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐπεργράκεντα αὐτὸν δὲ τριψάν. Isocrates Evag. p. 195. ε. Κύρον τὸν Μῆδους μὲν ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσας δὲ κτησάμενον καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάζεντο. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῷ Περσῶν στρατοπέδῳ τὸ Μῆδων ἐνικησεν κ. τ. λ. Steph. Byz. Πασταργάδαι.—Ἀναξιμένη ἐν μεταλλαγαῖς βασιλέων εἰτο γράφονται “Τὰς δὲ Πασταργάδας “ἐκτινεῖ οἱ Κύρος ἐφ' ὃ τόπον παραταξάμενος Ἀστυάγην “ἐνικησεν.” Athen. XIV. p. 633. d. φησὶ Δείνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς, τὴν γοῦν Κύρου τοῦ πρότον ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀστυάγην προειδόντο οἱ ἄδοι. “Οτε γάρ (φησίν) ἤγνοστο τὴν εἰς Πέρσας ἀπο-“δημιαν οἱ Κύρος,” κ. τ. λ. Ctesias apud Diod. II. 34. τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀσταδάν διαδέξασθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἐλλήνον Ἀστυάγην καλούμενον· τούτου δὲ ὑπὸ Κύρου καταπολεμηθέντος μεταπεσεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Πέρσας.

^a Athen. XII. p. 529. f. Ἀμύντας ἐν τρίτῳ σταθμῷ ἐν τῇ Νίνφῃ φησὶν εἶναι χῶμα ὑψηλόν, ὅπερ κατασκάπτει Κύρον ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἀναχωνύντα τῇ πόλις κ. τ. λ.

Varbaces
Mandaues
Sosarmus
Artucas
Cardiceas
Deioces
Artynes
Cyaxares
Astyages.

the same is intimated by Xenophon himself^b. Strabo (following Anaximenes), Cephalion, Justin^c, agree with Herodotus that *Astyages* was conquered in war. Plutarch and Polyænus^d have preserved an account to the same purpose. According to Dinon *Cyrus* began to reign at the age of 40, reigned 30 years, and died at the age of 70^e. Herodotus followed other accounts, and reckoned *Cyrus* younger at his accession and his death; for he places the birth of *Cyrus* within the reign of *Astyages*^f; and he relates that *Harpagus* after the fall of Sardis commanded in Ionia^g. But if *Harpagus* had a son older than *Cyrus*^h, it is not likely that *Cyrus* should have been nearly sixty years of age when *Harpagus* was in the command of an armyⁱ.

IV.

ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

THE Assyrian chronology of Ctesias according to Diodorus^a is as follows. *Ninus* the first king was succeeded by *Semiramis*, and she by *Ninyas*; who was followed by thirty kings, of whom *Sardanapalus* was the last. These 33 reigns occupied 1306 years, which ended, as we have seen^b, at B. C. 876; giving $876 + 1306 = B. C. 2182$ for the commencement of this empire; or 1000 years before the Trojan war, which produces the same date^c: μετὰ τὸν ταύτης θάνατον Νινύας ὁ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμιδος νιὸς παγαλαβῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡρχεν εἰρηνικῶς κ. τ. λ.—στρατηγοὺς δὲ καὶ σαργάπας καὶ διοικητὰς—καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἀποδεῖξας—τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον κατέμεινεν ἐν τῇ Νίνῳ. παραπλησίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐπὶ γενεᾶς τριάκοντα ἐβασίλευσαν μέχρι Σαρδαναπάλου. ἐπὶ τούτου γάρ ἡ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονία μετέπεσεν εἰς Μῆδους, ἐτη διαιμείνασα πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων, ἔτι δὲ ἔξ^d καθάπερ φησι Κτησίας ὁ Κυνίδος ἐν τῇ δευ-

^b Xenoph. Anab. III. 4, 7. Δάριστα. φονοῦ δὲ αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι.—ταίτην βασιλεὺς δὲ Περσῶν, τὸ παρὰ Μῆδων διαμέναντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσαι, τολιορκῶν οὐδὲν τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἑλεῖν· ηλιος δὲ νεφέλῃ προκαλύψασα ἥφασις μέχρις εἰς ἄνθρωποις ἐξέλιπον, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. Ibid. §. 10, 11. Μέστιλα. Μῆδοι δὲ αὐτὴν ποτε φονοῦ. —ἔταιθα ἐλέγετο Μῆδοι γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφρυγῆς ὅπερ ἀπόλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν τολιορκῶν δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς εἰκὸνατο οὕτω χρόνῳ ἑλεῖν οὔτε βίζι· Ζεὺς δὲ ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦτας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

^c Strabo XVI. p. 730. τοὺς δὲ Πασαργάδας ἐπιμησε Κύρος ὅτι τὴν ὑστάτην μάχην ἐνίσχυσεν Ἀστυάργην ἔταιθα τὸ Μῆδον, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσσας μετήνεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ βασιλεὺς κατεσκείσεται τῆς νίκης μημεῖν. Compare Anaximenes quoted in note z. Cephalion apud Euseb. p. 47. is quoted above in note v. Justin I. 5. 6. follows Herodotus.

^d Plutarch. Virt. Mul. p. 246. A. Πέρσαι Ἀστυάργην βασιλέως καὶ Μῆδων ἀποστήσας Κύρος ἡττήθη μάχῃ κ. τ. λ. Polyæn. VII. 45. Πέρσαι Μῆδοι παρετάσσοντο. Περσῶν Κύρος ἤγειτο. Κύρου σατράπης Οιθάρης ἦρε φυῆς κ. τ. λ.

^e Cicero Div. I. 23. See F. H. II. p. 12.

^f I. 108. ^g I. 162.

^h Conf. Herodot. I. 114—119.

ⁱ Xenophon. Cyrop. I. 2. also relates that *Cyrus* was born after *Astyages* began to reign. But in the narrative of Xenophon, where historical facts are mingled with romance, the true chronology of the reign of *Astyages* is not observed. *Cyaxares II.* is placed between the death of *Astyages* and the reign of *Cyrus*, and *Cambyses* the father of *Cyrus* still reigns in Persia in Xenophon's account VIII. 5. after the capture of Babylon.

^a Diod. II. 1—31. The Assyrian and Median affairs occupied the first six books of the history of Ctesias: Phot. Cod. 72. p. 108. ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ γ' τῷ τε Ἀσσύρια διαλαμβάνει καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τῶν Περσῶν. At the end of his 23rd book he closed his history with a list of reigns: Phot. Ibid. p. 133. κατάλογος βασιλέων ἀπὸ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως μέχρι Ἀρτοξέρκου. ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ τέλος.

^b See p. 261.

^c Diod. II. 21. 22.
^d In Diodorus ἔτι δὲ ἔξικοντα. In Syncellus p. 359. C. ἐτη γετές. οὕτω γὰρ λέγοντι Κτησίᾳ καὶ Διοδώ-

τέρα βίβλω. τὰ δ' ὄνόματα πάντων τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐτῶν ὃν ἔκαστος ἐβασίλευσεν οὐ κατεπείγει γράφειν, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπράχθαι μνήμης ἀξιον. μόνη γάρ τετύχηκεν ἀναγραφῆς ἡ πεμφθεῖσα συμμαχία τοῖς Τρωσὶν ὑπ' Ἀσσυρίων, ἡς ἐστρατήγης Μέρμαν ὁ Τίθωνος. Τευτάμου γάρ βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας, ὃς ἦν εικοστὸς ἀπὸ Νινού τοῦ Σεμιράμιδος, φασὶ τοὺς μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἐλληνας ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατεύειν, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντας τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἥτη πλεία τῶν χιλίων. Diodorus afterwards repeats the period of this empire^f: δ' οὖν Ἀρβάκης τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος κατεσκαψεν^g. —ἡ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονία τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ἀπὸ Νινού διαμεινάσα μὲν τριάκοντα γενεᾶς ἥτη δὲ πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων, ὑπὸ Μήδων κατελύθη. This account of the duration of the empire and of the date of its commencement is followed with little variation by many writers; Strabo, Nicolaüs Damascenus, Æmilius Sura, Velleius, and Justin, adopt the account of Ctesias^h.

ρος ὁ Σικελιώτης συμφέγγεται. annis plus mille et trecentis Euseb. Chron. I. 14. p. 38. Agathias II. 25. p. 120. gives 1306 years: ἐξ τε καὶ τριακοσίων ἡδη πρὸς τοὺς χιλίους, ἢ καὶ διλόγῳ πλείον, ἐτῶν παραρχόντων ἐξ οὗ τὰ πρότα ὁ Νίνος τῶν ἑκατὸν κατέσχεν πραγμάτων· εἴτε γάρ Κτησίφ τῷ Κυδίῳ τοὺς χρόνους ἀναγραμένῳ καὶ Διδόρεος ξύρφον ὁ Σικελιώτης. Wesseling from Agathias, Syncellus, and Diod. II. 28. reads ἔτι δὲ ἐξ in Diodorus. The number in Agathias and Syncellus is confirmed by Augustine Civ. D. XVIII. 21. who has 1305 years: *Ad Medos imperium translatum est post annos ferme mille trecentos quinque.*

^e Eusebius Chron. I. p. 40. transcribing Diodorus: *Sardanapallus trigesimus quintus a Nino fundatore.* p. 39. *Tautanus erat vigesimus sextus a Ninya.* Syncellus p. 168. B. δὲ μὲν Διδόρεος λέξι βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ Νίνου ἐξέθετο, καὶ τὴν ἀλωτὸν Τροάς—ἐπὶ καὶ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων Ταυτάρου. Wesseling ad Diod. II. 21., observing that the copies of Diodorus have τριάκοντα γενεᾶς, adds, *Constat sibi Diodorus trigesimum a primo imperii conditore Nino Sardanapalum c. 28 perhibens.* The two passages are by no means consistent. Diodorus in the first reckons thirty generations after *Ninya* the third king; in the second he reckons thirty reigns from *Ninus* the founder: 33 reigns in the one case, and 30 in the other. Eusebius below makes the last king the 33rd from *Ninus*, which agrees with Diodorus. Cephalion seems to make *Teutamius* the 26th king; which again agrees with Eusebius. It is not clear what were the numbers of Ctesias: whether 36 reigns, which in the 1306 years would suppose 36 years to each, or whether 33, which would give 39½ years to each reign.

^f II. 28.

^g Ctesias supposed the revolt of the Medes and the destruction of Nineveh to have happened at the same time: Diod. II. 7. τῆς Νίνου κατεκαμένης ὑπὸ Μήδων ὅτε κατέλισαν τὴν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείαν.

^h Strabo XVI. p. 737. δὲ μὲν Νίνος ἦν ὁ τὴν Νίνον ἐν τῇ Ἀτουρίᾳ κτίσας· ἡ δὲ τούτου γυνὴ, ἥπερ καὶ διεδίκειτο τὸν ἄνδρα, Σεμιράμις· ἡς ἐστι κτίσμα ἡ Βαθυλόν.

οὗτοι δὲ ἐκράτησαν τῆς Ἀσίας—ἀπέλιπον δὲ τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτούς τὴν ἀρχὴν μέχρι τῆς Σαρδαναπάλου καὶ Ἀρβάκου· μετέστη δὲ εἰς Μήδους βαστερον. ἡ μὲν οὖν Νίνος πόλις ἡφαντοθή παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὴν τῶν Σύρων κατάλυσιν. Nicolaüs Excerpt. Vales. p. 229. Σαρδαναπάλος Ἀσσυρίων ἐβασίλευεν, ἀπὸ τε Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως τὴν βασιλείαν παραδεξάμενος, ἕπκοπιν ἔχων ἐν Νίνῳ κ. τ. λ. The narrative which follows p. 229—234. ἐτί 'Αρταλεν τῷ βασιλέως Μήδων, τῷ διαδέχου Σαρδαναπάλου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως, is probably derived from Ctesias: conf. Diod. II. 33. from whence we learn that Ctesias entered upon a large account of this reign. Æmilius Sura apud Velleium I. 6, 6. Æmilius Sura de Annis Populi Romani. Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt; deinde Medi, postea Persæ, deinde Macedones. Exinde duabus regibus Philippo et Antiocho, qui a Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multo post Carthaginem subactam devictis, summa imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit. Inter hoc tempus et initium regis Nini Assyriorum, qui princeps rerum potitus, intersunt anni MDCCCCXCV. This passage of Sura, transcribed into the text of Velleius by an interpolator, approaches the date of Ctesias, 1000 years before the Trojan war. For B.C. 190+1995= B.C. 2185 for the commencement of *Ninus*. Justin I. 1—3., after describing *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, and *Ninya*, adds, *Imperium Assyrii, qui postea Syri dicti sunt [conf. Strab. l. c.], mille trecentis annis tenuere. Postremus apud eos regnavit Sardanapalus.* Velleius I. 6. *Imperium Asiaticum ab Assyriis, qui id obtinuerunt annis MLXX, translatum est ad Medos abhinc annos ferme DCCLXX.* Quippe *Sardanapalum eorum regem, mollitiis fluentem et nimium felicem malo suo, tertio et tricesimo loco ab Nino et Semiramide qui Babyloniam condiderant natum, ita ut semper successor regni paterni foret filius, Arbaces Medus imperio vitaque privavit.* The numbers are probably corrupt. The facts are the facts of Ctesias. The historian Duris believed in *Arbaces*, but gave a different account of the death of *Sardanapalus*: conf. Athen. XII. p. 529. a.

Some narratives varied in some particulars from the account of Ctesias, but agreed with him in assigning a high antiquity to the Assyrian empire. Abydenus placed the end of this empire 67 years before the first Olympiad, or at B. C. 843. His account agreed with that of Castorⁱ, and Castor reckoned 1280 years from *Ninus* to a second *Ninus*, successor of *Sardanapalus*^k. Cephalion, who flourished in the reign of *Hadrian*^l, followed Ctesias in reckoning 42 years to *Semiramis*, and in some other particulars. But he made *Sardanapalus* the 26th king, and placed his accession, according to Eusebius, in the 1013th year of the empire, throwing back the destruction of the empire by *Arbaces* about 270 years above the date of Ctesias^m. Eusebius numbers 36 kings and 1240 years from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus* both

ⁱ Euseb. Chron. I. 12. p. 36. *Abydeni de regno Assyriorum.* "Chaldaei regionis suae reges ab Aloro usque ad Alexandrum hoc pacto enumeraunt. Nini quidem et Samiramidis nullam rationem habent." His autem dictis, ita historiam suam exorditur: "Fuit Ninus Arbeli, Chaali, Arbeli, Anebi, Babii, Beli, regis Assyriorum." Deinde accurate reges enumerat a Nino et a Samiramide ad Sardanapallum, qui omnium extremus fuit: a quo ad primam Olympiadem 67 anni putantur. De Assyriorum regno hac diligentia scripsit Abydenus. Nihilominus et Castor lib. I. summarii Chronicorum eadem plane ad literam narrat de regno Assyriorum. The list of Assyrian kings in the Excerpta Chronologica apud Scal. Euseb. p. 74. also reckons with Castor *Ninus II.* as the last king, and places the termination 67 years before Ol. 1.

^k Euseb. Chron. I. 13. p. 36. *E Castoris summario.* "Belus erat (inquit) Assyriorum rex, et sub eo Cyclopes fulgoribus fulminibusque militibus Jovi cum Titanis prolianti opem ferabant. Reges quoque Titanorum eo tempore cognoscabantur, quorum e numero erat Ogygus rex." Mox paucis interjectis, subdit gigantes Diis bellum intulisse atque occidione esse cæsos; strenuos deorum adjutores fuisse Herculem et Bacchum, qui et ipsi erant Titanis; Belum de quo antea diximus mortem obiisse, qui etiam deus existimatus sit. Post hunc Assyrius dominatum esse Ninum, qui uxorem duxit Samiramidem. Post eum Samiramidem rexisse Assyrios annis 42. Zamem, qui et Ningas, successisse. Deinceps Assyriorum qui consecuti sunt reges singulatim ordinatimque numerat usque ad Sardanapallum, nominatim quemque compellans. The rest of this passage has been given already F. H. III. p. 546. b. In giving 42 years to *Semiramis* Castor agrees with Ctesias apud Diod. II. 20. In giving a successor to *Sardanapalus*, he differs from him, but agrees (as we shall see below) with Abydenus.

^l Suid. Κεφαλίων.—βήτωρ καὶ ιστορικός, γεγανές ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ.—ήγραψε παντοδαπάς ιστορίας ἐν βιβλίοις θ', αἱ τις ἱστορίας Μείστας, ἵλιδι διαλέκτῳ. Cephalio-

nis novem Musarum libris Euseb. Chron. I. p. 195.

^m Euseb. Chron. I. 15. p. 41. *Cephalionis historicorum de regno Assyriorum.* Partly transcribed by Syncellus p. 167. 168. παρέστω Κεφαλίων ἐπισημαῖος εἰς, οὐχ ἐ τυχάν, οὐτε φάσκων "ἄρχομαι γράψων ἀφ' ὃν ἄλλοι τε ἐμημάρτυσαν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα Ἐλλάνικά τε ὁ Λέστριος καὶ Κτησίης ὁ Κυλίος, ἔτειτα Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἀλικαρνατεύς, τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Ἀστίης ἐβασίλευσαν "Αστίριος, τῶν δὲ ὁ Βίηλος Νίνος," εἰτ' ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμιράμεως καὶ Ζωράστρου μάργου ἔτει νέφες τῆς Νίνου βασιλεὺες [de annis denique quibus *Ninus* regnavit, videlicet 52, nec non de ejus obitu recte Armen.]. μεθ' ἐν Βαβυλῶνι (φησίν) ἡ Σεμιράμις ἐτέλεισε τρόπων ὡς πολλοῖσι λέλεκται, Κτησίᾳ, Ζήνωνι, Ἡρόδοτῳ, καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῖς στρατείην τε αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ ἤτταν καὶ ἐτὶ τοὺς Ίσλους ἀνείλεν νιεὺς καὶ ὅπερ Νίνον τὸν ταῖδαν ἐνδεήθη τοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχήν. Eusebius adds (omitted by Syncellus), interempta est postquam annis 42 regnasset. Hic vero qui in imperium successit a Cephalione dicitur nihil dignum memoria gessisse. Syncellus proceeds: καὶ μεθ' ἑτερα "καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν εἰς φρέσκων ἀριθμὸν ἥρχον, τοῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἔχων ἡτταν αὐτῷν οὐδὲ εἰς ἐπειδήσθεν ἐτῶν κ' [neminem eorum minus virginī annis sceptrum tenuisse Armen. Quare leg. ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτῶν κ']. τὸ γάρ ἀπόλεμον τοῦ καὶ ἀριστοκόντυνος καὶ γυναικῶν αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀσφαλές. ἔνδεν γάρ ἔμενον, οὐδέ τι αὐτοῖς ἀν ἔργον ἐπρίσσετο· οὐδὲ ἐώρα τις αὐτοὺς πλὴν αἱ τε παλλακίδες καὶ τὸν ἀνδρὸν οἱ γυναικώνες, τοὺς δὲ βασιλέας τούσδε εἴ τις εἴλησας βούλεται, Κτησίης ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων ὑψηλάτα αὐτῶν κ' (οἷμα) καὶ γ. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τι τερπνὸν ἡ τί χάρις ἔμελει ἔσειν, διομακήδην ἀκεν πράξεων βαρύρων φωνάς τυράνους δειλοὺς καὶ μαλακούς;" πρὸς οἵς ἐπάγει τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐτῶν αὐτῶν. "ἐτέων δὲ ὑπὸν ἀπὸ Νίνου τεσσαράκοτα των καὶ χ', Βέλιμος [anno 640ο] rege Belimo Armen.] ἐβασίλευεν Ἀσσυρίων. καὶ ἀφιενεῖται Περσεὺς δὲ Δανάης εἰς τὴν χώρην αὐτοῦ, ναῦς ἀγυν φ. ἔφευγε δὲ Περσεὺς Διόνυσον τὸν Σεμέλης νιέα." καὶ μετέπειτα "ὑστέρη δὲ γενέη κατὰ Παναγίαν ἀρχογάτα δὲ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν στόλος ἐπλευσεν ἐπὶ τε Φάσιν καὶ Μηδείην τὴν Κολχίδα" κ. τ. λ. καὶ αὐθις. "φ. δὲ ἐτῶν ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως εἰς Μητραῖον βασιλέα [si quis mille annos a Samiramide ad Mithraeum Armen.] ἀν-

inclusive, places the destruction of the empire and its transfer to the Medes 43 years before the first Olympiad, and fixes the period at B.C. 819ⁿ. Syncellus begins his computation from *Belus*, reckons 41 reigns and 1460 years, and places the commencement of the period at B.C. 2285 and its termination at B.C. 826^o. His 40 reigns from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*

"ἀριθμοῦ τὸ περιτελλόμενον. Μῆδαια Κολχίς ἀνεχόρησεν
"Αἰγαίου, ἡς νῦν Μῆδος, ἐξ οὐ Μῆδος καὶ η̄ χώρα ἐκλήθη
"Μῆδαια." εἰτά φησι· "Μητραῖον δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέ-
"χεται Ταύταρος [Teutamus Armen. Diod.] ζῶν
"καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ ἔθη τὰ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ιώνον, καὶ ἄλλο
"μὲν οὐδὲν ἔγεντο οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτου καιὸν ἔργον" Ἀγα-
"μέρων δὲ καὶ Μενέδας οἱ Μυκηναῖοι ἐστρατεύσαντο
"σὺν Ἀργείοις, καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἀχαίοισι εἰς Ἰλιον
"πόλιν τῆς Πριάμου τῷ Φρυγίᾳ στρατηγήν." Euse-
bius concludes p. 44. *Ait postea diserte Sardanapallum anno 1013^o Assyriorum regem esse cre-
atum; cuius et exitium memorat. Tum sublatio
Sardanapallo Assyriorum imperium a Varbace
extinctum et ad Medos esse translatum. Hæc
omnia Cephalion.* Cephalion omitted all the reigns between *Teutamus* and *Sardanapalus*; whom he places 13 years after the Trojan war: an omission for which he is censured by Syncellus p. 168. B. The account of Cephalion will place the rise of the Median empire at about B.C. 1150, the rise of the Assyrian about B.C. 2184; which he reckons 640 years before *Perseus* and *Bacchus*. From Cephalion, however, we learn that *Teutamus* was made by Ctesias the 25th king, and not the 20th, as Diodorus expresses it. For Ctesias according to Cephalion enumerated 23 kings, of whom *Teutamus* was the 22nd, after recounting *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, and *Ninyas*. These three reigns being added, *Teutamus* will be the 25th king.

ⁿ Euseb. Chron. I. p. 44. Qui in libris feruntur Assyriorum reges secundum emendata exemplaria hi sunt. I. *Ninus*, quem primum aiunt universæ Asiae, demptis Indis, imperasse annis 52. Sub eo constat vixisse Abrahamum. Idem lib. II. p. 265. ex versione Hieronymi: *Nini 43^o imperii anno natus est Abraham*. Eusebius p. 45. makes the 16th king contemporary with *Moses*: *Ascatades. sub hoc fuit Moses Hebreorum legislator*. lib. II. p. 283. at the 560th year of the empire (518+42), *Ascaladis 21^o Moses Judaicæ gentis in deserto dux erat*. At the 26th reign he places the Trojan era: p. 45. *Teutamus: sub quo Ilium captum est*. Conformably with this in Præp. X. 9. p. 486. A. he states the period from *Semiramis*: η δὲ Σεμίραμις τὸν Τρωικὸν ὕκταστον ὥδοις ἔτεσι δείκνυται προγενεμένην. He describes the end of the monarchy in these terms Chron. I. p. 46. *Sardanapallus. sub hoc Lycurgus leges Lacedæmoniis ferebat. Hæc finis fuit regni Assyriorum, imperante Athenis Thespio Ariphronis*

*filio. Tempus imperii Assyriorum secundum ac-
curatos scriptores anni 1240; secundum vero
alios 1300. Thonius Concolorus, qui Graece di-
citur Sardanapallus, a Varbace et Belesi victus
se ipsum igni tradidit. Ab eo ad Ol. I. anni 40.
In lib. II. p. 315. at the year of the empire 1239
(1197+42), Thespiae 6^o. Lycurgus Lacedæmo-
nius jura componit. Usque ad id tempus fuisse
reges Assyriorum historia refert. Et fuit simul
anni [sc. Abrahami] 1197. Omnes autem regni
Assyriorum a 1^{mo} *Nini* supputantur 1240. That
is, 1240 current. From hence to Ol. I are 43
years in the canon, called 40 in round numbers
at p. 46.*

^o Syncellus p. 92. B. *'Ασσυρίων μα' βασιλεῖς, οἵ
καὶ ἀρχάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ γενέσιον καθολικοῦ ἔτους κόσμου
[B.C. 2285] ἐληξαν εἰς τὸ δικοές ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου
[B.C. 826] διαρκέσαντες ἔτη ὅλα γνῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου
αὐτῶν Βήλου ἔνας τοῦ μα' Μακοκολέρου τοῦ καὶ Σαρδανα-
πάλλου, ὃς συμφωνοῦσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων Ιστορικῶν,
Πολύβιος καὶ Διόδωρος, Κεφαλίων τε καὶ Κάστωρ καὶ
Θάλλος καὶ ἔτεροι. At p. 97. A. he makes *Belus*
the immediate predecessor of *Ninus* (contrary to Abydenus: see above p. 265. i), and places him at A.M. 3216 B.C. 2285. At p. 151. A. he
reckons *Teutamus* the 27th king from *Belus*; A.M. 4124=B.C. 1377. At p. 155. A. he
places the Trojan war in the reign of a second
Teutamus A.M. 4325=B.C. 1176. *'Ασσυρίων λα'
ἐβασιλεύειον Βάθιος.—Βάθιος ὄντος ἐστιν δὲ ταρ̄ *'Ελλησις
Τίθωνος λεγόμενος*—τούτου παῖς Μέμων—δὲ αὐτὸς ἐστι
καὶ δεῖτερος Ταύταρος. He places the destruction
of the empire in the time of *Ariphron archon* at
Athens: p. 165. C. ἔνας τοῦδε τοῦ δικοές ἔτους τοῦ κόσμου
διαρκέσσαται ἡ τὸν 'Ασσυρίων βασιλεία ἐπὶ γνῶν ἔτη
κατελθη τῷ καὶ ἔτει τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ μα' βασιλέως
'Ασσυρίων. p. 185. B. *'Αρίφρων Φερεκλέους* κατὰ τοῦ
τὸν 'Αρίφρωνα ἡ τὸν 'Ασσυρίων κατελήθη ἀρχῇ, ὃς
πάντες συμφωνοῦσι. Euseb. lib. I. p. 137. *Ariphron
Phereclis*—cuius astate imperium Assyriorum oc-
ciso Sardanapallo finitum est. lib. II. p. 314.
(Hieronym.) Anno 1172 Ariphronis 1^o. Sub
Ariphrone Assyriorum regnum destructum et Sar-
danapallus, ut nonnulli scriptitant. The first
year of *Ariphron* is B.C. 844 in Eusebius and
A.M. 4651=B.C. 850 in Syncellus; who would
place the end of the Assyrian monarchy (B.C.
826) in his 25th year. The variations in this
catalogue of reigns are shewn in the following
Table:**

inclusive occupy 1405 years B. C. 2230—826. These 40 reigns are obtained by interpolating four reigns after the 27th king in Eusebius.

EUSEB. I. p. 44. II. p. 265—315.	SYNCELL. p. 96. 103. 108. 123. 147. 151. 155. 159. 165.	EXCERPTA APUD SCAL. p. 74.	
lib. I. lib. II.		Belus y. 55	Belus y. 62
1. <i>Ninus</i> 52. 52	1. <i>Ninus</i> 52	1. <i>Ninus</i> 52	
2. <i>Semiramis</i> 42. 42	2. <i>Semiramis</i> 42	2. <i>Semiramis</i> 42	
3. <i>Ninyas or Zames</i> 38. 38	3. <i>Ninyas</i> 38	3. <i>Zinas</i> 38	
4. <i>Arius</i> 30. 30	4. <i>Arius</i> 30	4. <i>Arius</i> 30	
5. <i>Aralius or Amyrus</i> 40. 40	5. <i>Aralius</i> 40	5. <i>Aranus</i> 40	
6. <i>Xerxes or Balæus</i> 30. 30	6. <i>Xerxes</i> 30	6. <i>Xerxes Ballæus</i> 30	
7. <i>Amramithes</i> 38. 38	7. <i>Amramithres</i> 38	7. <i>Mamythus</i> 38	
8. <i>Belochus</i> 35. 35	8. <i>Belochus</i> 35	8. <i>Belochus</i> 35	
9. <i>Balæus</i> (12) 52. 52	9. <i>Balæus</i> 52	9. <i>Balæus</i> 52	
10. <i>Altadas</i> 32. 32	10. <i>Sethos</i> 50	10. <i>Altillus</i> 35	
11. <i>Mamithus</i> 30. 30	11. <i>Mamithus</i> 30	11. <i>Mamithus</i> 30	
12. <i>Macchaleus</i> 30. 30	12. <i>Aschalius</i> 28	* * *	
13. <i>Sphærus</i> 22. 20	13. <i>Sphærus</i> 22	13. <i>Sphærus</i> 20	
14. <i>Mamylus</i> 30. 30	14. <i>Mamylus</i> 30	14. <i>Mammythus</i> 35	
15. <i>Sparathus</i> 40. 39	15. <i>Sparatherus</i> 42	15. <i>Spareus</i> 40	
16. <i>Ascatades</i> 40. 40	16. <i>Ascatades</i> 38	16. <i>Ascatagus</i> 40	
17. <i>Amnytas</i> 45. 45	17. <i>Amnytas</i> 45	17. <i>Amintas</i> 50	
18. <i>Belochus</i> 45. 25	18. <i>Belochus</i> 25	18. <i>Atossa or Semiramis II.</i> 23	
lib. I. filia <i>Tratres</i> 17 }			
lib. II. <i>Badossa vel Samiramis</i> 7 }			
19. <i>Balatores</i> 30. 30	19. <i>Balatores</i> 30	19. <i>Bilochus</i> 25	
20. <i>Lamprides</i> 32. 32	20. <i>Lamprides</i> 30	20. <i>Belleroparus</i> 34	
21. <i>Sosares</i> 8. 20	21. <i>Sosares</i> 20	21. <i>Lampridus</i> 32	
22. <i>Lampares</i> 30. 30	22. <i>Lampræs</i> 30	22. <i>Posarus</i> 20	
23. <i>Panyas</i> 42. 45	23. <i>Panyas</i> 45	23. <i>Lamparus</i> 30	
24. <i>Sosarmus</i> 19. 19	24. <i>Sosarmus</i> 22	24. <i>Panius</i> 45	
25. <i>Mithräus</i> 27. 27	25. <i>Mithräus</i> 27	25. <i>Sosarmus</i> 20	
26. <i>Teutamus</i> 32. 31	26. <i>Teutamus</i> 32	26. <i>Mithreus</i> 35	
{ Troy taken }			
27. <i>Teutalus</i> 40. 40	27. <i>Teutalus</i> 44	27. <i>Tautulus</i> 32	
	922	947	903
			{ <i>Ilium captum anno 32°.</i> }
	[28. <i>Arabelus</i> 42]	28. <i>Eutorus</i> 40	
	[29. <i>Chalaüs</i> 45]	29. <i>Thineus</i> 29	
	[30. <i>Anebus</i> 38]	30. <i>Cercillus</i> 40	
	[31. <i>Babius or Tautamus II.</i> 37]	31. <i>Eupalus</i> 36	
28. <i>Thinæus</i> 30. 30	32. • • • . . 30	32. <i>Lausthenes</i> 45	
29. <i>Dercylus</i> 40. 40	33. <i>Dercylus</i> 40	33. <i>Peritiadus</i> 30	
30. <i>Eupalmeus</i> 38. 38	34. <i>Eupacmes</i> 38	34. <i>Ophrateus</i> 20	
31. <i>Lausthenes</i> 45. 45	35. <i>Lausthenes</i> 45	35. <i>Ophratanus</i> 50	
32. <i>Peritiades</i> 30. 30	36. <i>Peritiades</i> 30	36. <i>Arapazus</i> 40	
33. <i>Ophratorus</i> 21. 20	37. <i>Ophratorus</i> 21	37. <i>Ton. Conc. or Sardanap.</i> 30	
34. <i>Ophratanes</i> 50. 50	38. <i>Epecheres</i> (6) 52	38. <i>Ninus II.</i> 19	
35. <i>Aorazanes</i> 42. 42	39. <i>Araganes</i> 42		
36. <i>Sardanapallus</i> 20. 20	40. <i>Thon. Conc. or Sardanap.</i> 20	379	
	480		
			<i>Simul reges 39—perseverantes annos 1430. Ab istis autem in prima Olympiada annos LXVII.</i>

Eusebius has adapted the numbers to his reduced period of 1240 years. The sum of his reigns, however, in his tables is only 1237 years. Syncellus in the first 27 reigns from *Ninus* agrees with Eusebius in the names and nearly in the numbers, which are 922 years in Eusebius and 947 in Syncellus. After this 27th king

Syncellus interpolates four reigns and 162 years. His numbers in detail (from corruption somewhere) give 1482 years, exceeding by 22 his period of 1460. In the Excerpta Barbara one reign (where I have placed the marks of a *lacuna*) is wanting, which, with *Belus*, will complete the number 39. In the sum of the years

The period delivered by Ctesias seems to have been 1306 years. He placed its commencement 1000 years before the Trojan war, and its termination at B.C. 876. But in assigning the termination of the Assyrian monarchy Ctesias and those who followed him confounded two events, the revolt of the Medes and the destruction of Nineveh; which they made to happen together. These two events, however, were divided by a considerable interval of

there is a deficiency, since the whole period is called 1430 years, and the sum of the reigns is only $62 + 903 + 379 = 1344$. Moses Chorenensis I. 18. differs from the preceding lists by omitting five reigns. In the 15 reigns from *Ninyas* inclusive to *Amyntas* (whom he calls *Amindes*) he agrees; but between *Amyntas* and *Paneas* he has only three reigns, *Vestarcarus*, *Susares*, *Lampares*, instead of five: between *Teutamus* and *Dercyllus* only one, *Thyneus*, instead of two; then follow *Eupalmus*, *Prideares*, *Pharautes*, *Acrazares*, *Sardanapalus*, five reigns instead of seven; and *Sardanapalus* is the 29th from *Ninyas* inclusive instead of the 34th.

We may collect from Diodorus and Cephalion that Ctesias placed the fall of Troy in the reign of *Teutamus*. If Diodorus reports his meaning accurately, he reckoned more than 1000 years from the first year of *Ninus* to the beginning of the Trojan war. We are not informed of the date of Ctesias for that war; but we might suspect that Ctesias, like his contemporary Isocrates and others, placed the fall of Troy a few years below the epoch of Eratosthenes. The numbers of Ctesias have been variously corrupted or altered. Cephalion inaccurately made the 1000 years to elapse from *Semiramis* to *Mithraeus* the predecessor of *Teutamus*. Eusebius on the contrary, who struck out 66 years from the whole period of Ctesias, omitted 123 years in the first 25 reigns to *Teutamus* inclusive; since he places the fall of Troy and the 25th year of *Teutamus* at the 877th year of the Assyrian monarchy.

The dates of many facts are marked in different writers by the corresponding Assyrian reign. But these coincidences, to which so much importance is attached by Hales vol. III. p. 53. 57., will not always enable us to trace the original numbers of Ctesias. Clemens has a date Strom. I. p. 321. A. mutilated in the text of Clemens but preserved entire by Eusebius Præp. X. p. 497. C. εἰ δὲ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρεσβύτερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀφ' ὃν Κηφεὺς λέγει, φανήσεται τῷ δευτέρῳ (καὶ τετρακοσιοτῷ) ἔτει τῆς Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχῆς, τῆς δὲ Βυλαίχου τῷ ὅρδον δυνατέλαις τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ) τριακοστῷ, ἡ Μάνσεν—κατὰ Ἰνάχον τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐξ Αἴγυπτων κίνησις. The words enclosed are lost in the text of Clemens but supplied by Sylburg.

ad Clem. from Eusebius; where for τετρακοσιοτῷ Jackson Chron. Ant. vol. I. p. 248. reads τριακοσιοτῷ. The 302nd year reckoned from B.C. 2182 would give B.C. 1781 for the exode by this calculation. But as the 32nd year of *Belochus* the 8th king is the 302nd year of the monarchy in the reduced numbers of Eusebius, we may doubt whether the numbers stood thus in the text of Clemens. Africanus is quoted by Syncellus p. 125. B. as follows: ὁ μοι δοκεῖ καλῶς δ' Ἀφρικανὸς ἐν γ' λόγῳ τῶν ιστορικῶν αὐτοῦ φάναι τὴν Ἀργείων βασιλείαν τῷ σ' ἔτει τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείας ἀρχασθαι ἐπὶ Ἀρείων πέμπτων βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων. *Arius* is the fifth king according to Syncellus, who reckoned *Belus* the first; and his numbers, as given in the preceding Table, will place the 200th year at the 13th of *Arius*. But as Africanus began with *Ninus apud Syncell. p. 64. B.* πρώτος ἦρε Νίνος ἀπόδοσης τῆς Ἀσσιας πλὴν Ἰνδῶν—τοῦτο διεδίξατο Σεμίραμις—which would make *Arius* the fourth king, as in Ctesias and in Eusebius, we may suspect that Syncellus at p. 125. B. has mingled something of his own. Cyril adv. Julian. p. 11. D., in mentioning the 31st king *Laosthenes*, merely follows Eusebius: ἐκατοστῷ ἑηκοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλέσεως—βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίων Λαβύτου, Ἀσσυρίων δὲ Λασθένους, Λατίνων δὲ Ἀλβα Σιλούν, Κορινθίων Ἀγελάου. The 165th year from the fall of Troy is in Eusebius anno 999, which falls within the reigns of these kings. Augustine Civ. D. XVIII. 2—21. measures the early times by the Assyrian reigns; but in these he follows the chronology of Eusebius, whose period he adopts IV. 6. *Sicut scribunt qui chronicam historiam persecuti sunt, mille ducentos et quadraginta annos ab anno primo quo Ninus regnare cœpit permansit hoc regnum, donec transferretur ad Medos.* And he endeavours to reconcile Eusebius with the period assigned by Ctesias, 1305 years, by including *Belus*: XVIII. 21. *Ad Medos quippe translatum est post imperium annos ferme mille trecentos quinque, ut etiam Beli qui Ninum genuit et illic parvo contentus imperio primus rex fuit, tempora computentur.* Hales vol. III. p. 53. refers to Jackson, who states that Cassiodorus placed *Cecrops* in the reign of *Sparthaeus*. But this again is derived from Eusebius, who places the 1st year of *Cecrops* anno 461 at the 3rd year of *Sparthaeus*.

time, and the conclusion of the term of 1306 years assigned to that monarchy did not occur at the Median revolt but at the final capture of Nineveh. The date of this event we are enabled to fix with precision on the concurrent authority of Scripture and Herodotus.

The overthrow of Nineveh did not happen before the death of *Josiah* king of Judah in B.C. 609, because a king of Assyria is mentioned at that period ^p; and Zephaniah ^q in the prophecy delivered in the reign of *Josiah* predicts the destruction of Nineveh as a future event. Jackson has drawn together many testimonies to the same point from the book of *Tobit*, which have been repeated by Hales ^r. The sum of the argument is this: From the age of *Tobit* it appears that Nineveh was standing in B.C. 610. For he became blind in the year 710 ^s, and survived that accident 100 years ^t; and yet he died before the fall of Nineveh ^v. The city was taken by *Nabuchodonosor* and *Ahasuerus* ^w. *Nabuchodonosor* may be either the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar* himself acting for his father ^x; and this passage will not determine whether Nineveh was taken before the accession of *Nebuchadnezzar*. But a prophecy of *Jeremiah* ^y written in the first year of the captivity B.C. 605 seems to imply that the city was then destroyed; for in the particular enumeration of *all the kings of the North far and near, and all the kingdoms of the world*, &c. Assyria and Nineveh are not named. The testimony of Scripture then decides that the city was captured, and the Assyrian monarchy destroyed, certainly after B.C. 609 and probably before B.C. 605. Herodotus brings the date to a narrower point. *Cyaxares* prepared to revenge his father's death upon the Assyrians, but was interrupted by the Scythians, who held Asia for 28 years ^z. After their expulsion *Cyaxares* conquered the Assyrians. But as the Scythians were not expelled till B.C. 607, the capture of Nineveh could not occur till B.C. 606; and this date obtained from Herodotus is remarkably consistent with the accounts of Scripture ^a.

Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus agree in referring the destruction of the city to the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which expresses the true time. But as their accounts of Assyrian affairs differ from that of Ctesias, it will be desirable to examine the narratives of these writers. In the first place Polyhistor differs from Ctesias in his account of the dynasty. According to Ctesias *Semiramis* was succeeded by 31 generations from father to son; according to Polyhistor the succession was interrupted by a new dynasty ^b. But an account drawn from Bero-

^p 2 Kings XXIII. 29. *Pharaoh-Necoh king of Egypt went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates; and king Josiah went against him; and he slew him at Megiddo.*

^q Zeph. II. 13. *He will destroy Assyria and will make Nineveh a desolation.*

^r Jackson Chron. Antiq. vol. I. p. 345. Hales vol. III. p. 71.

^s I. 21. II. 10.

^t XIV. 2. 11.

^v XIV. 4. From the age of *Tobias* nothing more can be collected than that he was grown up in B.C. 710: II. 1—3. that he lived to the age of 127: XIV. 14. and that he survived the fall of the city: XIV. 15. All beyond this is only conjecture, and Jackson and Hales have attempted too much in undertaking to fix from hence the precise year of the fall of Nineveh.

^w Tobit XIV. 15.

^x As in 2 Kings XXIV. 1.

^y Jer. XXV. 18—26.

^z See the Tables B.C. 634. 607.

^a Josephus Ant. IX. 11, 3. dates the fall of Nineveh 115 years after the date of *Nahum's* prophecy, which he places in the reign of *Jotham*: ἦ δέ τις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν προφήτης Νάουμος τεῦμα—συνέβη δὲ πάτα τὰ προεργάτια τερπί Νινεύης μετὰ ἑτη ἰκατὸν καὶ πεντεκαδέκα. Reckoned from the last year of *Jotham* B.C. 741, this period would place the capture at B.C. 626, twenty years before the true time. Josephus, however, distinguishes this event from the loss of the Assyrian empire, which he dates at the right place, B.C. 710, on the death of *Sennacherib*: X. 2, 2. Hales vol. I. p. 11. is inaccurate in representing the date of Josephus to be B.C. 710 for the fall of Nineveh, as if, like Ctesias, he had confounded the two events.

^b Agathias II. 25. p. 119. Νίνος τε πρότερων φαῖ.

sus of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings, which differs altogether from that of Ctesias, is given by Eusebius^c in the following terms: *A Xisuthro et a diluvio donec Medi Babylonem occuparunt summam regum 86^d supputat Polyhistor, singulosque nominatim e Berosi libro recenset. Ex horum autem omnium statibus annorum conficit 33,091. Post hos qui successione inconcussa regnum obtinuerant, drepente Medos collectis copiis Babylonem cepisse ait, ibique de suis tyrannos constituisse. Hinc nomina quoque tyrannorum Medorum edisserit octo, annosque eorum 224; ac rursus undecim reges et annos 48; tum et Chaldaeos reges 49 annosque 458; postea et Arabes novem reges annosque eorum 245. Horum annorum recensione perscripta, de Samiramide quoque narrat quae imperavit Assyriis. Rursumque distincte admodum nomina regum 45 enumerat, iisque annos tribuit 526. Post hos ait extitisse Chaldaeorum regem cui nomen Phulus erat, quem Hebreorum quoque historia memorat quemque item Phulum appellat. Hic Judæam invasisse dicitur. Deinde Polyhistor Senecheribum regno potitum esse ait; quem quidem Hebreorum libri regnament referunt imperante Ezechia et prophetante Isaia. Ait autem diserte divinus liber "Anno 14^e Ezechiae regis ascendisse Senecheribum ad urbes Judææ munitas."—Et quidem Senecheribum cum ejus filio Asordanæ necnon Marudacho Baldane Chaldaeorum quoque historiographus memorat; cum quibus etiam Nabuchodonosorum, ut mox dicetur. Hac autem ratione de iis scribit. Postquam regno defunctus est Senecheribi frater, et post Hagisæ in Babylonios dominationem, qui quidem nondum expleto 30^f imperii die a Marudacho Baldane interemptus est, Marudachus ipse Baldanes tyrrannidem invasit mensibus sex, donec eum sustulit vir quidam nomine Elibus, qui et in regnum successit. Hoc postremo annum jam tertium regnante, Senecheribus rex Assyriorum copias adversum Babylonios contrahebat, prælioque cum iis conserto superior evadebat, captumque Elibum cum familiaribus ejus in Assyriam transferri jubebat. Is igitur Babyloniorum potitus filium suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat, ipse autem in Assyriam redditum maturabat. Mox quum ad ejus aures rumor esset perlatus Græcos in Ciliciam coactis copiis bellum transtulisse, eos protinus aggressus est prælioque inito, multis suorum amissis, hostes nihilominus profligavit; suamque imaginem, ut esset victoriæ monumentum, eo loco*

νεται και βασιλειαν ἐνταῦθα βεβαιαν καταστησάμενος, Σεμίραμις τε αὐλ μετ' ἑκεῖνον, και ἔξης ἀπαντες οἱ τούτου ἀπόγονοι μέχρι και ἐς Βελεοὺς τὸν Δερκετάδου. ἐς τούτου γὰρ δὴ τὸν Βελεοὺς τῆς τοῦ Σεμίραμίου φύλου διαδοχῆς πανταμένης, Βελητάρας τις ὄνομα, φυτουργὸς ἀνὴρ και τῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις κήπων μελεδώνος και ἐπιστάτης, ἐκαρπώσατο παραλόγους τὴν βασιλείαν και τῷ οἰκείῳ ἐνεφύτευσε γένει, ὃς Βίων γέγραπται και Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ Πολυίστωρι, ἡνὶς ἐς Σαρδανάπαλον, ὃς ἑκεῖνοι φασι, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπομαρτυρίσεις, Ἀρβάκης δὲ Μῆδος και Βέλετος δὲ Βαβυλόνιος ἀφήρηγται αὐτὴν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καθεδόντες τὸν βασιλέα. This king, called *Belochus* in the lists of Eusebius and Syncellus, as Niebuhr ad Agathiam has observed, is the 18th from *Ninus* inclusive, and the 18 reigns, as will be seen in the Table at p. 267, are 667 years in Syncellus, 631 years in the first book of Eusebius, and 648 in his canon.

^c Chron. I. 4. p. 18.

^d Syncellus p. 78. C. gives a confused and mutilated account of this passage of Polyhistor:

'Αλέξανδρος δ Πολυίστωρ—βαῖλεται τάλις τὴν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείαν κατάρκασθαι μυθολογὸν διὰ σάρων και νήρων και σώσσων βεβασιλεύεναν Χαλδαίων και Μῆδων βασιλεῖς πτ' ἐτρισμύριος ἔτεσι και δύ'.—ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τὸν πτ' (δύο μὲν Χαλδαίων βασιλέων τῷ δὲ Μῆδων) Σωραστρην και τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ζ Χαλδαίων βασιλεῖς εἰσάγει, ἐτη κρατήσαταις ἥλιακά δ', ὁ αὐτὸς Πολυίστωρ. Syncellus supposed the Median kings to be included in the 86 reigns which preceded them, and the 8 Median reigns in Polyhistor he understood to be Chaldaean. We learn, however, from Syncellus that the first Median king in Polyhistor (whose name is omitted by Eusebius) was called Zoroaster. Syncellus himself, to adjust the chronology, according to his notions of it, to Scripture, omits the Median kings altogether; reckons p. 90. C. 7 Chaldaean kings from Nimrod in 225 years, then p. 92. A. 6 Arabian kings in 215 years, then *Belus*, *Ninus*, and the Assyrian dynasty.

^e Euseb. I. 5. p. 19. 20.

erectam reliquit, cui Chaldaicis literis res a se gestas insculpi mandavit.—Tarsum quoque urbem ab eo structum ait ad Babylonis exemplar eidemque nomen inditum Tharsin. Jam et reliquis Senecherimi gestis perscriptis, subdit eum annis vixisse regnantem 18, donec eidem structis a filio Ardumuzane insidiis extinctus est. Hæc Polyhistor. Sane etiam tempora cum narratione divinorum librorum congruunt. Sub Ezechia enim Senecherimus regnavit, uti Polyhistor innuit, annis 18; post quem ejusdem filius annis 8; tum annis 21 Sammughes; itemque hujus frater 21; deinde Nabup拉斯る annis 20; denique Nabucodrossorus 43: ita ut a Senecherimo ad Nabuchodrosorum 88 anni excurrant. Jam si quis Hebræorum libros scrutetur, paria dictis inveniet: namque post Ezechiam residuis Judæis Manasses imperat annis 55; deinde Amosus annis 12; tum Josias 31; postea Joachimus; sub cujus regni primordiis occupatus Hierosolyma Nabuchodonosorus supervenit.—Atqui ab Ezechia ad Nabuchodonosorum anni excurrunt 88, quot nimis Polyhistor ex historia Chaldaicu supputavit. His omnibus absolutis, pergit denuo Polyhistor res aliquot etiam a Senecheribo gestas exponere, deque hujus filio eadem plane ratione scribit qua libri Hebræorum; accurateque admodum cuncta edisserit. Pythagoras sapiens fertur ea tempestate sub his regibus extilisse. Jam post Sammughen imperavit Chaldaicus Sardanapallus 21 annis. Is ad Asdahagem^f, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et satrapa, copias auxiliares misit, videlicet ut filio suo Nabucodrossoro desponderet Amuham e filiabus Asdahagis unam. Deinde Nabucodrossorus dominatus est annis 43.

We will now transcribe the extract from Abydenus: *Abydeni de Senecherimo. His temporibus quintus denique et vigesimus rex fuit Senecheribus, qui Babylonem sibi subdidit, et in Cilicii maris litore classem Græcorum profligatam disjecit. Hic etiam templum Atheniensium struxit, ærea quoque signa facienda curavit in quibus sua facinora traditur inscripsisse. Tarsum denique ea forma qua Babylon utitur condidit.—Proximus huic regnavit Nergilus, quem Adrameles filius occidit. Rursus hunc frater suus Axerdis interfecit patre eodem alia tamen matre genitus; atque Byzantium usque ejus exercitum persecutus est quem antea mercede conduxerat auxiliarem. In hoc miles erat Pythagoras quidam Chaldaæ sapientiae assecla. Ægyptum præterea partesque interiores Syriæ acquirebat Axerdis. Hinc Sardanapallus exortus est. Post quem Saracus imperitabat Assyriis, qui quidem, certior factus turmarum vulgi collectitiarum quæ a mari adversus se adventarent, continuo Busalissorum militiae ducem Babylonem mittebat. Sed enim hic capto rebellandi consilio Amuham Asdahagis Medorum principis filiam nato suo Nabucodrossoro despondebat, moxque raptim contra Ninum seu Ninevem urbem impetum faciebat. Re omni cognita rex Saracus regiam Evoritam inflammabat. Tum vero Nabucodrossorus summæ rerum potitus firmis mænibus Babylonem cingebat^g.*

According to these accounts the Babylonian chronology of Polyhistor, after the fabulous period of 86 kings and 34,090 or 33,091 years^h, will be this:

^f This passage is preserved by Syncellus p. 210. A. Ναβοπαλάσαρος.—τοῦτον [f. τοῦτον, ὃν] ἐ Πολιτεῖαι Ἀλέξανδρος Σαρδανάπαλλω καλεῖ, πέμψαντα τὸν Ἀστυάγην στράππην Μηδείας καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῶν Ἀμιτην λαβίντα νύμφην εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ναβονυχεδωνίσαρ. ὃντος [sc. Ναβορολασσατ] στρατηγὸς ὦντος Σάρακος [I. Σαράκου] τοῦ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως σταλεῖς κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σάρακος [Σαράκου] εἰς Νῦν ἐπιστρατεύει, οὗ τὴν ἔφοδον στονθεῖς ὁ Σάρακος ἐστὸν σὺν τοῖς βασιλεῖσις

ἐνέπρησε. This last particular is in Abydenus apud Euseb. p. 25.

^g Apud Euseb. Chron. I. 9. p. 25. He concludes p. 26. Hisce narratis, reliqua etiam Nabucodrossori gesta ita persequitur Abydenus ut a libris Hebræorum prorsus non abhorreat.

^h These were astronomical periods, like those of Berossus quoted in F. H. III. p. 505.

	<i>anni</i>	<i>anni</i>
<i>Medi</i>	8	224
<i>reges</i>	11	48
<i>Chaldae</i>	49	458
<i>Arabes</i>	9	245
		975

His Assyrian chronology :

<i>Semiramis et reges</i>	45	526
<i>Pul</i>	—	
<i>Senecherimus</i>	18	= B. C. 692
<i>filius</i>	8	
<i>Sammughes</i>	21	
<i>frater</i>	21	
<i>Sardanapallus vel</i>	}	(21) 20
<i>Nabopalassarus</i>	}	—88
<i>Nabucodrossorus vel</i>	}	—43 = B. C. 604
<i>Nabuchodonosorus</i>	}	

The last Assyrian reigns in Abydenus are thus given :

- 25. *Senecheribus*
- (26) *Nergilus*
- (27) *Adrameles filius*
- (28) *Axerdis frater*
- (29) *Sardanapallus*
- (30) *Saracus*

We may remark the negligence or inconsistency of Eusebius, who supposes the account of Polyhistor to correspond with the account of Scripture because Polyhistor numbers 88 years from the 1st of *Sennacherib* to the 1st of *Nebuchadnezzar*. In the first place, Eusebius himself gives 98 years to the three reigns of *Manasseh*, *Amon*, and *Josiah*, since he reckons the reign of *Amon* twelve yearsⁱ. And if we restore the right number, two years, to this reign, and obtain 88 years for the three Jewish reigns, still the two accounts are not consistent; for these 88 years carry back the 1st of *Sennacherib* to the 1st of *Manasseh*. But Eusebius himself has just admitted that *Sennacherib* invaded Judea 15 years before the death of *Hezekiah*: the time therefore of *Sennacherib* in Polyhistor, by the account of Eusebius himself, is quite at variance with the time of *Sennacherib* in Scripture. The true interval between the 14th of *Hezekiah* B. C. 713, when *Sennacherib* invaded Judea, and the accession of *Nebuchadnezzar* B. C. 604, is 109 years. *Sennacherib*, then, was in the throne at least 22 years before the date of Polyhistor. In the second place, the years ascribed to his reign are incompatible with the true account; for Polyhistor gives him 18 years, but we know that *Shalmaneser* was yet living in the 6th year of *Hezekiah*^j, and that *Sennacherib* was slain within

ⁱ That Eusebius reckoned 12 years to *Amon* appears from his list p. 243. and his Canon p. 326. *annis* 1360—1371. Conformably with this he computes Præp. X. 9. p. 483. from the 50th of *Uzziah* to the end of the Captivity in the 2nd

of *Darius*—ἀπὸ τοῦ ιστάτου ἔτους τῆς ἑρημίας ἐπὶ τὸ γένετον Ὁζίων—256 years. But these could only be obtained by computing 12 years to *Amon*.

^j 2 Kings XVIII. 10.

the 15th of *Hezekiah*^k; so that his reign could not have extended beyond nine years by the largest computation. Thirdly, *Marudachus Baldanes* in Polyhistor reigned for six months before *Belibus*, whose three years are fixed by the Astronomical Canon at B. C. 702—699. But *Merodach Baladan* in Scripture was king at the time of the sickness of *Hezekiah*, whose sickness and miraculous cure were in B. C. 713^l. Again, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar* is called *Nabopolassar* and has 20 years, completing the term of 88 years named by Eusebius: and yet in the same page he is called *Sardanapallus* and has 21 years; nor is any explanation given how the father of *Nebuchadnezzar* became the successor of the Assyrian kings.

Although Abydenus agrees in some points with Eusebius, yet he differs from him in others. But he still more remarkably differs from himself. In the former extract^m Abydenus makes *Sardanapalus* the last king, and places his death at B. C. 842; in the present, he describes kings of Assyria at a period two centuries below that date: and *Sardanapalus* has a successor who is besieged in Nineveh by the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*. Eusebius has neglected to explain or notice these variations. It is probable that Abydenus in the former passage founded his account upon Ctesias, but that in the other narrative, like Polyhistor, he drew from Berossus.

A comparison of Abydenus and Polyhistor with each other and with Scripture may enable us to trace the truth. *Pul* king of Assyria (the first king of Assyria named in Scripture) invaded Palestine about the 40th year of *Uzziah* B. C. 769ⁿ. He was consequently in the

* *Sennacherib* was slain after his retreat from Judah and his expedition made in the 14th year of *Hezekiah*: 2 Kings XIX. 36. So *Sennacherib* king of Assyria departed and went and returned and dwelt at Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of *Nisroch* his god, that *Adrammelech* and *Sharezer* his sons smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Armenia. And *Esarhaddon* his son reigned in his stead. Tobit I. 18. II. 1. And if the king *Sennacherib* had slain any, when he was come and had fled from Judea, I buried them privily; for in his wrath he killed many. But the bodies were not found, when they were sought for of the king. And when one of the Ninevites went and complained of me to the king that I buried them and hid myself,—I withdrew myself for fear. Then all my goods were forcibly taken away, neither was any thing left me except my wife *Anna* and my son *Tobias*. And there passed not five and fifty days before two of his sons killed him, and they fled into the mountains of Ararat, and *Sarchedonus* his son reigned in his stead; who appointed over his father's accounts and over all his affairs *Achiacharus* my brother *Anael*'s son; and *Achiacharus* intreating for me, I returned to Nineveh.—Now when I was come home again—in the feast of Pentecost, &c. Jackson vol. I. p. 325. and after him Hales vol. II. p. 467. seem rightly to understand the 55 days

to mean 55 days after the return of *Sennacherib* to Nineveh. And as *Tobit* returned to Nineveh in the time of Pentecost or May, the death of *Sennacherib* is fixed to the beginning of B. C. 711, which might be towards the close of the 15th year of *Hezekiah*.

^l 2 Kings XX. 12. Isaiah XXXIX. 1. At that time *Merodach Baladan* the son of *Baladan* king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to king *Hezekiah*, for he had heard that *Hezekiah* had been sick and was recovered, &c. It is not likely that this message was delayed till 12 years after the occurrence of the sickness; and we must refer the embassy to B. C. 712, which falls within the reign of *Mardocempadus* in the Astronomical Canon. In that reign, then, it appears that Babylon was independent of Assyria. Josephus indeed Ant. X. 2, 2. like Eusebius also understood *Baldanes* in Berossus to be *Merodach-Baladan* of Scripture: μημαρτυρεῖς τοῦ ταῦ Βαβυλωνίαν βασιλέως Βαλάδα Βηρωσσός. But he is refuted by the difference of the time. And moreover *Mardocempadus*, who was the true *Merodach-Baladan*, reigned 12 years, but *Baldanes* in Berossus only six months; which again disproves the opinion of Josephus.

^m Quoted above p. 265. i.

ⁿ 2 Kings XV. 19. *Pul* the king of Assyria came against the land; and *Menahem* gave *Pul* 1000 talents of silver that his hand might be with

throne 77 years before the *Sennacherib* of Polyhistor began to reign. *Tiglath-pileseser* was king before the death of *Pekah* B. C. 738^o. Before that date he conquered Syria^p. About ten years after this conquest *Shalmaneser* was in the throne, in the beginning of the reign of *Hoshea* B. C. 730^q. He was still living at the capture of Samaria in B. C. 721^r, and at that time was still master of Media^s. Eight years after that event *Sennacherib* is king^t; and consequently succeeded *Shalmaneser* some time between B. C. 721 and 713; twenty-two years at least (as we have seen) before the accession of *Sennacherib* in Polyhistor. He was the son of *Shalmaneser*^v; and the conquests of *Tiglath-pileseser* are mentioned among the conquests of his fathers^w. The death of *Sennacherib*, as already observed, is determined to the beginning of B. C. 711. Many years after, towards the middle of the reign of *Manasseh*, a king of Assyria is master of Babylon^x. At a later period than this *Nabuchodonosor* is king of Assyria; whose accession is determined to B. C. 650 (the 48th year of *Manasseh*), because his 17th year coincided with the last year of *Phraortes* B. C. 634^y. At this time Babylon was inde-

him to confirm the kingdom in his hand.—So the king of Assyria turned back and stayed not there in the land. Menahem began to reign in the 39th of Uzziah : XV. 17.

^o 2 Kings XV. 29. In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileseser king of Assyria and took—Hazor and Gilead and Galilee and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria. Pekah reigned B. C. 757—738.

^p 2 Kings XVI. 5—9. Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war; and they besieged Ahaz. —So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileseser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son; Come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria and out of the hand of the king of Israel.—And the king of Assyria went up against Damascus and took it, and carried the people captive to Kir, and slew Rezin. This conquest was in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, since Pekah died in the 3rd year of Ahaz.

^q 2 Kings XVII. 1—4. In the 12th (13th) year of Ahaz [B. C. 730] began Hoshea to reign in Samaria.—Against him came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria, and Hoshea became his servant. —And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt and brought no presents to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year. Therefore the king of Assyria shut him up and bound him in prison.

^r 2 Kings XVII. 6. In the 9th year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes. XVIII. 9—11. In the 4th year of king Hezekiah which was the 7th year of Hoshea Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria and besieged it; and

at the end of three years they took it; even in the 6th year of Hezekiah, that is, the 9th year of Hoshea king of Israel Samaria was taken; and the king of Assyria did carry away Israel unto Assyria, and did put them into Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.

^s 2 Kings XVII. 6. XVIII. 11. The same may be collected from Tobit I. 14.

^t 2 Kings XVIII. 13. Isaiah XXXVI. 1. Now in the 14th year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib come up, &c.

^v Tobit I. 15. Now when Enemessar was dead, Sennacherib his son reigned in his stead. The author from whom we have this account was a Jew of the tribe of Naphtali, who in the time of Enemessar king of the Assyrians was led captive to Nineve : v. 1. 2. 3.

^w 2 Kings XIX. 12.

^x 2 Chron. XXXIII. 11. The captains of the host of the king of Assyria took Manasseh—and bound him with fetters and carried him to Babylon.

^y Judith I. 1—15. In the 12th year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor who reigned in Nineve the great city, in the days of Arphaxad which reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana [B. C. 639 the 17th of Phraortes]—even in those days king Nabuchodonosor made war with king Arphaxad in the great plain which is the plain in the borders of Ragau.—Then he marched in battle array with his power against the king Arphaxad in the 17th year, and he prevailed in his battle, for he overthrew all the power of Arphaxad.—He took also Arphaxad in the mountains of Ragau, and smote him through with his darts and destroyed him utterly that day. Conformably with Herodotus quoted in the Tables B. C. 634. Jackson vol. I. p. 333—338. has well defended

pendent of Assyria². Twenty-eight years after the defeat of *Phraortes* Nineveh was destroyed in B. C. 606, as we have seen from the united evidence of Scripture and Herodotus, by the Medes and Babylonians.

On comparing these testimonies with Polyhistor and Abydenus, we may observe that in neither of their accounts does the *Sennacherib* whom they describe agree with the *Sennacherib* of Scripture. The true *Sennacherib* succeeded his father, reigned a short period, and was slain in B. C. 711. *Sennacherib* in Polyhistor reigns 18 years, succeeds his brother, and recovers Babylon after the death of *Belibus*, whose three years terminate at B. C. 699^a. Again, *Sennacherib* is made by both Polyhistor and Abydenus the founder of Tarsus. But this was ascribed by a concurrence of profane accounts to *Sardanapalus*. It is plain, then, that Abydenus and Polyhistor have confounded *Sennacherib* with *Esarhaddon*, and have ascribed to the father the acts which in reality belonged to the son. *Esarhaddon* began to reign in B. C. 711, and his reign, if of 18 years, would extend to B. C. 693, and would include the three years of *Belibus* king of Babylon. *Esarhaddon* under the name of *Sardanapalus* lost the Median empire, and under the name of *Sardanapalus* was commemorated by the Greeks as the founder of Tarsus and Anchialë^b. By an opposite error both Abydenus and

the time and authority of the book of Judith, which he has shewn to belong to the reign of *Phraortes*; and has refuted Usher, Petavius, and Prideaux, who suppose *Arphaxad* to mean *Deioces*, and Whiston, who refers the book of Judith to the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*. The war with the Assyrians is referred by Jackson himself to the right place, the last year of *Phraortes*. But that last year of *Phraortes* according to his arrangement of the Median reigns he places at B. C. 625, nine years below the actual date of the death of *Phraortes*.

² This may be collected from Judith I. 7—12. where it is said that *Nabuchodonosor sent to all that dwelt in Persia and to all that dwelt westward* (of Nineveh), to *Cilicia, Damascus, Samaria, &c.* But all the inhabitants made light of the commandment of the king of the Assyrians, neither went they with him to the battle, for they were not afraid of him. Agreeing remarkably with Herodotus I. 102. Φραόρτης στρατευσάμενος—ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίου τούτους οἱ τῆς Νίνης ἔχον, καὶ ἡρχον πρότερον πάντας τότε δὲ ἡσαν μεμονωμένοι μὲν συμμάχοι, ἀτε ἀπεστέντων, ἄλλοι μέντοι ἐντὸν εἰ ἥκοτε. Among the allies of *Phraortes* are all they that dwell in the hill country and all that dwell by *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, &c. Among these allies of *Phraortes* some were probably subject to the Babylonian kingdom. The invasion of Judea followed in the 18th year (of *Nabuchodonosor*) in the 22nd day of the first month: Judith II. 1. 120 days after his victory: I. 16. These dates will fix the defeat and death of *Phraortes* to about *Casleu* or November B. C. 634, and the commence-

ment of the expedition of *Holopernes* to *Nisan* or April B. C. 633.

^a They terminate in the Astronomical Canon after the *Thoth* of N. E. 49; that is, after Feb. 14. B. C. 699.

^b Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1022. Σαρδανάταλος: ὅτος νιὸς Ἀγανδαράξιν βασιλεὺς Νίνην Περσικῆς χάρας. δὲ ἐν μιῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ταρσὸν καὶ Ἀγχιάλην ἔκτισεν—πενταλημένου δὲ ταῦ οἴκου, ἔδον εὐρεθεῖς ἀπέθανεν. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ταῦτα φησὶν ἐπιγεγράφθαι: ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ Ἀσσυρίους γράμματα: “Σαρδανάταλος Ἀγανδαράξιν παῖς “Ταρσὸν τε καὶ Ἀγχιάλην ἔδειμεν ἐν ἡμέρῃ μῆ” κ. τ. λ. —δὲ Ἐλλάνικος ἐν τοῖς Περοκοῖς δύο φησὶ Σαρδανάταλος γεγονέναι. εἰς τὸ αὐτό. Περσῶν βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐν τρυφῇ ὥριζετο τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. λέγει δὲ [f. λέγεται δὲ] περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐν μιῇ ἡμέρᾳ δύο πόλεις ἔκτισε τῆς Κιλικίας Ταρσὸν καὶ Ἀγχιάλην. ἦν δὲ τῷ βίῳ τρυφῆς—διὸ λέγοντι ἐν τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγράφθαι τοῦτο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα: “Ἐν δεκάδις δὲ θητὰς ἔφυ” κ. τ. λ. seven lines. Hesych. Σαρδανάταλος. πάντες σχέδον ἀπάσοις ἀκολασίας καὶ τρυφῆς δούλοις τοῦτον ἀναγράφουσι γεγονέναι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μήματι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ ἐν Νίνῃ φασὶν ἐπιγεγράφθαι Ἀσσυρίους γράμματα: “Σαρδανάταλος * γεγόνατι δὲ δύο Σαρδανάταλες. Phot. Suid. Σαρδανάταλος ἐν β' Περσικῶν δύο φησὶ γεγονέναι Καλλισθένης ἕπα μὲν δραστήριον καὶ γενναῖον, ἄλλον δὲ μαλακόν. ἐν Νίνῃ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μήματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἐπιγέγραπται: “Ἀγανδαράξιν παῖς Ταρσὸν τε καὶ Ἀγχιάλην ἔδειμεν “ἡμέρῃ μῆ” κ. τ. λ. Athen. XII. p. 529. e. f. ἐπιγέγραπται αὐτοῦ τῷ μήματι: “Σαρδανάταλος Ἀγανδαράξιν Ἀγχιάλην ἔδειμεν καὶ Ταρσὸν μῆ ἡμέρῃ” ἀλλὰ “νῦν τέθηκες.” Ἀμύντας δὲ ἐν τρίτῳ σταθμῷ ἐν τῇ Νίνῃ φησὶν εἶναι χῶμα ὑψηλόν—λέγεσθαι δὲ τὸ χῶμα τοῦτο εἶναι Σαρδανάταλου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Νίνου, ἐφ-

Polyhistor, in speaking of the king of Media, name the son for the father. For as *Azpadas* or *Astyages* began to reign in B. C. 595, ten years after the death of *Nabopolassar*, the king

οὐ καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίῳ Χαλδαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ὁ μετίνεγκειν Χοιρίδων ἐμμετρὸν ποιήσαντα. εἴναι δὲ τοῦτο “Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐβασίλευσα” κ. τ. λ. Κλείταρχος δὲ ἡ τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον γύρῳ τελευτῆσαι φησι Σαρδανάπαλλον μετὰ τὴν ἀπόκτωσιν τῆς Σύρου ἀρχῆς. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ἐν Ἀγγκάλῃ, ἣν ἐδείματο (φησι) Σαρδανάπαλος, Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναβαίνων εἰς Πέρσας κατεστρατεύεσσατο, καὶ ἦν εὖ πόρρω τὸ τοῦ Σαρδανάπαλλου μνημεῖον, ἐφ' οὗ ἔσταντας τύπον λίθινον συμβεβληκότα τῆς δεκάτης χειρὸς τοὺς δακτυλούς— ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀσσυρίος γράμματος “Σαρδανάπαλος Ἀνακυβαράξου” ταῖς” κ. τ. λ. Arrian in his narrative Exp. II. p. 91. and Strabo XIV. p. 672. follow Aristobulus. Diodorus II. 23. describing the *Sardanapalus* of Ctesias, in whom the monarchy ended, adds, ἐπὶ τοσῦτο προήθη τρυφῆς— μότε ἐπικύδειον εἰς αἰτὸν ποιῆσαι, καὶ παραγγέλλαι τοὺς διαδόχους τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τελευτὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπιγράψαι τὸ συγγραφὲν μεν ιε' ἑκενον βαρβαρικος μεθερμηνεύθεν δὲ οὔτερον ὑπό των; “Ελληνος; “Ἐν εἰδός δὲ θνητὸς ἔφυς”— where five of the lines of Choerilus are given. Tzetzes Chil. III. 411—457., relating the tale of *Arbaces*, *Belesis*, and *Sardanapalus*, from Diodorus, gives the same verses. Six of them are repeated by Strabo XIV. p. 672. Athenaeus VIII. p. 336. a. has all the seven: εφ' οὐ τοῦ τάφου ἐπιγεγράφθαι φησι Χρίστιανος τάδε: “Ἐν εἰδός δὲ θνητὸς ἔφυς”— On the lines of Choerilus conf. Jacobs. Antholog. tom. VI. p. 375. Nækium Choerili fragm. p. 196—212. The inscription at Anchialë is alluded to by Plutarch Mor. p. 336. C. Both are quoted Steph. Byz. Ἀγγκάλῃ.

Jackson vol. I. p. 380 (who is followed by Hales vol. III. p. 65) from the combined testimonies of Hellanicus, Callisthenes, and Clitarthus, distinguishes the two *Sardanapali*, and shews that the warlike *Sardanapalus* who survived the loss of the empire, and reigned when the Medes revolted, was *Esarhaddon*. This is confirmed by Abydenus and Polyhistor, ascribing the foundation of Tarsus to *Sennacherib*, whom we have shewn to be *Esarhaddon*. The *Sardanapalus* of Ctesias is the same person as *Saracus* in Abydenus, since the same particulars are told of both. In each account the last king perished with the city and was burnt in his palace. This, then, is the effeminate *Sardanapalus* of the Greek writers. Aristotle Rep. V. 10=8, 14. refers to the tale of Ctesias, but with some doubt of its truth: μότε Σαρδανάπαλον ίδων τις ξαίνοντα μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα οἱ μυθολογῶντες λέγουσιν, and mentions *Sardanapalus* again apud

Athen. VIII. p. 335. f. But as we learn from Berossus (through Abydenus and Polyhistor and Castor) that the last king but one was also called *Sardanapalus*, we have three kings of the name; *Esarhaddon*, *Sardanapalus I.*, *Nabuchodonosor*, *Sardanapalus II.*, and *Saracus*, *Sardanapalus III.* It seems probable, however, that this last king was called *Sardanapalus* by Ctesias through mistake, and that he gave to *Saracus* the name of his predecessor. Many Greek writers acknowledged only one *Sardanapalus*; and many confounded the two inscriptions. But the inscription which Alexander found at Anchialë belongs to the founder of Tarsus, whom we have seen to be *Esarhaddon*; to whom it is accordingly given by Jackson and Hales. *Anacyndaraxes*, then (or *Anabaxares*: Athen. XII. p. 528. f.), is another name for *Sennacherib*. The epitaph at Nineveh (a part of which was known to Aristotle: conf. Cic. Fin. II. 32. Tusc. V. 35) belonged to another *Sardanapalus*. But those who ascribed it to the last king of Nineveh forgot that he perished with the city and left no successors to erect his monument. The epitaph, then, probably belonged to the *Sardanapalus* of Berossus, the *Nabuchodonosor* of Judith. Herodotus II. 150. names *Sardanapalus* as a wealthy king: τὰ Σαρδανάπαλλον τοῦ Νηνίου βασιλῆς χρήματα, ἔντα μεγάλα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖς καταγαίωσι, ἐπενθησαν κλώτες ἐκφρῆσαι κ. τ. λ. Hales vol. III. p. 66. understands this of *Esarhaddon*, observing that it is demonstrated that the last king could not be meant, for he perished with his treasures. There is nothing in this narrative to justify the opinion of Hales. Wesseling ad locum understands the passage of the *Sardanapalus* of Ctesias. But this again is doubtful. The occurrence might have happened to the *Sardanapalus* of Berossus, and we have no distinct proof from hence that Herodotus acknowledged the *Sardanapalus* of Ctesias. The allusion, however, of Aristophanes Av. 1021. implies that before the time of Ctesias *Sardanapalus* had been known to the Greeks as a luxurious king.

That Berossus named *Sennacherib* we know from Josephus Ant. X. 1, 4. ἀλλὰ καὶ Βηρωστὸς ὁ τὰ Χαλδαικὰ συγγραψάμενος μνημονεύει τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Σεναχηρίου, καὶ οἵτινες τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου ἥρχε, καὶ οἵτινες τάση ἐπεστρατεύεται τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ [λέγων οὕτως]. As no citation follows, the words which I have enclosed seem to be an interpolation.

of Media who reigned in his time, and whose daughter was betrothed to his son, was not *Aspadas* but *Cyaxares*.

In Abydenus *Sardanapalus* appears under his right description as a king of Assyria; and as he is the last but one of the Assyrian kings, he appears to be the same person as *Nabuchodonosor* of the book of Judith, who began to reign 44 years, and invaded Judea 27 years, before the destruction of Nineveh. And this may have been the cause of the error of Polyhistor, who calls *Nabopolassar* by the name of *Sardanapalus*. *Nabopolassar* was sometimes called *Nabuchodonosor*, and this similarity of name may have produced the mistake. This error of Polyhistor (whatever was the cause) substituting a Babylonian for an Assyrian reign violates the true chronology in three principal points. First, it brings down the end of that Assyrian reign (which was in reality followed by another king, *Saracus*) two years below the capture of the city. Secondly, it places the accession of *Esarhaddon*, whom he calls *Sennacherib*, at B.C. 692^c; nineteen years below the true accession. Thirdly, this date for the accession of *Esarhaddon* is inconsistent with the time of *Belibus*. For according to Polyhistor himself *Esarhaddon* recovered Babylon at the death of this king; but *Belibus* ceased to reign in B.C. 699, seven years before this date for the reign of *Esarhaddon*^d.

Those two points being fixed, the accession of *Esarhaddon* to B.C. 711 and the accession of *Sardanapalus* or *Nabuchodonosor* to B.C. 650, we may perhaps arrange the numbers and the names supplied by Abydenus and Polyhistor in this manner. *Esarhaddon* (*Sennacherib*) the 25th king reigned 18 years; which places his death in B.C. 693. Between that event and the accession of the 29th king *Sardanapalus* or *Nabuchodonosor* are 43 years, occupied by three reigns in both historians, although they differ in the names. But in tracing the identity of Eastern kings the times and the transactions are better guides than the names; for these from many well-known causes (as the changes which they undergo in passing through the Greek language, and the substitution of a title or an epithet for the name) are variously reported, so that the same king frequently appears under many different appellations. In *Adrameles* of the one historian we may recognise *Sammughes* of the other; for in both accounts this prince is succeeded by his brother. The two reigns have 42 years or perhaps 41 complete in Polyhistor; which will leave only two years to *Nergilus*. But as this king has 8 years in Polyhistor, we may reconcile the difficulty and adapt the years to the period by supposing them to include his reign at Babylon, where according to Polyhistor's own account he reigned in the lifetime of his father^e. This scheme will give the following results. The contemporary Babylonian reigns are added as they stand in the Astronomical Canon; and it will be observed that in some particulars they coincide with the arrangement proposed.

^c See above p. 272.

^d From the resemblance in the years of the three predecessors of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which are $21 + 21 + 20 = 62$ in Polyhistor and $20 + 22 + 21 = 63$ in the Astronomical Canon, we might suspect that Polyhistor had made a transition from the Assyrian to the Babylonian reigns at *Sammughes*, and that *Sammughes* and his brother were *Saosduchinus* and *Chinaladanus* of the Ca-

non. But the coincidences between Abydenus and Polyhistor seem to mark that these were in Berosus Assyrian and not Babylonian reigns. Both agree in placing three reigns between *Sennacherib* and *Sardanapalus*. In both the last of the three is the brother of his predecessor. In reality they only differ in two names.

^e *Is Babylonia potitus filium suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat.*

ASSYRIA.	y.	B.C.	BABYLON.	y.	B.C.
(21) <i>Pul</i> before		769	<i>Nabonassar</i>	14.	747 Feb. 26.
(22) <i>Tiglath-pileser</i> before		738	<i>Nadius</i>	2.	733
			<i>Chinzirus et Porus</i>	5.	731
(23) <i>Shalmaneser</i>		729	<i>Jugæus</i>	5.	726
(24) <i>Sennacherib</i> before		713	<i>Mardocempadus</i>	12.	721
25. <i>Esarhaddon or Sardanapalus</i>	18.	711	<i>Archianus</i>	5.	709
			<i>Interregnum</i>	2.	704
			{ <i>Hagisa</i> 30 ^a .		
			{ <i>Marudach Baldanes</i> 6 ^m .		
(26) <i>Asordanes or Nergilus</i> , at Babylon ... 6 } 8 { (699)			<i>Belibus</i>	3.	702
— in Assyria ... 2 } 693			<i>Apronadius or Asordanes</i> 6.	699	
			<i>Regibalus</i>	1.	693
(27) <i>Adrameles or Sammughes</i>	21.	691	<i>Mesesimordachus</i>	4.	692
			<i>Interregnum</i>	8.	688
(28) <i>Axerdis frater Sammughis</i>	(21) 20.	670	<i>Asaridinus</i>	13.	680
(29) <i>Nabuchodonosor or Sardanapalus</i>	(21) 20.	650	<i>Saosduchinus</i>	20.	667
(30) <i>Saracus or Ninus II. [or Sardanap.]</i> (23) 24.	(630)		<i>Chinaladanus</i>	22.	647
Nineveh destroyed		606	<i>Nabopolassar</i>	21.	625 Jan. 27.
			<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i>	43.	604 Jan. 21.

That *Esarhaddon* was the 25th king is known from Abydenus. Hence the other reigns are determined. If *Esarhaddon* was the 25th, *Pul* was the 21st and *Saracus* the 30th king. The first five of these kings and their times, down to the accession of *Esarhaddon* in the beginning of B. C. 711, are fixed upon undoubted authority. The years of the reigns of the 27th, 28th, and 29th kings, are given from Berosus by Polyhistor. The period of the two last reigns is limited to 44 years upon sufficient evidence; but if the first of these had 21 or 20 years (which is ascertained from Polyhistor), there remain 23 or 24 for the last king *Saracus*.

It appears from Alexander Polyhistor and the Astronomical Canon that Babylon had always kings of her own from the earliest times. These kings were sometimes subjected to the Assyrians and sometimes independent; but they never acquired extensive dominion till the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*. In the period described in this Table *Nabonassar* was independent^f. His successors were perhaps independent down to *Hagisa* and *Marudachus Baldanes*.

^f As we learn from Syncellus p. 207. B. quoting Polyhistor and Berosus. The same may be gathered from Herodot. I. 184. 185. who describes two queens of Babylon: τῆς Βαβυλῶνος τελλοῖ μὲν κοι καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένετο βασιλέες—ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναικες δύο· ἡ μὲν πρότερος ἀρβαστὸς τῆς ὑπεροχη γενέσθαι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις κ. τ. λ. ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερη γενομένη ταῦτης βασιλεία τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις (αὗτη δὲ συνεπάτερη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρβαστῆς) τοῦτο μὲν μημεδύσατο ἀστελίσετο τὰ ἔργα ἀπηγγέομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὄρσατο ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἀλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἀστεα αὐτοῖς ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεψηλάσατο δοα ἐδίνατο

μάλιστα κ. τ. λ. Nitocris, who was queen after the capture of Nineveh, was the wife of *Nebuchadnezzar* (who is called Λαβύνητος δι Βαβυλώνιος Herodot. I. 74. cir. B. C. 603), and the mother of *Nabonadius*; called Λαβύνητος by Herodotus I. 77. B. C. 546: ἐτυράννει δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων τὸν χρόνον τούτον Λαβύνητος. and again I. 188. in B. C. 538: ὁ Κύρος ἐπὶ ταῦτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἱστρατεύετο ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατέρος τοῦ ἐντοῦ ταῦνομα Λαβύνητου καὶ τὴν Ἀστυρίων ἀρχὴν. Those who, with Westeling ad Herodot. I. 185., suppose Nitocris to have been the wife of *Evil-Merodach*, who began to reign B.C. 561, besides that the mention of the

danes who reigned during the interregnum, and who are not marked in the Canon because each reigned less than a year. In their successor *Belibus*, both in the name and the duration of his reign, Polyhistor and the Canon agree. The next king *Apronadius* appears on a comparison of the two historians with the Canon to be no other than the son of *Esarhaddon* the *Sennacherib* of the two historians, the 25th king of Assyria, who conquered Babylon. During this period B.C. 699—693, while *Esarhaddon* was master of Babylon, the colony was planted in Samaria described in the following passage^h: *And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon and from Cuthah and from Ava and from Hamath and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria and dwelt in the cities thereof.* Ascribed to *Esarhaddon* by *Ezra*ⁱ. In the same

capture of Nineveh would be improbable so long after the event, overlook the shortness of his reign, only two years; within which it is not likely that the works ascribed to *Nitocris* could have been accomplished. Herodotus omits the short and troubled interval of six years, which occurred between the death of *Nebuchadnezzar* (*Labyne-tus I*) and the accession of *Nabonnadius*, and passes to the last Chaldaean king of Babylon, *Labyne-tus II.*, the son according to his account of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Nitocris*; in which he is confirmed by the prophet Daniel V. 1—18, by whom *Nebuchadnezzar* is repeatedly called father of *Belshazzar* (*Labyne-tus II*). The true account of that interval seems to be this: *Etil-Merodach* was murdered by *Nericosolassar* or *Neriglissar*, who usurped the throne: *Beros*. apud Joseph. Apion. I. p. 1176. and whose son *Laborosoarchod* was also put to death. All these events happened within six years. After the usurpers were removed, τὸν βασικεῖαν περιέηκαν Ναβοννῆδη τὸν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος *Berosus* apud Joseph. Ναβονίδος ἀποδεικνῦσι βασιλέα προσήκοτά εἰ ὁδὲν Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. IX. p. 457. B. Rendered thus: *Nabonedochus nullo jure fatus ad regni sedem accedere jussus est apud Euseb. Chron. I. p. 28.* That this is not accurate we know from Daniel and Herodotus. But there is no reason for concluding *Nabonnadius* or *Labyne-tus II.* to be the grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar* rather than the son according to the plain meaning of Daniel and Herodotus. That *Nitocris* was the wife of *Nebuchadnezzar* is confirmed by another circumstance. According to Abydenus and Polyhistor already quoted, a daughter of *Cyaxares* (by them called *Astyages*) was betrothed to *Nebuchadnezzar*. But a work ascribed to *Nitocris* by Herodotus I. 186. is ascribed to a Median princess: Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. I. 25. p. 33. γυνὴ γὰρ λέγεται Μῆδεια, τὸν ἐκεῖ πετε ἄρχοντα, τὸν τοταμὸν ἴτζεῦκαι τρόπον ὃν μὴ τοὺς τις τοταμὸς ἔξεύθη. which Olearius ad locum improperly refers to the fabulous *Semiramis* of

Diodorus, who never reigned at Babylon, and who was not a Mede by any accounts.^j *Nitocris* then in Herodotus, the Median princess in Philostratus, and the daughter of *Astyages* (*Cyaxares*) in Abydenus and Polyhistor, are the same person. And as *Belshazzar* was son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the queen who appears in Daniel V. 10. in B.C. 538 was probably his mother *Nitocris*. In that case, as she was betrothed (before the fall of Nineveh) about 70 years before, she must have been betrothed in infancy. *Nitocris* being placed in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, cir. B.C. 585, will agree with B.C. 747 for the time of *Semiramis* five generations, or 160 years, before; and we may conclude with Larcher that this *Semiramis* was the wife of *Nabonassar*.

^g This prince from the time of *Hezekiah's* reign must have been a distinct person from the *Merodach-Baladan* of Scripture. See above p. 273. 1.

^h 2 Kings XVII. 24.

ⁱ Ezra IV. 2. *We do sacrifice—since the days of Esarhaddon the king of Assyria, who brought us up hither.* Josephus IX. 14. 3. where he paraphrases 2 Kings XVII. 24. refers this colony to the time of *Shalmaneser*: εἰ δὲ μετακισθέντες εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν Χουθᾶιν, ταῦτη γὰρ ἔχροντα μέχρι δεῦρο τῇ προσηγορίᾳ διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Χουθᾶς καλούμένης χώρας μετακήναι, αὕτη δὲ στὶν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι, καὶ τοταμὸς τοῦτο ἔχων ὄντα. X. 9. 7. Σαλμανασάρης μὲν εὖ ἀναστῆσας τοὺς Ἰσραηλῖτας κατέψησεν αὐτὸν τὸ Χουθαῖον ἔθνος, οἱ πρότεροι ἐνδοτέρω τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τῆς Μηδίας ἦσαν, τέτοιο μέρτοις Σαμαρεῖς ἐκλήθησαν. Again XI. 4. 3. where he paraphrases Ezra: εἰς ἑκεῖνον τοῦ χρόνου ἀφ' Ἑλλασάρης δὲ τὸν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Χουθᾶς ἦμας μετήγαγε καὶ Μηδίας ἐνθάδε. But the text of Ezra has *Esarhaddon*; and in 2 Kings *Men of Babylon* are mentioned, which better agrees with *Esarhaddon's* time, when we know that Babylon was subject, than with the time of *Shalmaneser*, when it was probably independent. The mention of Medes does not agree with the reign of *Esarhaddon*, whose au-

year in which the 26th king began to reign in Assyria, we find a new reign also at Babylon; and may conjecture that this city became independent again upon the death of its conqueror. The interregnum of 8 years, which shortly follows, marks a period of trouble; probably many kings arose within that period, whose names are not in the Canon because none of them reigned a year. At about this period, then, the king of Assyria who captured *Manasseh* (either the 27th or the 28th king in Abydenus) acquired Babylon again.

Polyhistor from Berosus describes a term of 526 years which ended at the accession of *Pul*. And *Pul* is the predecessor of *Sennacherib*^k. Eusebius understands *Pul* to be the king so named in Scripture^l. But this is very uncertain. Between *Pul* and *Sennacherib* came two other kings. We have seen that *Sennacherib* in Polyhistor was in reality *Esarhaddon*, and that by an error in mistaking an Assyrian for a Babylonian king^m he was placed at a date twenty-two years below the time of *Sennacherib* and nineteen years below the accession of *Esarhaddon*. It is extremely uncertain, then, what king is described in Polyhistor under the name of *Pul*. The period, however, of 526 years terminates at this reign. *Sennacherib* is placed in Polyhistor (as we have seen) at B.C. 692ⁿ. To *Pul* no years are assigned. But if we assume 19 or 20 years for this reign, we shall have B.C. 712 or 711 for the termination of that period of 526 years. The coincidence of this account both in the number and the date with that of Herodotus leaves little doubt that in this term of 526 years ending about B.C. 711 was expressed by Berosus the period of the Assyrian empire, called by Herodotus 520 years, and terminating at B.C. 711^o; and that Berosus gave the exact term of that empire, Herodotus the term in round numbers. The precise date of its termination B.C. 711 is given by Scripture, with which Herodotus agrees; and we accordingly obtain $711 + 526 = \text{B.C. } 1237$ for the commencement. Polyhistor reckons 45 kings in this period^p. According to which account *Pul* would be the 46th and *Sennacherib* the 47th. But Abydenus, who also seems to follow Berosus^q, calls *Sennacherib* the 25th king, which would leave 24 reigns for the preceding period. *Esarhaddon*, then, whom they called *Sennacherib*, had 24 predecessors instead of 46. And this seems to be the true number, for $24 \times 22 = 528$ would give 22 years to each king, about the average proportion of reigns^r. And we may collect from all these particulars compared that the Assyrian empire commencing B.C. 1237 subsisted 526 years under a dynasty of 24 kings^s; that under *Esarhaddon* the 25th king the

uthority over the Medes had ceased. But the Medes are only found in Josephus; and according to Josephus himself the Cuthites came from Persia, which was not subject to Media at this time, being conquered after B.C. 656 by *Phraortes*: Herodot. I. 102.

^k See above p. 272.

^l See p. 270.

^m See p. 277.

ⁿ See p. 272.

^o See the Tables B.C. 711. I there suppose Herodotus to place the revolt of the Medes in Ol. 17. 2, since he places the accession of *Deioces* in Ol. 17. 3. This will fix the period of 520 years at B.C. 1230—711, or *inclusive* of B.C. 711. But I suppose the 526 years in Polyhistor to be terminated at the death of *Sennacherib*, and consequently to be reckoned *exclusive* of B.C. 711, and to be contained in B.C. 1237—712.

^p See p. 270.

^q That Abydenus drew from Berosus is proved from his account of *Sennacherib* compared with that of Polyhistor, who followed Berosus; for both accounts agree in the main particulars.

^r In these 45 reigns Berosus, perhaps Polyhistor himself, seems to have included the contemporary Babylonian kings, who reigned as vassals of the Assyrians.

^s In Polyhistor the 526 years end at the accession of *Pul*. But we know that the Assyrian empire really terminated at the accession of *Esarhaddon*. We are therefore justified in making his accession the limit of the empire of 526 years, and in placing within that period all the twenty-four kings his predecessors.

empire was lost, but that the Assyrian monarchy was continued under six kings for a farther term of 105 years; and that it terminated with the 30th king in B.C. 606^t. Ctesias in his period of 1306 years had confounded the Assyrian empire with the Assyrian monarchy, and had assigned to this monarchy a date considerably too high. But as the monarchy ended in B.C. 606, and the empire in B.C. 711, we have B.C. 1912 for the commencement of his period of 1306 years; and this period B.C. 1912—606 includes within it the 526 years of the empire^v. The period of 1306 years may possibly have been a genuine period, but it is a false account that the period began and ended where Ctesias has placed it; and a false account that it was occupied by only 33 or 36 reigns.

Polyhistor gives 975 years^w as the interval between the Median conquest of Babylon and the commencement of the Assyrian empire of 526 years. This would give $1237 + 975 = \text{B.C. } 2212$ as the date of that Median conquest. Niebuhr^x, remarking that the observations sent by *Callisthenes* to *Aristotle* from Babylon went back 1903 years before the time of *Alexander*, that the beginning of this period nearly coincides with the date assigned by Berosus to the taking of Babylon by the Medes, and that this series of observations probably went back to some great political epoch (as the era of *Nabonassar* was the commencement of a later and

^t See above p. 278.

^v Prideaux and Usher place the termination of the Assyrian empire at B.C. 747, and refer *Arbaces* and *Belesis* to this date. Usher Annals of the World p. 29. adapts to it the 520 years of Herodotus: *B.C. 1267. Ninus the son of Belus founded the empire of the Assyrians; which continued in Asia by the space of 520 years, as Herodotus affirmeth, &c. p. 60. B.C. 747. The conspirators took the city and proclaimed Arbaces for their king—and so the kingdom of Assyria came to destruction. The kingdom therefore now falling to be divided, Arbaces, having freed his countrymen the Medes from the Assyrian yoke, enabled them to live in aftertimes according to their own laws, as Herodotus affirmeth. Belesis, who in Holy Writ is called Baladan, but by Ptolemaeus is called Nabonassarus, held the kingdom of Babylon 14 years.* Prideaux vol. I. p. 1. adopts the same date B.C. 747 for the termination of the period, but retains the 1300 years of Ctesias: *The ancient empire of the Assyrians, which had governed Asia for above 1300 years, being dissolved by the death of Sardanapalus, there arose up two empires, the one founded by Arbaces, the other by Belesis. Belesis had Babylon, Chaldea, and Arabia, and Arbaces all the rest. This happened in B.C. 747. Arbaces in Scripture is Tiglath-pileser, Belesis is the same with Nabonassar, and in the Holy Scripture Baladan.* But at this date B.C. 747 the Medes were still dependent upon Nineveh, as we know from Tobit I. already quoted, who describes them in the reign of *Shalmaneser*; and the era of *Nabonassar* is an insulated and independent date, not connected by any accounts with Assy-

ria or with Media. The inconsistency of this date with the true time of the defection of the Medes is shewn by Jackson vol. I. p. 303. 304. Jackson himself, however, assigns an erroneous date to the period of 1300 years; for he supposes them to end at the revolt of the Medes B.C. 711; and adds another century to the Assyrian monarchy, which he carries down to the capture of Nineveh B.C. 606. But it is evident that the term of Ctesias was intended to include the whole duration of the kingdom, and to terminate at the fall of Nineveh. Jackson thus extends the monarchy to 1410 years, although he admits p. 307. that "Ctesias applied to *Arbaces*" and *Belesis* what plainly related to the destruction of Nineveh and of the Assyrian kingdom under the last king by *Cyaxares* king "of Media and *Nabopolassar* prefect of Babylon." Whence he might have seen that the 1300 years of Ctesias terminated at that point, B.C. 606. The dates of Prideaux are inconsistent with himself; for he supposes the empire of Asia to have been acquired in B.C. 2047, which according to the dates he followed was fifty years before the birth of *Abraham*. But we know that no Assyrian empire governed Asia at the time of the war described in Gen. XIV. and those events occurred not long before the birth of *Ishmael*, about the 85th year of *Abraham's* life, which according to Prideaux was in B.C. 1912, 135 years after the Assyrians are supposed to have governed Asia.

^w See p. 272.

^x As quoted in the Philological Museum vol. I. p. 38.

more accurate series), concludes with very great probability that the capture of Babylon by the Medes is to be placed 1903 years before the time of *Alexander*. This will place that epoch at B. C. 2233^y, only twenty-one years above the date obtained from Polyhistor, whose period for the times before the Assyrian empire will be extended by this addition from 975 to 996 years. This is the more probable, because in the 48 years ascribed to the eleven reigns^z the numbers are doubtful^a. In that passage, then, we may substitute some other number, perhaps 69, for 48; which will raise the preceding period of 224 years to B. C. 2233. With only this alteration in the numbers, founded on the observation of Niebuhr, the following Table will exhibit the leading epochs according to the positions which have been established in the preceding inquiry:

[*Ninus* B. C. 2182]

Assyrian monarchy 1306 y. y. B.C.
before the empire ... 675...1912

during the empire, } 526...1237^b
24 kings }

[*Sardanap.* B. C. 876]

after the empire, } 105... 711
6 kings }

Capture of Nineveh 606

	y. B.C.
Conquest of Babylon by the }	224...2233 (2212)
Medes: 8 Median kings	
Eleven kings (48)	69...2009 (1988)
49 Chaldaeans	458...1940
9 Arabians	245...1482
— ended	— 1237 ^b
	(975) 996 —

The Assyrian empire had not yet extended over Asia at the time of the Exode of the Israelites, when many independent kings are mentioned^c; nor at the time of the first servitude, when an independent king reigned in Mesopotamia^d. Down therefore to B. C. 1550^e Mesopotamia was not subject to the Assyrians. These facts confirm Herodotus and Polyhistor, and refute those who following Ctesias have supposed the empire of Asia to have been acquired by the Assyrians 1300 years before the end of their monarchy. And although Plato^f supposed the kingdom of *Priam* to be within the authority of the Assyrians, it is probable that the Assyrian empire within that period of 526 years was principally confined to the Upper Asia, and not extended far to the westward. We know that Syria was a powerful and independent kingdom from the time of *Ahab* to the time of *Joash*; cir. B.C. 915—845^g;

^y See F. H. III. p. 505.

^z See above p. 272.

^a The editor observes p. 18. upon this number 48: *In margine se habet numerus XLVIII. at in textu vacuum relinquitur spatium.*

^b If the 526 years were completed at the death of *Sennacherib* in the beginning of B. C. 711 (see above p. 280. o), this term commences, and the preceding period terminates, in the beginning of B. C. 1237.

^c The king of Edom: Numb. XX. 14. of Moab: XXI. 26. of the Amorites: XXI. 21.

26. the kings of Midian: XXXI. 8. the king of Bashan: Deut. III. 1.

^d Judges III. 8.

^e B.C. 1405 according to the dates of Usher.

^f Plato Leg. III. p. 685. οἱ περὶ τὸ Ἰλιον οἰκοῦντες τότε πιστεύοντες τῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων δυνάμει τῇ περὶ Νίνον γενομένῃ θραυσινόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἡγείραν τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν, κ. τ. λ.—τῆς ἀρχῆς γὰρ τῆς ἔκεινων ἦν μόριον. Asṭ ad locum rightly observes that Plato here follows Ctesias, according to whom apud Diod. II. 2. *Ninus* conquered the whole of Asia Minor.

^g Compare 1 Kings XX. 1. 2 Kings XIII. 25.

and that the Assyrians did not acquire dominion in Syria till after B. C. 769^h, less than sixty years before the independence of the Medes. Herodotus, then, accurately limits the Assyrian dominion to the Upper Asiaⁱ. Dionysius follows Herodotus in ascribing a limited dominion to the Assyrians^k.

In the fabulous account of Ctesias^l, *Ninus* 1000 years before the Trojan war conquers with the help of the Arabians Babylonia, Armenia, Media, Egypt, Phoenicia, Cœlesyria, Asia Minor, Hyrcania, Carmania, Persis, Susiana, all these in 17 years; then after building Nineveh he conquers Bactriana, whose king according to Justin^m was *Zoroaster*. After the death of *Ninus*, Babylon is founded by *Semiramis*. Ctesias has here ascribed to one person the acts of many. Babylon was really conquered about 50 years before the date of Ctesias; but it was conquered by the Medes, and *Zoroaster* was the first Median king of Babylonⁿ. We may place the conquest of Bactriana and Media 1000 years after the supposed time of *Ninus*. Phœnicia, Syria, and the adjacent countries, were not subdued till 1400 years after the epoch of Ctesias. The western and southern countries of Asia Minor were probably never subjected at all till the time of *Esarhaddon* and his successors, who pushed their conquests in that direction when they were excluded from the Upper Asia by the Medes.

V.

SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

THE history contained in the Hebrew Scriptures presents a remarkable and pleasing contrast to the early accounts of the Greeks. In the latter we trace with difficulty a few obscure facts preserved to us by the poets, who transmitted with all the embellishments of poetry and fable what they had received from oral tradition. In the annals of the Hebrew nation we have authentic narratives written by contemporaries, and these writing under the guidance of inspiration. What they have delivered to us comes accordingly under a double sanction. They were aided by divine inspiration in recording facts upon which, as mere human witnesses^a, their evidence would be valid. But as the narrative comes with an authority which no other writing can possess, so in the matters related it has a character of its own. The history of the Israelites is the history of miraculous interpositions. Their passage out of

^h See above p. 273.

ⁱ Herodot. I. 95. τῆς ἀνω 'Ασσίης.

^k Dionys. Ant. I. p. 5. ή μὲν γὰρ 'Ασσυρίων δέρχῃ, ταλαιά τις οὖτα καὶ εἰς τοὺς μεθικοὺς ἀναγραμένη χρόνους, ὅλγους τινὲς ἐπεκράτησε τῆς 'Ασίας μέρους. ή δὲ Μηδικὴ, καθελοῦσσα τὴν 'Ασσυρίων καὶ μεζονα διναστείαν περιβαλλόμενη, χρόνον οὐ τοιὸν κατέσχει, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης κατελθεῖ γενέας. He doubtless refers to the 520 years followed by the four Median reigns in Herodotus.

^l Apud Diod. II. 2.

^m Justin. I. 1. *Postremum illi bellum cum Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse.*

ⁿ See above p. 270. d. The mistake respect-

ing the foundation of Babylon is noticed by Beerosus apud Joseph. Apion. I. 20. μέμφεται τοῖς Ἐλληνιστι συγγραφεῖσιν ὡς μάτην οἰομένους ἵνα Σεμιράμιδος τῆς 'Ασσυρίας κτισθήναι τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. Referred to by Wess. ad Diod. tom. I. p. 390.

^a It may be said that *Moses* was not a witness of the facts which he relates between the birth or the call of *Abraham* (when the history of the Hebrews may be properly said to commence) and his own time. But there were so few steps between *Abraham* and *Moses* that, though not a witness, he was an authentic reporter of evidence. In the following history, from the exode to the rebuilding of the temple, all the writers were, strictly speaking, witnesses.

Egypt was miraculous. Their entrance into the promised land was miraculous. Their prosperous and their adverse fortunes in that land, their servitudes and their deliverances, their conquests and their captivities, were all miraculous. The entire history, from the call of *Abraham* to the building of the sacred temple, was a series of miracles. It is so much the object of the sacred historians to describe these, that little else is recorded. The ordinary events and transactions, what constitutes the civil history of other states, are either very briefly told or omitted altogether; the incidental mention of these facts being always subordinate to the main design of registering the extraordinary manifestations of divine power. For these reasons the history of the Hebrews cannot be treated like the history of any other nation; and he who should attempt to write their history, divesting it of its miraculous character, would find himself without materials. Conformably with this spirit there are no historians in the sacred volume of the period in which miraculous intervention was withdrawn. After the declaration by the mouth of *Malachi*^b that *a messenger should be sent to prepare the way*, the next event recorded by any inspired writer is the birth of that messenger^c. But of the interval of 400 years between the promise and the completion no account is given. And this period of more than 400 years between *Malachi* and the *Baptist* is properly the only portion, in the whole long series of ages from the birth of *Abraham* to the Christian era, which is capable of being treated like the history of any other nation^d.

^b III. 1.

^c Or at least the circumstances which preceded it: Luke I. 1—56. Augustine Civ. Dei XVII. 24. has remarked this cessation of prophecy: *Toto autem illo tempore ex quo redierunt de Babylonia post Malachiam Aggæum et Zachariam, qui tunc prophetaverunt, et Esdram, non habuerunt prophetas usque ad Salvatoris adventum, nisi alium Zachariam patrem Joannis et Elizabetham ejus uxorem, Christi nativitate jam proxima.* Josephus Apion. I. 8. admits the fact: *ἀπὸ Ἀρταξέρκου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἔκστατα· πίστεως δὲ οὐχ ὄμοις ἡξιώται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν.*

^d Because during this period divine interpolations were withheld, and the Jews were left to the ordinary course of things. And we may remark that in all ages of their history divine inspiration was vouchsafed in exact proportion to the necessity of the case. Inspiration was afforded to *Noah*, to *Abraham*, to *Moses*; and from *Moses* to *Malachi* there was an uninterrupted communication of the divine will through inspired ministers to the chosen people. By this chosen people the knowledge of the Deity was preserved through so many ages in the midst of the darkness and idolatry and polytheism of the other nations of the world. And the measure of inspiration was always in proportion to the exigency. The greatest prophets arose in the most difficult times. The reign of *Ahab* was distinguished by *Elijah* and *Elisha*. *Isaiah* continued to prophesy through the time of *Ahaz*. And

during the captivity many eminent prophets consoled and instructed the Jews in their calamity. But with *Malachi* inspiration ceased, and the Jews were left to the exertion of their own faculties. Inspiration appears to have been withdrawn because it was no longer necessary for the purposes of Providence. The character of the Jews in their captivity had undergone a remarkable change. During the period of their judges and kings they had been easily seduced into the idolatries of their neighbours; but, after the return from Babylon, they exhibited a spirit of attachment to their law and to their sacred books which they maintained under all circumstances with incredible firmness. A people of such habits as they had now acquired was eminently fitted for the office for which they were designed, of guardians of the oracles of God (*ἐπιστείθοντα λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ* Rom. III. 2). Josephus Apion. I. 8. remarks of his countrymen, *πᾶσι σύμφυτόν ἔστι εἴδης ἐκ τῆς πράτης γενέστως Ἰουδαῖος τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ Θεού δόγματα, καὶ τέτοις ἐμμένειν, καὶ ἐπερ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θήσκειν ἤδειν.* Miraculous aid was now therefore no longer necessary to fit them for their office, and was accordingly withheld. As in the material world Providence has everywhere proportioned the means to the end, the forces being not greater than the occasion requires, so it would seem that in his spiritual communications extraordinary aids are only granted when ordinary influence is insufficient. At the birth of the *Messiah* the greatness of the occasion demanded that divine communications, after a suspension of four centuries, should again be made;

From this spirit of the Scripture history, the writers not designing to give a full account of all transactions, but only to dwell on that portion in which the divine character was marked, many things which we might desire to know are omitted, and on many occasions a mere outline of the history is preserved. It is mortifying to our curiosity that a precise date of many remarkable facts cannot be obtained. The destruction of the temple is determined by concurrent sacred and profane testimony to July B. C. 587. From this point we ascend to the birth of *Abraham*. But between these two epochs, the birth of *Abraham* and the destruction of the temple, two breaks occur in the series of Scripture dates, which make it impossible to fix the actual year of the birth of *Abraham*; and this date being unknown, and assigned only upon conjecture, all the preceding epochs are necessarily unknown also.

Our knowledge of the time which had passed before the birth of *Abraham* is derived from two passages in Genesis, in which the years of the antediluvian and postdiluvian patriarchs are recorded. In the antediluvian patriarchs the age of each at the birth of his son is stated with the following variations :

	Joseph.	LXX.	African. ^f	Theoph. ^g	Heb.	Samar. ^h
1. <i>Adam</i>	230	230	230	230	130	130
2. <i>Seth</i>	205	205	205	205	105	105
3. <i>Enos</i>	190	190	190	190	90	90
4. <i>Cainan</i>	170	170	170	170	70	70
5. <i>Mahalaleel</i>	165	165	165	165	65	65
6. <i>Jared</i>	162	162	162	162	162	62
7. <i>Enoch</i>	(1)65 ^e	165	165	165	65	65
8. <i>Methuselah</i>	187	187	187	167	187	67
9. <i>Lamech</i>	182	188	188	188	182	53
10. <i>Noah</i>	600	600	600	600	600	600
	[2156]	2256	2262	2262	1656	1307

These variations are not the effect of accident, but designⁱ; because the years before the birth of the son and the residues in all the cases agree with the totals of lives. Thus *Adam* has $130 + 800 = 930$ in the Hebrew and Samaritan, but $230 + 700 = 930$ in the Septuagint and Africanus. *Seth* has $105 + 807 = 912$ in the former, but $205 + 707 = 912$ in the latter; and so through the first five generations. The totals of lives in the first five and in the seventh are the same in Sam. Sept. Heb. In the 6th, 8th, and 9th, the Samaritan varies from the other two. 6. *Jared* $162 + 800 = 962$ Heb. Sept., but $62 + 785 = 847$ Sam. 8. *Methuselah* $187 + 782 = 969$ Heb. Sept., but $67 + 653 = 720$ Sam. 9. *Lamech* $182 + 595 = 777$ Heb., but $188 + 565 = 753$ Sept. and $53 + 600 = 653$ Sam. In the totals of lives Josephus

and the evangelists and apostles were armed with supernatural gifts and powers adequate to the duties which they were to perform.

^e Joseph. Ant. I. 3, 4. 'Ἄδαμ μὲν ὅν τριακοστῷ ἔτῃ καὶ διαισιστῇ ἔτει γεγονότι παις Σῆθος γίνεται κ. τ. λ.—Μαθουσάλας δὲ Ἀνέχου ταῖς κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γεγονότι τέμπτοις καὶ ἐξησυχότοις [καὶ ἑκατοστὸν] Λάμεχον νῦν ἔσχε, κ. τ. λ. The addition καὶ ἑκατοστὸν is properly made by Oberthur.

^f Africanus apud Syncellum p. 81. ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ τοῖν μέχρι γενέσεως Ἔνδει ἔτη τὰ σύμπαντα νῦν. p. 83. D. γίνεται τοῖν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Νῦν καὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἔτη βοξεῖ.

^g Theophil. ad Autolyc. III. 24. Ἀδὰμ ἦν εὖ ἐτέκυπτεν ἔχοντες ἔτη σπλ. νῦν δὲ τούτου Σὴθ ἔτη σε', κ. τ. λ.—Νῦν—ἔτι τούτου ἐγένετο ὁ κατακλυσμός, ὃντος αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν χ. τὰ πάντα δύν μέχρι κατακλυσμοῦ γεγένηται ἔτη βοξεῖ.

^h Eusebius apud Syncellum p. 83. Chron. I. p. 58. κατὰ τὸ ταρὰ Σαμαρείταις Ἐβραικὸν Ἀδὰμ γενόμενος ἐτῶν ρἱ' γεννᾷ τὸν Σὴθ κ. τ. λ. p. 85. A. Chron. I. p. 60. ὃμοῦ τὰ πάντα ἔτη φτζ. διαφωνεῖ πρὸς μὲν τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν ἔτεσι τιμή πρὸς δὲ τὴν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔτεσι θάλε.

ⁱ Conf. Augustin. Civ. Dei XV. 13.

agrees with the Hebrew in all the nine. The Septuagint differs only in one, *Lamech*. The Samaritan differs from all the rest in the 6th, 7th, and 9th, which are shortened to adapt them to the shorter period between *Jared* and the flood. By this management, *Jared*, *Methuselah*, and *Lamech*, all die in the year of the flood.

The Septuagint computation gives 1287 years to the birth of *Methuselah*, and some copies divide the years of *Methuselah* thus: $167 + 802 = 969$; from which this absurdity arises, that *Methuselah* is made to survive the flood 14 years^k. But the better copies have $187 + 782 = 969$, which brings the death of *Methuselah* to six years before the flood. Theophilus, as we have seen, followed these faulty numbers^l; they were also in the copies of Eusebius^m, Augustineⁿ, and Syncellus^o; but Africanus and Josephus and the Paschal Chronicle^p all divide the years of *Methuselah* 187 + 782, as in the Hebrew; and the genuine numbers of the Septuagint, 2262 (not 2242), may be traced in Demetrius quoted below, and are given by Epiphanius^q. The Septuagint, then, when the true numbers are restored to *Methuselah*^r, only differs from the Hebrew (besides the centenary additions) in adding six years to the generation of *Lamech*, 188 for 182. Josephus, except in the centenary additions, entirely agrees with the Hebrew numbers; and Africanus with the Septuagint adds six years (besides the centenary additions) to the antediluvian generations, 2262 instead of 2256: but he partly compensates for these by omitting two postdiluvian years before the birth of *Arphaxad*, computing $2262 + 265 = 2527$ to the birth of *Eber* instead of $2256 + 267 = 2523$; thus making the postdiluvian dates only four years more instead of six. Thus he reckons $2262 + 399 = 2661$ to the birth of *Phaleg*, while the true numbers (including the centenary additions) would be $2256 + 401 = 2657$. The 145th year of *Terah* is $2262 + 1015 = 3277$ ^s. But, including

^k Because $1287 + 969 = 2256$, but $1287 + 167 + 188 + 600 = 2242$, or 14 years less than the life of *Methuselah*. Petavius, among other writers, discusses this question ad Epiphanium p. 5. A.

^l Hales vol. I. p. 92. has given a totally erroneous account of the dates of Theophilus: "The distinctest enumeration of the period is given by Theophilus of Antioch thus: Adam 330 y.: &c. *Methuselah* 187, Deluge 2362." But Theophilus himself reckons 2242 years to the flood with the current copies of the Septuagint. He thus computes 3278 years from the Creation to the 100th year of *Abraham*: γένος μέχρι Ἀβραὰμ ἔτη γενόντων. and 1036 (his period from the flood to the 100th year of *Abraham*) deducted from 3278 will also give 2242 for the period to the flood; agreeing with his numbers in detail. He again gives the same numbers in his summary III. 28. ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ὁ πᾶς χρόνος κεφαλαιώδες οὖτον κατάγεται. ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἐν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ ἔγενοτο ἔτη βασικά. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐν τεκνογονίᾳ Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πρωτάρος ἡμῶν ἔτη φλέρα. His chronology in the following periods shall be given below.

^m Euseb. Chron. I. p. 54.

ⁿ Civ. Dei XV. 10. 11.

^o Syncell. p. 113. 114. The copies of Suidas also gave 2242 years: conf. Suid. v. Φάλεκ.

^p Chron. Pasch. p. 21. D. εἰς τῷ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει

τοῦ Σημὶ ἑκατοστῷ δὲ τοῦ Νῶε καὶ βασικῷ ἔτει γενέσεως κόσμου ἐγένετο ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοσαῦτα δὲ μέχρι τὸν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς συνήγαγεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῆς Γενέσεως βιβλία ρεῖς φάνες τοῦ Μαθουσέλα ἔτη, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν γενῆσαι τὸν Λάμψην. The generations in Chron. Pasch. I. c. give *Methuselah* 187 + 862, and make the whole period 2262 years.

^q Epiphan. adv. Hær. I. p. 5. A. οὗτον παρῆλθε δεκάτη γενέα δι' ἑτῶν δισχιλίων διακοσίων ἑπτάκοντα δύο, καὶ ὁ κατακλυσμὸς πέπανται. He places p. 663. A. the 15th of *Tiberius* at A. M. 5509 = B.C. 5491 for the date of the Creation.

^r Syncellus p. 114. A. misunderstands the question, misrepresents Africanus, and himself supposes *Methuselah* to have survived the flood. We gather, however, from Syncellus that all the copies in his time had the faulty numbers: οὗτος κατὰ τὰς ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς Γενέσεως βιβλίους ὑπερέβη τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἔτεσι ιε'. Augustine Civ. D. XV. 10. had the faulty reading in his copies, $167 + 802$ for *Methuselah*, but (XV. 13) he judiciously applies the proper remedy, and adopts the better reading, 187 + 782.

^s Africanus apud Syncellum p. 86. Σάλα γενέμενος ἔτῶν ρά γενῆ τὸν Ἐβερ, βασικόν. Ἐβερ γενέμενος ἔτῶν ράδη γενῆ τὸν Φαλέκ, βασικόν.—p. 93. τῷ γενός ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου ἐπέβη Ἀβραὰμ τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης Χαρακτίδος γῆς.

the centenary additions, the date would be $2256 + 1017 = 3273$. The two years after the flood are also omitted by the Paschal Chronicle and by Theophilus.

The question in the antediluvian genealogies will lie between the computation of Josephus and of the present Hebrew copies; whether the genuine and original numbers were 1656 years, according to the Hebrew, or the Hebrew with the centenary addition to six generations, that is, $1656 + 600 = 2256$ years according to the account of Josephus. The Samaritan numbers err in defect; the Septuagint inserts a supernumerary term of six years. In the postdiluvian generations the question is somewhat different. Here the Samaritan, the Septuagint, and Josephus, all concur in the longer computation.

	Heb. ^t	Sam. ^u	Joseph. ^v	LXX.	Theoph. ^w	Afric. ^x	Ch. P. ^y	Euseb. ^z
11. <i>Shem</i> (100)	2	2	12	2				2
12. <i>Arphaxad</i>	35	135	135	135	135	135	135	135
[<i>Cainan</i>				130			130]	
13. <i>Salah</i>	30	130	130	130	130	130	130	130
14. <i>Heber</i>	34	134	134	134	134	134	134	134
15. <i>Peleg</i>	30	130	130	130	130	130	130	130
16. <i>Reu</i>	32	132	130	132	132	132	132	132 ^a
17. <i>Serug</i>	30	130	132	130	130	130	130	130
18. <i>Nahor</i>	29	79	120	79	75	79	79	79
19. <i>Terah</i>	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
20. to <i>Abraham</i>	292	942	993	1072	936	940	1070	942

In the Septuagint there is a remarkable discrepancy in the residues of lives, which are not adapted to the centenary additions, as in the antediluvian generations. The Samaritan adapts the residues and adds the total amounts, which are wanting both in the Hebrew and the Septuagint^b. The following Table exhibits these varieties:

	LXX.		HEBREW.		SAMARITAN.		
	Age.	Residues.	Age.	Residues.	Age.	Residues.	Totals.
<i>Shem</i>	100	500	100	500	100	500	600
<i>Arphaxad</i> 135	330 ^c		35	403	135	303	438
<i>Salah</i> 130	330 ^d		30	403	130	303	433
<i>Heber</i> 134	270 ^e		34	430	134	270	404
<i>Peleg</i> 130	209 ^f		30	209	130	109	239
<i>Reu</i> 132	207 ^g		32	207	132	107	239
<i>Serug</i> 130	200 ^h		30	200	130	100	230
<i>Nahor</i> 79	129 ⁱ		29	119	79	69	148
<i>Terah</i> 70	—205 ^k		70	—205	70	—	145

^t Euseb. Chron. I. p. 63. ^u Euseb. p. 64.

^v Ant. I. 6, 5.

^w III. 24. p. 410.

^x Apud Syncellum p. 86.

^y Chron. Pasch. p. 25. 48.

^z Chron. I. p. 61.

^a In Eusebius 135. But he gives the total amount p. 62. *A diluvio ad primum annum Abrahami congeruntur anni* 942. from whence it appears that these numbers were 132.

^b See Hales vol. I. p. 82.

^c 403 Euseb. Chron. p. 61. 330 Chron. Pasch. p. 25.

^d 406 Euseb. 350 Chron. Pasch.

^e 433 Euseb. 270 Chron. Pasch.

^f 209 Euseb. Chron. P. African. apud Syn-

cell. p. 86. B.

^g 207 Euseb. p. 62. Chron. Pasch. p. 48.

^h 200 Euseb. 230 Chron. Pasch.

ⁱ 119 Euseb. 129 Chron. Pasch.

^k 70+135 Euseb. ἐπέγειος ἔτη σε' Chron.

Pasch.

Total ages in Chron. Pasch. p. 25. 48.:

Arphaxad 465

Salah 480

Eber 404

Phaleg 339

Reu..... 339

Serug (300) 360. διαν τ'. l. τξ.

Nahor 208

Terah 275

That the longer computation was in the Greek version from an early period appears from Demetrius, a writer quoted by Polyhistor, whose account is to the following effect¹: είναι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἔως τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τοὺς τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ συγγενεῖς ἔτη γχνδ, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἔως τῆς Ἰακώβ παρουσίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔτη γχνδ. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἐκλεγῆνται Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ τῶν ἑβρῶν καὶ ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Χαρρὼν εἰς Χαναάν ἔως εἰς Αἴγυπτον τοὺς περὶ Ἰακώβ ἐλθεῖν ἔτη σιε'. These numbers give

	y.
From the creation to the flood	2264
From the flood to the Call	1145
To the going into Egypt.....	215 }
	1360
	3624

Consequently Demetrius reckoned from the flood to the birth of *Abraham* $1145 - 75 = 1070$ years. He therefore agreed with the present copies of the Septuagint in computing 2264 years to the birth of *Arphaxad* (although he placed the two years before the flood^m instead of after it) and in inserting the second *Cainan* in the postdiluvian genealogy. The second *Cainan* was in all the copies of the Septuagint in the time of Syncellus, who censures Eusebius for omitting himⁿ. Eusebius was undoubtedly wrong in concealing from his readers that the second *Cainan* was in the Greek copies. But although there inserted, yet this *Cainan* has been properly rejected by many judicious chronologers as a spurious addition to the text. Among the arguments for his rejection these are sufficient. He is not in the Hebrew or Samaritan copies, nor in Josephus. The silence of Theophilus makes it probable that he was absent from some copies of the Septuagint. He is wanting in the Hebrew copy^o of 1 Chron. I. 18. 24. Philo Judæus omitted him; for Philo reckoned two decades of generations from

¹ Apud Euseb. Præp. IX. 21. p. 422. Δημητρίου περὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ. ἀπίστουν δὲ τάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυτόπορον. “Δημήτριος φησὶ τὸν Ἰακώβ γενέμενον ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τέσσερα φυγεῖν εἰς Χαρρὼν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας” κ. τ. λ. His summary of the dates is given p. 425. C. Eusebius concludes p. 426. Άραιά μοι κείσθω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυτόπορος γραφῆς. Demetrius probably flourished in the time of Ptolemy Philopator: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 337. D. Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς βασιλείας τὴν ἰουδαϊκὴν καὶ Βενιαμεῖν καὶ Λευΐτην μὴ αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Σενναχερέμ· ἀλλ’ εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ταῦτης εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἡ ἐποίησατο Νεβουχοδονόσορας δὲ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπη ἀκοτὸν ἕικοσι ἀκτὸν μῆνας ἔξ. ἀφ’ οὗ δὲ αἱ φιλαὶ αἱ δέκα δὲ Σαμαρείταις αἰχμάλωτος γεγόνασιν ἔως Πτολεμαίου τετάρτου [B. C. 222] ἐπη πεντακόσια ἑβδομήκοντα τρία μῆνας ἐννέα· ἀφ’ οὗ δὲ δὲ ἔξ Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐπη τριακόσια τριάκοντα δικτὸν μῆνας τρεῖς. These numbers neither agree with the true periods nor with each other. The true interval between the two captivities was 133 years. The numbers of Demetrius give either $128 + 338 = 466$ or $128 + 445 = 573$. Either the second or third number in Clemens is corrupted. Where Demetrius placed the captivity of *Zedekiah*, whether at B. C. 631, as Sulpicius did afterwards, or at B. C. 620 as Africanus did, we are not informed. If the second number is genuine, $573 + 222$ will give B. C. 795 for the cap-

ture of Samaria and B. C. 667 for the capture of *Zedekiah*, about 36 years higher than the date of Sulpicius. The third date of Demetrius, which would bring down the capture of *Zedekiah* to B. C. 560, we may reject as corrupted.

^m That is, the Septuagint divides the years to the birth of *Abraham* thus: $2262 + 1072 = 3334$. But Demetrius thus: $2264 + 1070 = 3334$.

ⁿ Syncell. p. 169. θαυμάσας δέ μη μεγάλως ἐπεστιν ὅταν ὁ αὐτὸς κατά τιας κίηθεις φράνμεις Εὐσέβιος —οὕτω προδόλως ταῖς θελαῖς γραφαῖς ἀντιπεσεῖ τετλημένον, δὲ πᾶσαν ἀκριβειαν ἐπαγγειλάμενος καὶ τάληθοῦς εὔρεστον (οὓς φησιν) ἐκ τῆς παρ’ Ἐβραίοις καὶ Σαμαρείταις καὶ τοῖς ὁ ἐμρινεταῖς φερομένοις διαπεφομένης γραφῆς διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀντηγράφων δούμφωνον, καὶ τριχῶς παραβέμενος τὰς χρόνους [sc. Chron. I. p. 53—66] ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ τῶν τριῶν παραβέσει τοῦ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Καινῶν ίνεν Ἀρραζᾶδ ἐμνήσθη. εἰ γάρ ἐν ταῦταισι οὐχ ηὔρηται, πόθεν αἱ ἀνά πάσας τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναγνωσθόμεναι οἱραι βίβλοι τῆς Γενέσεως; τοῦτον ἐμφαίνονται; πόθεν δὲ καὶ Λουκᾶς ὁ θεοτάτος—ἐκ τῇ ιερᾶς καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς αὐτοῦ βίβλῳ γρ/ ἔξ Ἀδάμ ἔθετο τοῦτο;

^o Hales vol. I. p. 90. asserts that the Septuagint in 1 Chron. I. 24. omits *Cainan*; which is an incorrect account. Many copies have *Cainan* in both the passages of 1 Chron. I. In v. 18. *Cainan* appears in 21 copies collated by Dr. Parsons, including the Alexandrine. In v. 24. he is inserted in six copies.

Adam to Abraham, computing *Noah* to be the tenth from *Adam* and *Abraham* the tenth from *Shem*, as in the present Hebrew copies^P. Berosus^q places *Abraham* in the tenth generation after the flood; but if *Cainan* were admitted, *Abraham* would be in the eleventh. Jackson^r imputes great alteration in the Hebrew copies to the Jews of the second century. But as *Cainan* was wanting in the copies used by Josephus and Philo, it is evident that he was absent from the Hebrew copies as early as the Christian era, before the Jews could have had any motive, from the growth of Christianity, for corrupting the text. Nor is the insertion of *Cainan* before the time of Demetrius a reason for admitting him; for, if this passage was interpolated by the original translators to augment the amount of years, it would naturally appear in all the early copies. This spurious generation being rejected, our choice will lie between 292 years, the numbers in the Hebrew, and 942 years, the numbers of the Samaritan and corrected Greek copies supported by Josephus. But this amount is still to be enlarged, when the true time of the birth of *Abraham* is taken into the account. All the authorities which have been quoted suppose *Abraham* to have been the eldest son of his father, and place his birth at the 70th year and the call at the 145th year of *Terah*. But Usher has shewn the error of this opinion, and has proved that the birth of *Abraham* is determined by the narrative of *Moses* to the 130th year of *Terah*^s. We are therefore to add 60 years to the preceding

^P Philo Jud. de post. Cain. c. 50. tom. II. p. 45. ed. Lips. ἀλλὰ τρόπον μὲν παραύησον ἄχρι δεκάδος, ἀριθμοῦ τελεῖν, λῆψεται, καθ' ἣν ὁ δίκαιος Νῦν συνισταται· δευτέραν δὲ καὶ ἀμείνω τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Σῆμη ἔτεραν δεκάδα τελευτῶσαν, ἃς Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πιστὸς ἔπει-

πυμος τρίτην δὲ καὶ τελεωτέραν δεκάδας ἐβίβομάδα ἀπὸ τούτου μέχρι Μωϋσῆ—ἐβίβομος γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ οὗτος ἐστι. The generations which were in the mind of Philo were these:

1. Adam	1. Shem	1. (<i>Abraham</i>)
2. Se'h	2. Arphaxad	2. Isaac
3. Enos	3. Salah	3. Jacob
4. Cainan	4. Heber	4. Levi
5. Mahalaleel	5. Peleg	5. Kohath
6. Jared	6. Reu	6. Amram
7. Enoch	7. Serug	7. Moses
8. Methuselah	8. Nahor	
9. Lamech	9. Terah	
10. Noah	10. Abraham	

There were two decades to *Abraham*, and *Moses* was the seventh inclusive from *Abraham*. When Josephus (who omitted *Cainan*, as we know from his detail Ant. I. 6, 5) calls *Abraham* the tenth from *Noah*—Ἄβραμον δὲ δέκατος μὲν ἐστιν ἀπὸ Νοέων—he computes exclusive of *Noah*, and has in view a similar division of the patriarchs into two decades.

^q Joseph. Ant. I. 7, 2. μημονεῖς δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου Βηρυσσόδε, οὐκ ἴνομέσων, λέγων δὲ οὕτως· “Μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτη γενέτη παρὰ Χαλδαῖον” “τις ἦ δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγας.” Repeated by Eusebius Præp. IX. 16. Jackson vol. I. p. 69—80. stating the arguments in favour of the second *Cainan*, and Hales vol. I. p. 90—94. the arguments for rejecting him, each pressing his own view of the question with too much eagerness, have sometimes drawn opposite conclusions from the same facts. Jackson considers this passage

of Berosus an evidence “that *Cainan* was in “the genealogy;” for that “if we exclude *Cainan*, there are no more than nine generations “after the flood to *Abraham* inclusive.” But according to Hales Berosus is “a powerful authority for the rejection of *Cainan*, who, if inserted, would place *Abraham* in the eleventh “generation from *Shem* inclusive.” There is no doubt that Hales is in the right.

^r Vol. I. p. 79.

^s The proof is easy and complete. *Abraham* removed to Canaan *after his father's death*: Acts VII. 4. and at the time of his removal was 75 years old: Gen. XII. 3—5. But 205—75 = 130. Usher accordingly Annals p. 4. observes, “Now when *Terah* had lived 70 years, there “was born to him the eldest of his three sons: “Gen. XI. 26. and he not *Abram*, who came “not into the world till 60 years after, but *Ha-*

numbers, and the one computation will give $292 + 60 = 352$ years, the other $942 + 60 = 1002$ years, for the interval from the flood to the birth of *Abraham*^t. The early fathers for the

"ran." Moreover "Sarai, who was also called "Iscah, the daughter of Haran Abram's brother : Gen. XI. 29." was only "ten years younger than her husband Abraham : Gen. XVII. 17." Usher Ibid. And this confirms the fact that *Haran* was 60 years older than *Abraham*. The erroneous date for the birth of *Abraham* placed the call of *Abraham* into *Canaan* 60 years before the death of his father, which is contrary to Gen. XI. 32. XII. 1. 4. and on this account in the Samaritan copy the life of *Terah* is reduced to 145 years, that his death might be adapted to the supposed time of the call. In Gen. XI. 26. 27. *Abram* is named first on account of his superior importance. Thus in Gen. VI. 10. IX. 18. X. 1. *The sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth*, *Shem* is named first ; but *Japheth* was the elder brother : Gen. X. 2. 21. Mr. Greswell Dissert. vol. I. p. 383. adopts the shorter computations, and places the creation with Usher at B. C. 4004, observing, "It is requisite to premise that the only foundation for my calculations which I acknowledge is the Hebrew text ; in comparison of which I admit the superior authority neither of the Septuagint nor of Josephus." His arrangement, however, of the years of *Abraham* is inconsistent with this declaration ; for, in order to adapt the years of *Terah* to that arrangement, he alters the age of *Terah* upon conjecture to 135 years : p. 388. "The true length of the life of *Terah*, as it appears to me, was neither 205 nor 145, but 135. Moses might simply have written *The days of Terah were 135 years* ; which some scribe considering to be distinct from the time before specified (that he lived 70 years and begat, &c.) added the one to the other, as making up the sum total of his life. And this conjecture is greatly confirmed by the result : for $70 + 135 = 205$. It is not likely that *Terah* would enjoy a longer life than *Abraham* himself, who died at 175, or than *Isaac* and *Jacob*, who died at 180 and 147. I conclude, then, that the age of *Terah* at his death was 135." By this alteration of the text he places the birth of *Abraham* in the 62nd year of *Terah* and the 284th year after the flood ; and the death of *Terah* in the 74th year of *Abraham*: vol. I. p. 387. vol. III. p. 341. The assertion that *Terah lived 70 years and begat Abram, &c.* he understands vol. I. p. 387. to mean that "they were all begotten before he was 70, because the age of the παιδεύσις just before the birth of *Terah*

"was as early as 29, and in no case since the flood had exceeded 35 ; so that it cannot be credible that *Terah* should be twice 35 before the birth of his eldest son." But it is not unlikely that *Terah* should have lived longer than *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, when the lives of all the seven preceding patriarchs had been gradually shortened from 600 to 400 and 200 years. On the contrary it may be said with greater reason that, since *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, lived 175, 180, and 147 years, it is not likely that *Terah*, who preceded them, should have lived only 135. Nor is it incredible that *Terah* should have been 70 years older than his eldest son, when *Abraham* was 86 at the birth of *Ishmael*, *Isaac* 60 at the birth of *Jacob*, and *Jacob* 78 at the birth of *Reuben*. This conjectural alteration, then, of the text of Genesis, for which there is no authority in any of the copies, appears to be made without necessity.

^t Dr. Hales vol. I. p. 104. discerns the number 1002 in the account of Josephus : "The present text of Josephus assigns 120 years to *Nahor's* generation. But he probably wrote 129 ; for 29 was the curtailed Hebrew generation, to which according to his system he rightly added a century. And that he originally wrote 129 is proved also from its being necessary to complete the correct period 1002, to which it appears he was no stranger, from his remarkable deviation from Scripture in twelve years, which he substitutes for two, from the deluge to the birth of *Arphaxad*. For as Josephus adopted the vulgar error that *Abraham* was *Terah's* eldest son, there was a deficiency of 60 years in *Terah's* generation ; and these 60 years Josephus most ingeniously supplied by adding 50 years to *Nahor's* generation (the correct length being 79), and 10 years more to the first interval." But there is no magical virtue in the number 1002, that it was to be obtained by any means. This amount happens to result from the sum of the generations when properly stated, and could only have occurred to those who placed the birth of *Abraham* at the right year of his father. Josephus, then, displayed no great skill or ingenuity, if, having missed the true place of *Abraham's* birth (at the 130th year of his father), he corrupted the numbers in two periods in order to produce a term of 1002 years, which he could have no reason for preferring. The opinion of Jackson is more probable, that in the first number there is an error in the text, δέ καὶ δέκα for δέ.

most part followed the longer computation v. We must not, however, give to this argument an authority beyond its value. The testimony of the fathers in favour of the Septuagint is of

▼ These are a few examples, to which others might be added. *Theophilus* A. D. 181. whose dates have been already quoted. *Clemens Alexandrinus* A. D. 194. He records p. 338. A. the date of Eupolemus : Εὐπόλεμος ἐν τῇ ὁμοίᾳ πραγματείᾳ [sc. ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων] Euseb. *Præp.* IX. p. 418. C] τὰ πάντα ἔτη φησίν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἄχρι τῶν πέμπτου ἔτους Δημητρίου, Πτολεμαῖον τὸ δεδεκατον βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου, συνάγεσθαι ἔτη ερμῆς· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ χρόνου ἔβηγατε Μασῶν τὸν Ἰουδαῖον; ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξ τὴν προειρημένην προθεσμίαν συνάγεσθαι ἔτη δισκίλια [l. χίλια] πεντακόσια ὡδοῦσκατα. Jackson vol. I. p. 71. properly reads χίλια. The date he fixes at B.C. 296, the 5th year of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* and the 12th of *Ptolemy Soter* in Jackson's computation. But this may be doubted. *Demetrius* reigned in Asia two years with his father from B.C. 303: F. H. III. p. 309. This would place his 5th year at B.C. 294. Reckoned from the death of his father, his 5th year would be current from August B.C. 297 to August B.C. 296. But neither of these periods coincided with the 12th of *Ptolemy*, whose first year was reckoned either from Nov. B.C. 305 (F. H. III. p. 399), or from Midsummer B.C. 306 (F. H. II. p. 174); in the one case his twelfth year was current from July B.C. 295 to July 294; in the other, from Nov. B.C. 294 to Nov. 293; in neither case corresponding with the 5th of *Demetrius*. Jackson proposes to write "the 10th of *Ptolemy*." But Eupolemus might refer to B.C. 235, which was in reality the 5th of *Demetrius II.* king of Macedon and the 12th of *Ptolemy Euergetes*. The 12th of *Euergetes* was current from Nov. B.C. 236 to Nov. B.C. 235: F. H. III. p. 399. The 5th of *Demetrius II.* was also current in B.C. 235, for he began to reign in 239 (F. H. II. p. 220). But $5149 + 235 = B.C. 5384$; and $1580 + 235 = 1815$. As Clemens quotes the numbers of Eupolemus with apparent acquiescence, we may conclude that they agreed with his own views. *Hippolytus* A. D. 200 apud Routh Rel. Patr. tom. II. p. 349. ἡ γὰρ πρώτη παρουσία τῶν Κυρίων ἡμῶν ἡ ἐνσάρκος ἐν Βηθλέεμ ἐπὶ Αἴγυπτους γεγένηται πεντακοσιχιλιοῦτῷ καὶ πεντακοσιοῦτῷ ἔτει. The date of Hippolytus may be also gathered from Photius Cod. 202. ἀνεγράψθη Ἱππολύτου—ἔρμηνεια εἰς τὸν Δαυΐδ—τὸ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀντιχριστοῦ παρουσίαν—αὐτὸν πεντακοσίους ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἰταχθέντα περιγράψασθαι, ὅσανεὶ τῶν ἀπὸ πρώτης τοῦ κόσμου καταβολῆς ἐξακοσιάλινον ἐτῶν συντελούμενον κ. τ. λ. *Africanus* A. D. 220. His computations we have already considered. His whole period is stated by Syncellus p. 18. A. Ἰουδαῖοι—ἀριθμὸν ἐτῶν πεντακοσιχιλίων

πεντακοσίων εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν σωτηρίου λόγου—παραδεδώκασν. *Lactantius* A. D. 306 observes VII. 13. *Sciant philosophi, qui ab exordio mundi seculorum millia enumerant, nondum sextum millesimum annum esse conclusum.* *Eusebius* A. D. 315. His periods are, to the flood 2242 y., to the birth of *Abraham* 942, to the birth of *Christ* 2015, making 5199 years=B. C. 5201. *Epiphanius* A. D. 368. See above p. 286. q. *Augustine Civ. D. XVIII.* 22. reckons 1000 years —anni non multo amplius quam mille—from the flood to *Ninus*, whom he places with *Eusebius* at B. C. 2059. and XVI. 10. he reckons 1072 years from the flood to *Abraham*. Idem XVIII. 40. *Quum a primo homine—nondum sex millia annorum compleantur.* Augustine XVIII. 54. gives the date of that treatise: *Missus est Spiritus Sanctus per Idus Maias. Numeratis proinde consulibus, 365 anni reperiuntur impleti per easdem Idus consulatu Honorii et Eutychiani* [A. D. 398]. Porro sequenti anno consule *Mamilio Theodoro* [A. D. 399]: *Chron. Pasch.* p. 306. D]—*Carthagine Africæ Gaudentius et Jovius comites imperatoris Honorii XIV Kal. April. sal-sorum deorum templa everterunt.—Ex quo usque ad hoc tempus per 30 ferme annos, &c.=* A. D. cir. 428. He began the work soon after the sack of Rome by *Alaric* A. D. 409, and was some years in its composition: *Quod opus per aliquot annos me tenuit.* *Retractat. lib. II. Chrysostom* A. D. 398: tom. V. p. 377, 33. μετὰ πεντακοσίων καὶ πλείσαν ἔτη τῶν γένους ἡκε προνόσων τῶν ἡμετέρου ὁ Χριστός. *Sulpicius Severus* A. D. 400 follows the Septuagint before the birth of *Abraham*; reckoning I. 5, 2. to the flood 2242 years; to the birth of *Abraham* I. 7, 1. 1070 years (including the second *Cainan*); 505 years to the Exode: I. 21, 2. 3. 26, 4. 588 to the temple: I. 70, 3. The collected amount is 4405 years. The death of *Samson* he places I. 55, 3. at A. M. 4303. *Sulpicius I. 72—93.* computes 433 years from the building of the temple to the destruction, which he places at B.C. 629 (631): F. H. II. p. 322. These collected numbers will give B.C. 5467 (5469) as his era for the Creation. *Annianus* A. D. 405 placed the Nativity at the close of A. M. 5500: *Syncell. p. 35. A. τῷ εφ' πληρωμάνῳ καὶ ἀρκαμένῳ τῷ εφα'*. It is needless to enumerate the opinions of later writers, who took the Septuagint for their guide; as Syncellus p. 2. B. p. 315. C. who fixed the Nativity to Dec. 25. A. M. 5500, or the author of the Paschal Chronicle, who placed the Creation at B.C. 5507; since 4905 y. 6 m. are computed

the less weight because they very generally believed that translation to have been miraculously made^w. Nor are their longer dates to be regarded as so many distinct authorities. The dates of the fathers are the dates of the Septuagint, and all resolve themselves into that one authority. The testimonies, then, to the longer computation in the antediluvian are less cogent than in the postdiluvian period. In the latter we have the additional evidence of the Samaritan dates. In the former the Samaritan rather agrees with the Hebrew ^x. Admitting Josephus, we have two witnesses before the flood, but after the flood we have three.

Jackson and Hales, who adopt the longer computations, argue in this manner: 1. They assert that the shorter generations are repugnant to the course of nature; that, if human life be divided into three periods, the generative powers continued in full vigour during the second period; hence that the age of puberty among the antediluvians began at 160 or 170 years of age; that *Terah's* eldest son *Haran* was born near the commencement of his second period, 70 years ^y. It is also argued that the average length of generations in the first ten patriarchs after the flood is shorter than in succeeding periods, when the duration of life was shortened. This last argument may be thus stated. Seven generations of the descendants of *Shem* ^z according to the short computation occupied 220 years, which give $31\frac{1}{3}$ years for each generation. But in the following period, from the birth of *Terah* to the birth of *Judah*, are 373 years, making for the four generations ^a 93 years to each. From the birth of *Abraham* to the 40th year of *Moses* ^b are 465 years and seven generations ^c; giving an average of $66\frac{1}{2}$ years. It is not likely, then, that the proportion would be $31\frac{1}{3}$ when the standard of life was from 400 to 200 years ^d. 2. They argue that according to the shorter scheme *Shem* survived

from the Creation to the captivity of *Zedekiah*: p. 129. C=p. 243. Scal. And this last event is placed at B.C. 602: F.H. II. p. 322.

^w The tale of the miraculous version was believed by *Justin Martyr* Cohort. c. 13. *Irenaeus contra Haeres*. III. 21. p. 215. *Clemens Alexandrinus Strom*. I. p. 341. *Tertullian Apologet.* c. 18. tom. V. p. 49. *Epiphanius de Ponderibus* c. 9. tom. II. p. 166. *Augustine Civ. D. XVIII.* 42. 43. The gradual progress of the tale, from the first narrative ascribed to *Aristeas* down to the account given by *Epiphanius*, is traced by *Prideaux Connexion* vol. III. p. 36—60. *Augustine XVIII.* 43. attests the authority of the Septuagint version: *Hanc quæ LXX est tanquam sola esset sic recepit Ecclesia, eaque utuntur Græci populi Christiani, quorum plerique utrum alia sit (interpretatio) aliqua utique ignorant.* *Ex hac LXX interpretatione etiam in Latinam linguam interpretatum est quod ecclesie Latine tenent.* *Quamvis non defuerit temporibus nostris presbyter Hieronymus, homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui non ex Græco sed ex Hebreo in Latinum eloquium easdem scripturas converterit.* *Sed ejus tam literatum laborem quamvis Judæi fateantur esse veracem, LXX vero interpres in multis errasse contendant, tamen ecclesie Christi tot hominum auctoritati—neminem judicant præferendum.*

^x It agrees with the Hebrew in seven cases out of ten.

^y Hales vol. I. p. 85. 86. after Jackson vol. I. p. 50. 51.

^z *Arphaxad, Salah, Heber, Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nahor.*

^a *Terah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob.*

^b After which he married.

^c *Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses.*

^d Eusebius argues this point Chron. I. p. 66. of the Armenian version. The original is preserved by Syncellus p. 89. ἐτεὶ τῶν φανονται κατὰ τὸ παλαιότατον Ἐβραϊκὸν, ὃ δὴ παρὰ Σαμαρείταις ἔτι καὶ νῦν σώζεται, τῇ τῶν ὁ ἐμυρνεῖδι συμφάνως οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ τὰς πρακειμένας τῶν ἐτῶν ἑκατοντάδας καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀριθμῳ παῖδας τοιησάμενοι, ποιὸς ἡρεῖ λόγος τοὺς τούτους πρεσβυτέρους, καί περ ἔτεις πολὺ πλειστοὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα βεβιωθεῖσαι, τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὴν παιδοποιίαν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον κατὰ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς ὁ σεσημειωμένους χρόνους; τούτων δὲ εἰν καὶ ὁ σώφρων λογισμὸς ὑποβάλλει τοῖν, ὥστε ἀνάγκη δημιαρτῆσθαι ὄμολογεῖν τὴν μὲν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις γραφὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀβραὰμ χρόνοις—τὴν δὲ παρὰ Σαμαρείταις ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν μένοις, τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἔτη σύμφωνα εὑρηται τῇ παρὰ τοῖς ὁ φερομένη τῶν ἐτῶν σημειώσει.—ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τὴν ἀποτίαν συνιδεῖν τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἀντιγράφων ἀπὸ τοῦ τριακοντάετεις ἀνα-

all his eight descendants except *Heber*, and lived till the 148th year of *Abraham* and the 73rd year after the call. *Noah* himself survived his fifth descendant *Peleg*, his eighth descendant *Nahor*, and lived to the 158th year of *Terah*. *Salah* survives *Peleg*, *Reu*, *Serug*, *Nahor*, *Terah*. *Heber* survives *Abraham* himself. The first four patriarchs after the flood, *Shem*, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, *Heber*, were all living at the time of the call, which was addressed to the tenth descendant of *Shem*. The remark of Scripture^e, that *Haran* died before his father, would scarcely have been thought necessary if the same thing had happened to all the preceding patriarchs. 3. It is remarked by Jackson^f that the country of *Abraham* was overspread with idolatry before the call. *Terah* was an idolater^g. But the worship of celestial bodies and of deified dead men would scarcely have begun in Chaldæa while *Noah* and *Shem* and *Arphaxad* and *Salah* and *Heber* were still living. 4. The shorter computation is inconsistent with profane accounts. Upon this subject Hales^h quotes the observation of Raleigh, that “in *Abraham*’s time all the then parts of the world were peopled, all nations and countries “had their kings. Egypt had many magnificent cities, and so had Palestine and all the bordering countries, yea all that part of the world besides, as far as India, &c. which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity than those other men supposed.” And that “if we advisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in *Abraham*’s time, yea before his time, we shall find that it were very ill done by following opinion without the guide of reason to pare the times over deeply between the flood and *Abraham*.”

These arguments relate to the postdiluvian period; and, if they were admitted, would make it probable that the interval from the flood to the birth of *Abraham* was 1002 years rather than 352. In the preceding period the arguments are not so cogent, and it might still happen that the Hebrew numbers might be the true amount before the flood and the Samaritan after it. This would give three variations; and the years to the birth of *Abraham* inclusive will be either $1656 + 352 = 2008$ with the Hebrew, or $1656 + 1002 = 2658$ with the Hebrew and Samaritan, or $2256 + 1002 = 3158$ with Josephus and the corrected Septuagint. We must here remark, however, that those who, with Clavier, imagine themselves at liberty to enlarge the time to an indefinite amount mistake the nature of the questionⁱ. The uncertainty here is not an uncertainty arising from want of testimony, like that which occurs in the early chro-

γράψαι τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ πεταιδοπομένους· ὅπτε οἱ μετὰ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ιστοροῦται πρεσβύτεροι τῶν κ' ἔτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ταῖδοτοίλαν ἐλθεῖν. ταυταχόθεν τοιγαροῦν τῆς τῶν οὐρανοτριῶν εἰ παλαιᾶς ὡς ἔουκε καὶ ἀδιαστρόφου Ἐβραίον γραφῆς μεταβεβλῆσθαι συνισταμένης, εἰκότας ταύτη καὶ ἡμεῖς κεχρήμεθα κατὰ τὴν παρούσαν χρονογραφίαν, ὅτε μάλιστα καὶ ἡ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡπλομένη Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία ταύτη μόνη προσέχει, τῷν τῷ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τε καὶ μαθητῶν ἀρχῆθεν ταύτη χρῆσθαι παραδεικνύσθων.

^e Gen. XI. 28.

^f Vol. I. p. 90.

^g Joshua XXIV. 2. Conf. Joseph. Ant. I. 7, 1.

^h Hales vol. I. p. 15. quoting Raleigh p. 228. 277.

ⁱ Clavier Hist. des Prem. Temps vol. I. p. 6. remarking that Plato asserts Egypt to have existed in his time 10,000 years, observes, *Cette haute antiquité ne s'accorde guères avec ce qui*

nous lisons dans la Bible. Mais les théologiens les plus savans conviennent que si nous devons croire sans examen tout ce qu'elle nous enseigne sur le dogme et sur la morale, il n'en est pas tout à fait de même de ce qui est purement historique, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de nombres qui peuvent avoir été altérés, et qui l'ont été effectivement, puisque des chronologistes très orthodoxes ont varié de près de deux mille ans sur l'époque de la création du monde : le P. Petau ne la portant qu'à l'an 3983 avant notre ère, et D. Pezon, savant Bénédictin, la réculant jusqu'à l'an 5868, sans qu'on l'ait traité d'hérétique. On peut donc bien la reculer encore davantage sans offenser en rien la religion. Petavius founded his dates upon the Hebrew, Pezon upon the Septuagint. But there is no ulterior point to which the epoch can be carried.

nology of Greece and of many other countries, where the times are uncertain because no evidence was preserved; and an approximation to the truth is to be made by a comparison of different particulars. The uncertainty here is of a peculiar character belonging to this particular case. The evidence exists, but in a double form; and we have to decide which is the authentic and genuine copy. But if the one is rejected, the other is established. Either the space before the flood was 1656 years, or it was 2256; either the period after the flood was 1002 years, or it was 352. These periods could not be greater than the highest of these numbers; they could not be less than the lowest.

That whole argument founded on the length of generations is of very little force. The hypothesis, that the age of puberty did not commence till a third part of life had been passed, is assumed without proof, and founded on no facts. The proposition is not true even in the present condition of human life; and we may collect the contrary from Scripture accounts themselves. In the period from *Jacob* to *Moses* the average length of life was from 150 to 120 years; and yet we know from undoubted facts that within this period the age of puberty was the same as at present. *Judah* could not be more than 48 years of age at the descent into Egypt, as will be shewn below; and yet he had four successions in his line before that epoch. His son *Pharez* was born after the marriage and death of the eldest son; and yet *Pharez* had children before the descent into Egypt^k. The years, then, of these generations could not have been more than these: *Judah* 15 + *Er* 15 + 2 (the widowhood of *Tamar*) + *Pharez* 16 = 48. *Benjamin* was under 30 at the going into Egypt; and yet *Benjamin* had ten sons^l. Again, there were eight generations between *Ephraim* and *Joshua*^m; *Joshua* was born at least 40 years before the exode, *Ephraim* about 5 years before the coming into Egypt: an interval of 180 years from the birth of *Ephraim* to the birth of *Joshua* his tenth descendant. These will give for the nine generations 20 years to each. From the birth of *Manasseh* to the death of *Joseph* were about 75 years, as will be shewn below; and yet the grandchildren of *Manasseh* were born before the death of *Joseph*ⁿ; perhaps 30 years to a generation. But in another line, from the birth of *Levi* to the birth of *Moses*, are 184 years, and yet in the female line only two generations. The daughter of *Levi*, then, must have been born after the 120th year of his life. From the birth of *Kohath* to the birth of *Moses* are 136 years, giving for the two generations of *Kohath* and *Amram* 68 years to each.

From these facts it may be inferred that in the patriarchal times the age of puberty was the same as at present, although the duration of life was longer. If this be so, it is not difficult to trace the increase of population in the first generations after the flood. In the present state of mankind it is calculated that the numbers of a people under favourable circumstances may be doubled in ten years. It has been proved by other calculators that the numbers have actually doubled in periods of $12\frac{2}{3}$ years for short periods. It is acknowledged that in parts of North America the people have doubled their numbers in 15 years^o. The Israelites in Egypt doubled their numbers in periods of something less than 15 years^p. Now the first

^k Gen. XLVI. 12.

^l Gen. XLVI. 21.

^m 1 Chron. VII. 23—27.

ⁿ Gen. L. 23.

^o Malthus Essay vol. I. p. 8. "According to a table of Euler—the period of doubling will be only 12 years and $\frac{1}{3}$. And this proportion is not only a possible supposition, but has actually occurred for short periods.—Sir W.

" Petty supposes a doubling possible in so short a time as ten years." On the period of 15 years in some states of North America, see Malthus vol. I. p. 7. vol. II. p. 194. 195.

^p Malthus vol. II. p. 190. quoting Short's Observations on Bills of Mortality p. 259, " It is calculated that the Israelites in Egypt doubled their numbers every fifteen years during the

families after the flood were placed in circumstances more favourable to rapid increase than in any other period of mankind. They were not gradually emerging from barbarism, but possessed all the arts and civilization of the antediluvian world. They had unoccupied land before them, and their lives were extended to 500, 400, and 200 years. If we assume, then, that the population doubled itself in periods of twelve years, the population of the earth, beginning from six parents, would in 276 years arrive at more than fifty millions of persons, and in 300 years would amount to two hundred millions⁹. If we take only the actual rate of increase which we know to have occurred in Egypt, and suppose 15 years to be the period of doubling, still the numbers of mankind would attain fifty millions in 345 years, and would reach two hundred millions in 375 years from the flood. I think the former calculation the most probable; but even in the latter case the numbers of mankind would have reached two hundred millions in the 24th year of the life of *Abraham*.

The circumstances of the dispersion of mankind are in favour of the shorter computation of the Hebrew copy. That dispersion was effected by the immediate interposition of Providence in opposition to the inclinations of mankind, who desired to dwell together, and were averse to the dispersion. Their object was to remain collected in one city. They built the tower, *lest they should be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth*¹. It is manifest, then, that the dispersion was commanded while they were yet few in number. It was directed prospectively with a view to prevent the evils that would arise from crowded numbers in a limited space. But at the time assigned to this event by the longer dates, more than 500

"period of their stay." The periods, however, of doubling were less than 15 years; for the Israelites in Egypt would have reached 2,293,000 persons in 15 periods of doubling; which, at 15 years to each period, would give 225 years. But they really attained 2,500,000 in 215 years; a larger number in a shorter term.

⁹ Six persons were the parents of mankind; for the age of *Noah* and the silence of the sacred historian make it probable that *Noah* had no children after the flood. But taking 6 as the element of our calculation, we arrive by an arithmetical progression in 18 periods at 1,572,864; in 20 periods at 6,291,456; in 23 periods at 50,331,648; in 25, at 201,326,692. But, the period of doubling being computed at twelve years, 18 periods would make 216 years, 20 would amount to 240 years, 23 to 276, and 25 would be completed in 300 years. It is plain, then, that the population of the earth might have been 200,000,000 fifty years before the birth of *Abraham* by the shorter computation. It may perhaps be said that the periods of doubling might proceed at the rate of twelve years to a certain point, perhaps to 23 periods; but that then the progress would be checked, and the numbers remain nearly stationary or slowly advancing; as the Israelites in 215 years multiplied to 2,500,000 persons, but during the 40 years in the wilderness their numbers remained

stationary at that point. This check, however, upon the impulse of population was provided against by the dispersion of mankind. After that dispersion, the periods of increase would proceed at the same rate as before among the families of mankind who occupied new countries.

¹ Gen. XI. 4. In the Greek version, however, πρὸ τοῦ διασπαρῆναι ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. But Jackson himself, who adopts the longer genealogies, asserts the true sense vol. I. p. 224. 225. "The Latin Vulgate and Jerome agree "with the Greek, that the Arabic translation, "taken from the Greek, has it *lest we be scattered*, in agreement with the Hebrew and Samaritan and with the Chaldee paraphrase and the Syriac version. And this is undoubtedly "the true sense of the words. There is no reason to think that these first inhabitants of the new world would spend several years in building a city and a tower which they expected soon to leave. Their design therefore in building the city was undoubtedly that they might live together in it, not intending to separate from one another; they built it for an habitation for themselves and their families." Josephus Ant. I. 4, 1—3. understands the passage in its right sense: τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσατος αὐτοῖς εἰς πολυάνθρωπηστα στέλειν ἀποικίας, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους—ἐπὶ ἀμεθίας παρήκουσαν τοῦ θεοῦ κ. τ. λ.

years after the flood^s, it is evident that this was no longer the condition of mankind ; since (as we have shewn) their numbers would increase in the common progress of things to many millions, their dispersion would then have been no longer a matter of choice, but of necessity. It could not have proceeded from a divine command providing against a future evil, but would have been forced upon them by the actual presence of that evil. The dispersion, then, in the days of *Peleg* took effect at an earlier period, while the numbers of mankind were yet a few thousands ; and *Peleg* was born where the Hebrew text places him, 101 years after the flood. It is not likely that the numbers of mankind, when they received the command to separate, and prepared to inhabit one city, would exceed 50,000 persons ; and this number they would certainly have reached within 160 years of the flood.

The other objections of Hales and Jackson are of no great force. The first patriarchs survived their descendants because the term of human life was suddenly shortened by the immediate will of Providence. The fact that *Haran* died before his father is not mentioned by the historian as a remarkable occurrence, but merely related as a fact in the narrative necessary to be known in order to explain the following history. That idolatry should have sprung up during the lives of *Noah* and *Shem* is nothing wonderful, when we consider the multitudes of mankind, and that after the dispersion they were widely scattered over the face of the earth. We know that *Jacob* had but little authority in restraining the violence of his sons ; and that the Israelites, even in the presence of the holy mountain and during the lifetime of *Moses*, fell into idolatry, and in the midst of the warnings of their prophets. The influence of *Arphaxad* and *Salah* and *Heber* in Chaldæa would not be greater than that of *Moses* or *Elijah* over the children of *Israel*. Besides it is not affirmed in Scripture that all the patriarchs between *Arphaxad* and *Terah* were holy men and never deviated into idolatry. That the call should be addressed to *Abraham* during the lives of *Shem* and *Arphaxad* and *Salah* and *Heber* is not incredible. It was the design of Providence that the promise should be limited to *Abraham* and his posterity. But if the call had been addressed to those patriarchs in the 427th year from the flood, this design would not have been so readily fulfilled. In some other branches their immediate descendants might still be living ; but in the line of *Abraham* the descent was interrupted by the deaths of *Peleg*, *Nahor*, *Reu*, *Serug*, and *Terah*.

The objection to the shorter computation founded upon profane history, being in reality founded upon the supposed deficient numbers of mankind, vanishes when that subject is better understood. We have seen upon authorities which there is no reason to call in question that an army of Medes occupied Babylon about B.C. 2233 ; and this is the highest point to which any authentic profane accounts will carry us. But this, as will be shewn, was about 100 years before the birth of *Abraham*, and consequently 250 years after the flood by the shorter numbers. At this period it has been shewn that the population of the earth would amount to many millions. There is nothing, then, incredible in the account that wars should have occurred.

^s The Paschal Chronicle p. 25. A. places the dispersion 659 years after the flood, at the 130th year of *Peleg* : τὰ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐπη ἔως τῆς περιγονᾶς, καὶ συγχύσεως, τῶν γῆστοῦ τῆς γῆς εἰσὼν ἐπη χρόνον. Syncellus p. 42. B. in the 534th year after the flood. Hales vol. II. p. 47. in the 140th year of *Phaleg*, 541 years after the flood. Syncellus p. 42. B. is inconsistent with his own

dates ; placing the 4th year of *Phaleg* and the building of the tower in the 494th year, and the dispersion in the 534th year from the flood. But according to the chronology of Syncellus, who includes the second *Cainan*, *Phaleg* was born in the 531st year ; according to those who exclude *Cainan*, in the 401st year.

Jackson^t and Hales^v impute great alterations in the Hebrew copies to the Jews of the second century. That the Jews might endeavour to alter many passages which the Christians applied to *Christ* is very probable. But it is difficult to imagine what adequate motive they could have for shortening the genealogies. Jackson^w admits this, observing, "The reasons " which induced the Jews to corrupt the prophecies relating to *Christ* are plain. But the " reason for their making so great alterations in the Scripture chronology is not so plain." The first translators, however, of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek had a very obvious motive for enlarging the chronology. The Chaldaeans and Egyptians (whose histories were about that time published by Berosus and Manetho) laid claim to a remote antiquity. Hence the translators of the Pentateuch into Greek might be led to augment the amount of the generations by the centenary additions and by the interpolation of the second *Cuinan*, in order to carry back the epochs of the creation and of the flood to a period more conformable with the high pretensions of the Egyptians and Chaldaeans.

The space of 545 years from the birth of *Abraham* to the death of *Moses* is clearly marked in Scripture. The interval from the call to the exode is declared to be 430 years^x: *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years. And it came to pass at the end of the 430 years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt.* That these 430 years are to be computed from the call of *Abraham*, and not from the going down of *Israel* into Egypt, is explained by St. Paul himself^y: τῷ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐρρέθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι—τοῦτο δὲ λέγω, διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν ὁ μετὰ ἔτη τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονὼς νόμος οὐκ ἀχροῖ. And the interpretation of Josephus^z in one place agrees with the explanation of St. Paul: μετὰ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια ἡ Ἀβραμον εἰς τὴν Χαναναῖαν ἐλθεῖν, τῆς δὲ Ἰαχώβου μεταναστάσεως εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον γενομένης διακοσίοις πρὸς τοῖς δέκα πέντε ἑναυτοῖς ὕστερον. Demetrius already quoted^a agrees in the same interpretation; for he reckons 215 years from the call to the going down into Egypt, and 135 years from this last epoch to the birth of *Moses*^b. Eusebius^c also rightly collects

^t Vol. I. p. 79.^v Vol. I. p. 74—78.^w Vol. I. p. 96.^x Exod. XII. 40. 41.^y Gal. III. 17.^z Ant. II. 15. 2.^a See p. 288.^b Demetrius apud Euseb. Praep. IX. 21. p.

425. D. Λευὶν δὲ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι ἔτη ζ., ἀρ' εἰς Καναάν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὅπου εἶναι αὐτὸν ἔτην ξ' καὶ γενῆσθαι Κλάθ· αὐτῷ δὲ ἔτει φ' γενέσθαι Κλάθ τελευτῆσαι Ἱακὼβ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ εὐλογήσαντα τοὺς Ἰωσὴφούς, ὅπα ἔτῶν ριζ., καταλιπόντα Ἰωσὴφ ἔτῶν ντ'. Λευὶν δὲ γενόμενον ἔτῶν ριζ. [Exod. VI. 16] τελευτῆσαι· Κλάθ δὲ ὅπα ἔτῶν μ' γενῆσθαι Ἀβραὰμ, ὃν ἔτῶν εἶναι οὐ δὲ φ' τελευτῆσαι Ἰωσὴφ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ὅπα ρ' ἔτῶν· Κλάθ δὲ γενόμενον ἔτῶν ἑκατὸν λγ' [Exod. VI. 18] τελευτῆσαι. Ἀβραὰμ λαβεῖν γνωσίκα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διηγατέρα Ἰωχαέτην, καὶ ὅπα ἑναυτον οἱ γενῆσθαι Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μωσῆν γενῆσθαι δὲ Μωσῆν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ὅπα ἔτῶν οῃ', καὶ γενόμενον Ἀβραὰμ ἔτῶν ριζ. [137 Exod. VI. 20] τελευτῆσαι. He computes

To the birth of Kohath	y.
— of Amram	17
— of Moses	78
	135
Moses	80
	215

Although Demetrius errs in the distribution of the period, yet the total amount is right.

^c Euseb. Chron. I. p. 68. *Jam a primo anno Abrahami ad Mosem egressumque Judiorum ab Aegypto, consensu omnium interpretum, anni fuit 505, quorum est hujusmodi supputatio; Abrahamo vita annum 75^{um} agenti Deus conspicendum se præbuit recipique se proli ejus daturum terram repromissionis. Sane monumentis literarum consignatum est annos 75 natum exiisse Abramum e Charan.—Itaque a primordio aetatis Abrahami conficiuntur anni 75. Deinde a 75^o anno Abrahami usque ad exitum Judiorum ab Aegypto anni sunt 430. Projecto ei rei Paulus quoque apostolus testis accedit.—Nascitur Abrahami filius Isaacus in ejus 100^o anno repromissionis autem divinæ 25^o. Desiderantur ad exitum ab Aegypto præterea anni 405 ut a repromissione ad id tempus conflentur anni 430. Jam qui se Abrahamo revelaverat Deus rursus eidem apparet ait, &c [Gen. XV. 13. 14]. Nimis diuturnam dicit prolem ut ne de Isaci cogitemus temporibus. Porro sub exitu filiorum Israelis ab Aegypto commemoratur spatium annorum 430. Ait enim Scriptura &c [Exod. XII. 40. 41].*

505 years from the birth of *Abraham* to the exode. That this interpretation of the 430 years is accurate is demonstrated by the circumstances. For if the space from the descent into Egypt to the 80th year of *Moses* had been 430 years, there would have been 350 years from the going into Egypt to his birth. But the mother of *Moses* was the daughter of *Levi*^d, who lived in Egypt 88 years^e; and if 350 years had intervened between the descent into Egypt and the birth of *Moses*, his mother would have borne him 262 years after her father's death. Again, as *Kohath* was born before the descent into Egypt^f, these 350 years would have been occupied by two generations, *Kohath* and *Amram*. But this was not possible, because *Kohath* lived only 133 years and *Amram* 137. The other text of Genesis^g, repeated in the Acts^h, which limits their stay in Egypt to the fourth generation, confirms the preceding account: *And he said to Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them 400 years;—but in the fourth generation they shall come hither again; for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full.* In the Acts this passage is quoted. But St. Stephen does not affirm that the Israelites were 400 years in Egypt any farther than this text affirms it. And this text does not affirm it, because it limits their stay to the fourth generation, and the ages of these four generations are delivered by *Moses* himself, the last of the four. It is plain, then, that the 400 years in round numbers include the stay in Canaan. Theophilus, then, and all those who ascribe the 430 years to the sojourning in Egypt, and who compute 760 years from the birth of *Abraham* to the death of *Moses*, are refuted by these factsⁱ. And these facts shew that some modern

Age vero, quum anni cumulentur 430 post Dei reprobmissionem quae anno Abrahami 75° facta est, prorsus sequitur ut a primo Abrahami anno ad Mosem exitumque ab Aegypto numerentur anni 505. Quos quidem nonnulli hoc etiam pacto per-

censem. Scilicet Abrahamus (aιυτος) annos natus 100 genuit Isaacum; Isaacus annos natus 60 genuit Jacobum; Jacobus annos natus 86 genuit Levinum; Levinus annos natus 46 genuit Cahathum; Cahathus annos natus 63 genuit Amramum; Amramus annos natus 70 genuit Mosem. Moses annos natus 80 populum eduxit ex Aegypto. Con-

ficiuntur anni 505. This distribution of the last 215 years is more correct than in the account of Demetrius, but still erroneous.

^d Exod. II. 1. *And there went a man of the house of Levi and took to wife a daughter of Levi.* VI. 20. *Amram took Jochebed his father's sister to wife.* Numbers XXVI. 59. *The name of Amram's wife was Jochebed the daughter of Levi, whom her mother bare unto Levi in Egypt; and she bare unto Amram Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister.* Abraham had made a similar alliance. Such alliances were not unlawful until they were forbidden.

^e See below.

^f Gen. XLVI. 11. Hence we may correct Eusebius, who places his birth three years after the descent, and Demetrius, who places it 17 years after.

^g Gen. XV. 13. 16.

^h Acts VII. 6.

ⁱ Theoph. ad Autolyc. III. 24. *Αβραὰμ ἐτέκ-*

νωτε τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ὃν ἐτόν ρ'. γίνονται οὖν μέχρι Ἀβραὰμ ἔτη γενή. Ἰσαὰκ ὁ προειρημένος ἐν τεκνογονίᾳ ἔζησεν ἔτη 3, ὃς ἐγένυσε τὸν Ἰακώβ. ἔζησεν δὲ Ἰακὼβ ἔτη τῆς μετοικεσίας τῆς ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ γενουμένης—ὃν ἐτόν ρδ', η δὲ παροικής τῶν Ἐβραίων ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἐγενήθη ἔτη νλ'. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἴγυπτου ἐν τῷ ἐρημῷ καλουμένῃ διέτριψαν ἔτη μ'. γίνεται οὖν τὰ πάντα ἔτη γύθλη. He reckoned 1036 years from the flood to the 100th year of *Abraham* (see above p. 286. 1), which he accordingly places at A. M. 3278; and 660 years from the 100th year of *Abraham* to the death of *Moses*, which he places at A. M. 3938. The numbers in detail correspond with the whole amount.

	y.
Isaac	60°
Jacob	130
In Egypt	430
In the Wilderness	40
<hr/>	
	660

And 3278+660=3938. He had already reckoned 430 years for the stay in Egypt III. 10. παροικήσατες οὖν ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἔτεσι τετρακοσίους καὶ τριάκοντα. And he repeats the amount of the periods III. 28. where he again reckons ἀπὸ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πατέρος Ἀβραὰμ ἔως οὗ ὁ λαὸς σὺν Μωϋσῷ ἐν τῷ ἐρημῷ διέτριψεν ἔτη χζ''. Theophilus was misled by a too literal interpretation of Exod. XII. 40. 41. But the other passages guide us to the meaning of that text. Sulpicius Severus I. 21, 3. rightly collects the period: *Ab eo tempore quo Abraham*

writers have very unreasonably doubted this portion of the Hebrew chronology, as if it were uncertain how this period of 430 years was to be understood. Those who cast a doubt upon this point refuse to *Moses* an inspired writer (in the account of his mother and father and grandfather) that authority, which would be given to the testimony of a profane author on the same occasion ^k.

The dates in this period ascertained in Scripture are the following, reckoned from the birth of *Abraham*:

	Birth of <i>Abraham</i> in the 130th year of <i>Terah</i> .
10	Birth of <i>Sarah</i> : conf. Gen. XVII. 17. ten years younger than <i>Abraham</i> .
75	The call: Gen. XII. 1—4. Joseph. Ant. I. 7, 1. Ἀβραμος καταλείπει τὴν Χαλδαίαν, ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε γενούς ἔτη, τῷ Θεῷ κελεύσαντος.
86	Birth of <i>Ishmael</i> : Gen. XVI. 16. Joseph. Ant. I. 10, 5. Ἀβράμῳ ἔκτον ἥδη καὶ ὄγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος γεγοντι Ἰσμάηλος ἐγενήθη.
99	The promise renewed: Gen. XVII. 1. Joseph. I. 10, 5. εἰς ἔνατον αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνενηκοστὸν (ἔτος) παρελθόντι ἐπιφανεῖ; ὁ Θεὸς ἀπίγγειλεν ἀ; παῖς αὐτῷ ἐκ Σάρρας ἐσοιτο.
100	Birth of <i>Isaac</i> : Gen. XVII. 17.
137	Death of <i>Sarah</i> aet. 127: Gen. XXIII. 1. 2. Joseph. Ant. I. 14. βιώσασα ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν.
140	Marriage of <i>Isaac</i> aet. 40: Gen. XXV. 20. Joseph. I. 16, 1. περὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γενότι.
160	Birth of <i>Esau</i> and <i>Jacob</i> , <i>Isaac</i> being 60 years of age: Gen. XXV. 26.
175	Death of <i>Abraham</i> aet. 175: Gen. XXV. 7. 8. Joseph. I. 17. ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἑτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν.

in terra Chananæorum consedit in id quod Jacob Ægyptum ingressus est referuntur anni 215. I. 26, 4. Populus egressus—ab eo quo primum Abraham terram Chananæorum accesserat anno 430.

^k An objection has been urged, in “the prodigious increase in one family during one generation. In the desert the males of the descendants of *Kohath* are reckoned at 8600. “*Kohath* had four sons; from each son, then, “in one generation must have sprung, on the “average, 2150 males.” The chief force of this objection lies in the terms in which it is expressed. If we examine the facts, we shall find that the rate of increase in this particular family was not greater than the average rate of increase in the whole nation. From the birth of *Kohath* to the 80th year of *Moses* were three generations in the line of *Moses* and ten generations in the line of *Joshua*: see above p. 294. *Kohath* died at least 83 years before the exode, and might

have had sons when he was 30 years of age; sons, therefore, at the least 186 years before the exode. From his four sons would proceed in eleven periods of doubling 16,384 persons. These eleven periods, at 15 years to each, would be accomplished in 165 years. But these 165 years would take their beginning from the 51st year of *Kohath* by the lowest calculation of his age. So that, if he had no other children than these four sons (which is not proved), and if he had no grandchildren born till his 51st year, still his descendants would have reached 16,384 persons at the exode, proceeding only at the same rate of increase as the rest of the Hebrew people. In this calculation it is assumed that *Kohath* was born only one year before the entrance into Egypt. But the objection founded on the number of his descendants will have still less force, if *Kohath* should happen to have been born a few years earlier; which there is nothing in Scripture to contradict.

200	First marriages of <i>Esau</i> æt. 40 : Gen. XXVI. 34. Joseph. I. 18, 4. τεσσαράκοντα γεγονώς ἔτη.
223	Death of <i>Ishmael</i> æt. 137 : Gen. XXV. 17.
237	<i>Jacob</i> æt. 77 goes to Charran : conf. a. 251. Rightly placed at the year 237 by Eusebius Chron. II. p. 273. Syncell. p. 105. C. Οἱ Ἀφρικανὸς οὗ ἐτῶν λέγει τὸν Ἰακὼβ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν.
(241)	Birth of <i>Levi</i> : Gen. XXIX. 34. about four years after <i>Jacob</i> went to Charran. That <i>Levi</i> could not be younger appears from the age of <i>Judah</i> , who had four successions in his line before the descent into Egypt: see above p. 294.
251	Birth of <i>Joseph</i> : Usher Annals p. 9. "Rachel bare <i>Joseph</i> unto <i>Jacob</i> at the end of his 14 years' service; and then asking leave of <i>Laban</i> to return into his own country, he was held there six years more upon another bargain: Gen. XXX. 22. 25. 31. XXXI. 41. "Now that <i>Jacob</i> was 91 years old when <i>Joseph</i> was born, and consequently 77 when he first began to serve <i>Laban</i> , appears by this; that <i>Jacob</i> being 130 years of age when he first stood before <i>Pharaoh</i> , which was when the 7 years of plenty were passed and two of the famine spent: Gen. XLV. 6. XLVII. 9. <i>Joseph</i> was then 39 years old, as being 30 what time he first came into <i>Pharaoh's</i> presence immediately before the 7 years of plenty began: Gen. XLI. 32. 46." Placed at the year 252 by Eusebius Chron. II. p. 273. Syncellus p. 106. A. rightly collects the time: εἰ γὰρ ὁ Ἰωσὴφ μὲν ἐτῶν ἦν τῷ ρῷ ἔτει τοῦ Ἰακὼβ, ἥρικα κατῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα τὸν Ἰακὼβ ἵαί αὐτοῦ ἔτει γενῆσαι τὸν Ἰωσὴφ ἐκ τῆς Ραχήλ.
257	<i>Jacob</i> æt. 97 returns to Canaan after twenty years' service : Gen. XXXI. 41.
268	<i>Joseph</i> æt. 17 sold into Egypt : Gen. XXXVII. 2.
280	Death of <i>Isaac</i> æt. 180 : Gen. XXXV. 28. But Josephus Ant. I. 22. Βιώσας ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὡδόγοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἑκατόν. Eusebius Chron. II. p. 274. 180 annorum Isaac moritur relinquens filium Jacob annorum 120. at the year 281.
281	<i>Joseph</i> æt. 30 governor of Egypt : Gen. XLI. 46. Joseph. II. 6, 1. τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἦδη τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῷ διεληλύθει. Placed by Eusebius p. 274. at the year 282.
289	Birth of <i>Kohath</i> , at least before the descent into Egypt : Gen. XLVI. 11. Joseph. Ant. II. 7, 4.
290	<i>Jacob</i> æt. 130 goes into Egypt : Gen. XLVII. 9.
307	Death of <i>Jacob</i> æt. 147 : Gen. XLVII. 28. Joseph. II. 8, 1. ἐπτακαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ διατρίψας—τελευτῇ, θιόντη ἔτη τὰ πάντα τριῶν δέοντα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.
360	Death of <i>Joseph</i> æt. 110 : Gen. L. 26. Joseph. II. 8, 2. ἔτη βιώσας ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα. Africanus apud Syncell. p. 106. ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτὴν Ἰωσὴφ γενεῖ μὲν καὶ ἔτη δὲ γυρέγγι. Ibid. p. 110. οἱ Ἐζητεῖν Ἰωσὴφ ἔτη μετὰ τὸ παρουσῆσαι τὸν Ἰακὼβ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ.
(378)	Death of <i>Levi</i> æt. 137 : Exod. VI. 16. If he was born in the 81st year of <i>Jacob</i> (conf. a. 241), he would be 49 at the descent into Egypt, and would survive that event 88 years. Africanus places his birth in the 87th year of <i>Jacob</i> : Syncell. p. 106. A. Eusebius in the 86th year : Chron. p. 69. who are refuted by the age of <i>Judah</i> . Syncellus p. 106. places the birth of <i>Levi</i> in the 82nd year. The Paschal Chronicle p. 59. A. in the 83rd year, and reckons him 47 at the descent into Egypt p. 61. C. Demetrius apud Euseb. Præp. p. 425. reckons <i>Levi</i> 43 at the descent into Egypt ; which agrees with Africanus. <i>Levi</i> then passed

at least 88 years in Egypt, and is the first of the four generations who lived there : Gen. XV. 16. *In the fourth generation they shall come hither (to Canaan) again.* The four generations were *Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses.*

422	Death of <i>Kohath</i> aet. 133 : Exod. VI. 18. Birth of <i>Aaron</i> 83 years before the exode : Exod. VII. 7. <i>Jochebed</i> is the mother of <i>Aaron</i> 44 years after the death of her father <i>Levi</i> : see above p. 298.
425	Birth of <i>Moses</i> 80 years before the exode : Exod. VII. 7.
465	<i>Moses</i> aet. 40 fled to Midian : Acts VII. 23. Exod. II. 15—22.
505	The Exodus, 430 years after the call, <i>Moses</i> being 80, <i>Aaron</i> 83 : Exod. XII. 40. 41. Joseph. Ant. II. 15, 2. Μαῦση ἐγεγόνει μὲν ἔτος ὄγδοος τὸν ἡδη· ὃ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀαρὼν τρισὶ πλείσιν.
545	Death of <i>Miriam</i> in the first month of the 40th year : Numb. XX. 1. conf. Joseph. IV. 4, 6.—of <i>Aaron</i> aet. 123 : Numb. XX. 28. 29.—of <i>Moses</i> aet. 120 : Deut. XXXIV. 7. In the eleventh month of the 40th year : Deut. I. 3. Joseph. Ant. IV. 4, 7. Ἀαρὼν—βιώς ἕτη τὰ πάντα τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. IV. 8, 1. τὸν δὲ τεσταράκοντα ἑτῶν παρὰ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας συμπεπληρωμένων. §. 48. 49. ἀφανίζεται.—ἐβίσθε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἑτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, διν ἥρξε τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐνι λείποντι μηνί. <i>Miriam</i> was at least ten years older than <i>Moses</i> : conf. Exod. II. 4—8. which would place her birth about the year (of <i>Abraham</i>) 415, when 37 years had passed from the death of <i>Levi</i> : conf. a. 422.

The two generations between *Levi* and *Moses* are variously divided by chronologers, but as the sacred historian, the sole authority, is silent, the precise years of the birth and death of *Amram* cannot be known¹.

After the death of *Moses* a chasm occurs in the Scripture Chronology. We are not informed what was the duration of the government of *Joshua* and the Elders and of the interregnum or anarchy which followed. Josephus^m makes this period 43 years; computing

	<i>y.</i>
to the division of the lands	5
to the death of <i>Joshua</i>	20
interregnum or anarchy	18
	—43

Theophilus, Clemens, and the Paschal Chronicleⁿ, allow only 27 years for the whole in-

¹ According to Demetrius apud Euseb. Præp. IX. p. 426. A. *Amram* was 78 at the birth of *Moses*; according to Eusebius Chron. I. p. 69. *Amram* was born in the 63rd year of *Kohath*, and *Moses* in the 70th year of *Amram*. In Chron. Pasch. p. 61. D. 62. C. 63. B. and in Abulpharagius p. 17. the generations are, *Kohath* 60, *Amram* 75; which Hales adopts vol. II. p. 121. But these numbers are merely conjectures.

^m Joseph. Ant. V. 1, 29. δὲ μὲν ('Ιησοῦς)—τελευτὴ βιώς ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ δέκα, ἢν Μαῦσεῖ μὲν ἔτι διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν χρησίμων συνδιέτριψε τεσταράκοντα, στρατηγὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἑκίνουν τελευτὴν γίνεται πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. V. 1, 19. ἔτος δὲ πέμπτον ἡδη παρεληλύθει, καὶ

Χαρακαίων οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς ὑπολέέιπτο. V. 1, 28. ἔτει δὲ ὑστερὸν εἰκοστῷ, ὑπέρυρης γὰρ ἦν, μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς ἐπ' ἀξιώματος μάλιστα τὸν τόλεων, κ. τ. λ. VI. 5, 4. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑκίνουν ('Ιησοῦς) τελευτὴν ἔτεσι τοῖς πάσι δέκα καὶ πρὸς τούτους ὅκτω τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀναρχίᾳ κατέσχε.

ⁿ Theoph. ad Autolyc. III. 24. τοῦ Μωσέως τελευτήσαντος διεδέξατο ἄρχειν 'Ιησοῦς νῦν Νανί, ὃς πρόστη αὐτῶν ἔτεσιν καὶ μετὰ δὲ τὸν 'Ιησοῦν τοῦ λαοῦ παραβάντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐδούλευταν κ. τ. λ. Clem. Strom. I. p. 323. D. μετὰ τὴν Μωσέως τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ λαοῦ 'Ιησοῦς, πολεμῶν μὲν ἔτη ἕτερη ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἀγαθῇ ἀλλα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἀναπαυσάμενος. ὃς δὲ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ 'Ιησοῦ περιέχει, διεδέξατο τὸν Μωσέα ὁ προειρημένος ἀνὴρ ἔτη καὶ .

terval from the death of *Moses* to the first servitude, omitting the years of the anarchy and ascribing these 27 years to *Joshua*. Eusebius^o agrees in omitting the years of the anarchy, and reckons to *Joshua* 30 years in one place and 27 in another. Sulpicius Severus^p gives 27 years to *Joshua*, but names no time for the anarchy. Africanus^q states the period at 25 + 30 or 55 years; Syncellus^r at 27 + 18 or 45. Among modern chronologers, Usher^s makes this interval 38 years, assigning eight to the government of *Joshua* and 30 to the elders, followed by the Mesopotamian servitude. Blair reckons for *Joshua* 25 years, for the anarchy 13; agreeing in the whole amount, 38 years, with Usher. Hales allows for *Joshua* 26 years, for the anarchy 10; or 36 for the whole interval. Lenglet du Fresnoy^t makes the space 14 + 12 = 26 years.

The notices in Scripture shew that this period was not very long. The division was 45 years after the second year from the exode^v. When *Caleb* was 85 years old^w. The time of the anarchy included *all the days of the elders who overlived Joshua*^x, and lasted till *all that generation were gathered to their fathers, and there arose another generation which knew not the Lord*^y. *Caleb* and *Joshua* might be both about the same age, about 40 at the exode^z; which would bring the death of *Joshua* to the 30th year after the death of *Moses*. He was already *old and stricken in years* six years after the death of *Moses*^a. Although the anarchy lasted till the elders who overlived *Joshua* were dead, yet *Othniel*, who was a military leader in the sixth year after the death of *Moses*^b, survived the anarchy 48 years^c. And *Phineas* was priest during the anarchy^d, who was at least twenty years of age in the last year of *Moses*, when the priesthood was promised to his posterity. His father *Eleazar* died soon after the death of *Joshua*^e. The interval, then, between the death of *Moses* and the first

ετα διμαρτόντες οἱ Ἐθραιοὶ παραδίδονται Χουσαχάρ βασιλεῖ Μεσοποταμίᾳς ἔτεσιν δέκτῳ, ὡς ἡ τῶν Κριτῶν ἱστορεῖ βίβλος. For ἔτη ξέ' we must probably read ἔτη ε', expressing the five years of war till the division of the lands. Chron. Pasch. p. 77. Ἰησοῦς Ναῦ καὶ—Χωνταρσαθὲμ η'. ὅμοι γ' ζιζ. It is computed that *Joshua* succeeded *Moses* A. M. 3878, and that the first servitude began A. M. 3905.

^o Euseb. Præp. X. 14. p. 502. D. μετὰ Μωϋσέα πρόστη τὸν Ἰονδαίων ἔθνος Ἰησοῦς, ὃς τινες, ἔτεσιν κ. εἴθι, ὃς φησιν ἡ γραφὴ, ἐκράτησαν ἀλλόφυλοι ἔτεσιν δέκτῳ. But in Chron. II. p. 285. he gives *Joshua* 27 years; annis 546—572.

^p Hist. Sacr. I. 44, 3. *Iesus mortuus est anno etatis 110º. De imperii ejus tempore parum definitio. Frequens tamen opinio est 27 annis eum Hebrais præfuisse.*

^q Africanus apud Euseb. Præp. X. 10. p. 489. D. Ἰησὼ—ἔτη κέ. πρεσβυτέρων ἔτη λ'. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 70. Africanus adjungit annos seniorum qui post Josuam fuerunt, quos annos scribit 30.

^r Syncell. p. 174. C. τὰ μὲν Ἰησοῦς τοῦ Ναοῦ καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρων ἡ γραφὴ παρεσώπησεν ἡ δὲ ἄγραφας συνήθεις τοῦ μὲν Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων η' παρέδωκε. καὶ οὕτω σχέδιον πάντες ὁμοφωνοῦσιν. Εἴσεβιος δὲ μόνος ὁ Καισαρεὺς τὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οὐ παρέλαβεν, δὲ Ἀφρικανὸς ἔτη λ' αὐτοῖς ἀπένειμεν. In asserting that Eusebius alone omitted the years of the

elders, Syncellus is mistaken; for we have seen four other computations in which they were omitted.

^s Annals p. 26. 28. He places the death of *Moses* in A. M. 2553, the final division of the lands in 2561, and the first servitude in 2591. The time of the death of *Joshua* is not assigned. He "dwelt many years after that God had given " rest to Israel."

^t Tablettes Chron. tom. I. p. 284. *Josué meurt âgé de 110 ans, et 14 après qu'il eut commencé à gouverner les Israélites.—Josephe lui donne 25 ans de gouvernement. Caleb et les anciens gouvernent pendant 12 ans.*

^v In Numb. X. 11. is mentioned the 20th day of the second month, in the second year; and XIII. 6. *Caleb son of Jephunneh*. And in Joshua XIV. 7. 10. *Caleb affirms that he was 40 years old in that second month of the second year, and that 45 years had elapsed since that period.*

^w Joshua XIV. 10.

^y Judges II. 10.

^a Joshua XIII. 1.

^b He married the daughter of his uncle *Caleb* at the time of the division of lands: Joshua XV. 16. 17. Judges I. 12. 13.

^c Judges III. 8—11.

^e Joshua XXIV. 33.

^x Joshua XXIV. 31.

^z Numb. XXVI. 65.

servitude may be pretty accurately filled, although the years will be assigned upon conjecture and not upon testimony.

From the first servitude to the death of *Samson* the years are clearly expressed in Scripture.

	y.		EUSER. CHRON.
1 Servit. Mesopot.	8	7 Sulpic. 8 Chron. Pasch.	{ 8
<i>Othniel</i>	40	50 Clem. Euseb. Præp. Sulp. 32 Chron. Pasch.	{ 32
2 Servit. Moab	18		{ 18
<i>Ehud</i>	80	ἐτεσιν γ' Theoph.	{ 62
<i>Shamgar</i>		1 Joseph. African.	{ 24 } Chron. Pasch.
3 Servit. Canaan.....	20		{ 20
<i>Deborah</i> and <i>Barak</i> ...	40		{ 20
4 Servit. Midian.....	7		{ 7
<i>Gideon</i>	40		{ 33
<i>Abimelech</i>	3		
<i>Tola</i>	23	om. Joseph. 22 Sulp. Theoph.	22
<i>Jair</i>	22	om. Clem. Al. 20 Syncell.	
5 Servit. Ammon	18		{ 3
<i>Jephthah</i>	6		{ 3
<i>Ibzan</i>	7		
<i>Elon</i>	10	8 Clem. Al.	om.
<i>Abdon</i>	8	om. Joseph.	
6 Servit. Philist. ...	40		om.
<i>Samson</i>	{ 20	40 { Theoph. Clem. Euseb. Præp.	
	<u>{ 20 }</u>	20 } Sulpic. Syncell. Chron. Pasch.	
	<u>390</u>		

The years of *Samson* are expressly included in the last servitude: *He judged Israel in the days of the Philistines 20 years*^f. Those who reckon the years of *Samson* exclusive of the 40 enlarge the period to 410 years contrary to the authority of Scripture^g.

^f Judges XV. 20. ἐν ἡμέραις ἀλλοφύλων in the Septuagint.

^g Clemens Strom. I. p. 324. gives the period of the Judges. *Jair* is omitted. After *Jephthah* he has Ἀβατθὰν ὁ ἐκ Βηθλέεμ ἔτη ᷂, ἔπειτα Ἐβρὼν ὁ Ζαβυλωνίτης ἔτη γ', ἔπειτα Ἐγδόμη, Ἐφραίμ, ἔτη γ'. ἔπιι δὲ τῶι τοῦ Ἀβατθὰν ἔτεσιν ᷂ συνάπτουσι τὰ Ἐβρῷμ μ [l. γ] ἔτη. Potter remarks, Ἐβρὼν ἔτη γ'. *Hujus sacrae literæ non meminerunt, sed proxime post Ebron meminerunt Elon Zabulonitam, qui 10, dein Abdon Pirathonitam qui octo.* But *Ebron* the Zabulonite is no other than *Elon* the Zabulonite, and *Eglon* the Ephraimite is *Abdon* the Ephraimite (φυλῆς μὲν τῆς Ἐφραιμίτιδος πόλεως δὲ τῆς Φαραωνίτην γεγονές Joseph. Ant. V. 7), only Clemens ascribes to each 8 years, instead of 10 to the first and 8 to the second. Hales vol. I. p. 102. observes, “To *Abdon* no years are assigned by Josephus V. 7, 15. perhaps designedly: for Clemens Alex. relates that some chronologers connected together the years of *Abdon* and *Elon*, “or made them contemporary.” In this solution

there are two mistakes: 1. the years of *Elon* are omitted in the account of Clemens, and not the years of *Abdon*. 2. Josephus distinctly makes *Abdon* μετὰ Ἡλωνα, and not contemporary with him. The total amount of this period in the detail of Clemens is 396 years. The Paschal Chronicle p. 78. B.—82. B. gives 402 years. Syncellus p. 154. A. 159. A. 164. 173. B. 408 years. Josephus Ant. V. 3, 2—8, 1 (if we insert the years of *Tola* and *Abdon*), has 391 years. His present text gives 360. The collected years in Sulpicius I. 45—52. amount to 419 years; whence in I. 55, 3, the numbers may be corrected: *A die mortis Jesu usque in id tempus quo Samson defunctus est numerantur anni CCCC et IX. Legendum CCCCXIX.* which seems to be the reading of some copies. Africanus, as will appear below, had enlarged this period to 490 years. The numbers of Theophilus ad Autolyc. III. 24. seem corrupted. If we restore to *Ehud* 80 years, ‘Ασθ ἐτεσιν γ’, his amount will give 409 years. Eusebius has three accounts. In Præp.

We then arrive at a second chasm between the death of *Samson* and the election of *Saul*. In this interval occurred the government of *Eli*, the abode of the ark at Kirjath-jearim, and the government of *Samuel*. Scripture supplies 20^y. 7^m. for the absence of the ark after the death of *Eli*^h, and assigns some years to the government of *Samuel* between the death of *Eli* and the election of *Saul*. *The child Samuel grew before the Lord—when Eli was very old, and heard all that his sons did unto all Israel*ⁱ. He began therefore to prophesy towards the end of the life of *Eli*. But he was old before the election of *Saul*^k. The twenty years of the ark at Kirjath-jearim were not the whole period of its abode there. It remained till the reign of *David*, who removed it^l. The twenty years, then, denote the time which preceded the government of *Samuel*. After these twenty years, *he gathered Israel to Mizpeh and judged them in Mizpeh*^m. Thirty-two years, therefore, are not too much to assume between the death of *Eli* and the election of *Saul*; a space within which *Samuel*, who was young at the death of *Eli*, became old, and had sons grown up and exercising the governmentⁿ. The authority, however, of Scripture is not positive for the insertion of the 40 years of *Eli*^o.

X. 14. he makes this period 420 years. In Chron. I. p. 73. 412 years. But in Chron. I. p. 77. and in his Tables p. 286—299. he adopts the Hebrew method of arrangement, including the servitudes within the years of the following Judges: *Post Jesu obitum dominantur alienigenæ annis VIII, qui cum Godonielis annis permisceri solent ex Judæorum traditione. Post Godonielem Hebrei in potestate alienigenarum fuerunt annis XVIII, qui una cum Ahodi annis computantur ex Judæorum traditione.* And so of the following servitudes. The 5th is reduced from eighteen years to three, in order to be included in the years of *Jephthah*: p. 296. *Post Jairum Hebrei in Ammanitarum potestate fuerunt annis III, qui cum Judicum posteriorum temporibus computantur, ut Hebrei docent.* By this distribution and by the omission of *Elon* the years of this period are reduced to 288: *Annis 573—860.*

^h 1 Sam. VI. 1. VII. 2.

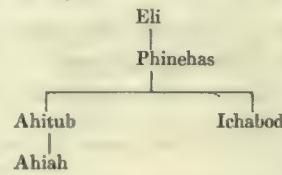
ⁱ 1 Sam. II. 21. 22.

^k 1 Sam. VII. 15—VIII. 5. *Samuel went from year to year in circuit—and judged Israel; —and his return was to Ramah. And it came to pass when Samuel was old, that he made his sons judges over Israel.—Then all the elders of Israel came to Samuel—and said, Thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways; now make us a king to judge us.*

^l 2 Sam. VI. 3. ^m 1 Sam. VII. 5. 6.

ⁿ That the interval was considerable may be inferred from this circumstance. *Ahiah* was the Lord's priest in Shiloh in the second year of *Saul*: 1 Sam. XIV. 3. conf. XIII. 1. and was afterwards put to death by *Saul* towards the end of his reign, after the marriage of *David* and *Michal*: 1 Sam. XXII. with all the priests that were at Nob. *Abiathar* son of *Ahiah* escaped, who shared the fortunes of *David*: 1 Sam.

XXII. 20—23. and succeeded his father in the priesthood: XXX. 7. He continued in the office during *David's* reign: 2 Sam. XV. 24—29. and was deprived of the priesthood in the first year of *Solomon*: 1 Kings II. 24—27. *Abiathar* then was priest more than 40 years, and *Ahiah* or *Ahimelech* more than 30, from the 2nd of *Saul*. But *Ahiah* the priest in the second year of *Saul* was the grandson of *Phinehas*, who died in the last year of *Eli*; and his uncle *Ichabod* was born at the death of *Eli*: 1 Sam. IV. 21. The descent is thus given in 1 Sam. XIV. 3.:



Now *Phinehas* was slain in the flower of his age: 1 Sam. II. 33. Between, then, the death of *Phinehas* and the priesthood of his grandson a considerable space of time intervened. *Ahitub* son of *Phinehas* was priest between the death of his father and the reign of *Saul*. Josephus Ant. VI. 6, 2. in the parallel history to 1 Sam. XIV. calls *Ahiah* ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀχίας ἀπόγονος ὁ Ήλεὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. Afterwards, however, VI. 6, 5. he names him *Ahitub*: καλέσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀχίταβον τὸν ἀρχιερέα—by mistake.

^o 1 Sam. IV. 18. Eusebius remarks Chron. II. p. 300. *Hebraicum exemplar habet XL, septuaginta autem interpretes dicunt XX.* εἴκοσι in some copies of the Septuagint now extant. *Eli* has 20 years in Theophilus and Sulpicius, but 40 in Clemens, Africanus, Chron. Pasch. Syncellus p. 176. C. marks the variety: Ήλεὶ λεπεὺς ἡγήσατο τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἔτη κ' κατὰ τοὺς ὅ., κατὰ δὲ τὸ Ἐβραικὸν, φ καὶ Εὐσέβιος ἡκολούθησεν, ἔτη μ'.

Some modern chronologers, who contract these times within the 480 years ^p, make the years of *Eli* conumery with the 6th servitude. Thus Usher makes *Eli* and *Samson* contemporary: *Eli* succeeded *Abdon*, and the death of *Eli* was one year later than the death of *Samson*. Du Fresnoy ^q adopts a similar arrangement, and places the death of *Samson* one year later than the death of *Eli*. Josephus ^r, however, makes the years of *Eli* subsequent to the years of *Samson*. Theophilus, Clemens, Africanus, Cyril, the Paschal Chronicle ^s, also reckon the years of *Eli* distinct from the years of *Samson*. Even the Jewish chronology, which limited the space from the exode to the temple to 480 years, yet computed the 40 years of *Eli* ^t as following the death of *Samson*. And the tenour of the history seems to require it. *Samson* is twice mentioned as judge for 20 years ^v. Of *Eli* it is said ^w, *And he had judged Israel 40 years*. These governments could scarcely have been contemporary, for they were exercised in the same part of the country. *Eli's* station was at Shiloh, in Benjamin; on the borders of Benjamin; near the border of the Philistines. *Samson's* station was at Zora, between Zora and Eshtaol; in the camp of *Dan*; in the border of Judah, or in Judah; or the country of the Philistines. *Eli*, then, and *Samson* both governed in the part to the west of Jordan and the south of Samaria. It is expressly marked that *Samson* governed *in the days of the Philistines*; during the 40 years of the 6th servitude. This is marked nowhere else and in no other judge; but the contrary is plainly declared in the case of all of them in detail, and in the general summary it is clearly specified that the first five servitudes were not included in the governments of the judges.

This second break therefore is variously supplied by conjecture. Josephus makes it 52 years, reckoning 40 years to *Eli* and 12 to *Samuel* ^x. The Jewish chronology followed by Eusebius computed 40 years ^y, and included *Samuel* in the years of *Saul*. Africanus seems to have made the interval 148 years; the Paschal Chronicle 100 ^z; Syncellus 80 ^a; Hales 72 ^b. Usher, who omits the years of *Eli*, computes 21 years between the death of *Eli* and the election of *Saul*. Theophilus has 63 years. Those who, with Usher, the Paschal Chronicle, and Syncellus, limit the space between *Eli* and *Saul* to 21 or 20 years, are at variance

^p Expressed in 1 Kings VI. 1.

^q Tablettes tom. I. p. 290. *Héli grand-prêtre—gouverne 40 ans dont les 20 premières années se passèrent sous la sixième servitude.*

^r Ant. V. 9, 1. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σάμψωνος τελευτὴν πρέστη τῶν Ἰσραηλῶν Ἡλεὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς.

^s Theophil. ad Autolyc. III. 24. Clemens Strom. I. p. 324. Σαμψών—σύντος ἥρξεν ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι. καὶ μετὰ τούτου ἀναρχίας ὡσὶς διέκρινε τὸν λαὸν Ἡλεὶ ὁ ἵερεὺς τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη. Africanus reckoned 90 years to *Eli* and *Samuel*. Cyril adv. Julian I. p. 11. D. places 60 years between the government of *Samson* and the death of *Eli*: τῷ πέμπτῳ ἔται τῆς Ἰλεον ἀλάσσεις—κριτὴς ἦν ὁ Σαμψών. ἑξηκοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ ἔτει—τετελεύτηκε μέν ὁ ἵερεὺς Ἡλεὶ ἀλλάφυλαι δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀπεκεβισαν. Chron. Pasch. p. 83. C. μετὰ τοὺς κριτὰς ἥρξεν Ἡλεὶ ὁ ἵερεὺς καὶ ἔκρινε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἔτη μ'. Sulpicius I. 55. supposes an interval between them: *Quum quot anni inter Heli et Samson fuerint minime Scriptura prodiderit, video medii quiddam fuisse temporis, quod laboret ambiguus.* Theoph. p. 410. and Syncellus p. 174. B.

make this interval 40 years: ἀναρχίας καὶ εἰρήνης ἔτη μ'.

^t Euseb. Chron. I. p. 77. II. p. 299. 300. Anno 841 *Samson annis XX.* Anno 861 *Heli sacerdos annis XL.*

^v Judges XV. 20. XVI. 31.

^w 1 Sam. IV. 18.

^x Joseph. Ant. VI. 13, 5. And yet from Ant. VI. 1, 3, 2, 1. it would seem that he reckoned the 12 years of *Samuel* exclusive of the 20 years of the ark at Kirjath-jearim; which would make his period $40+20+12=72$, the period adopted by Hales.

^y Chron. I. p. 77. II. Anno 901 *Samuel annis XL.* Anno 941 *David XL.*

^z Chron. Pasch. p. 83. B. μετὰ τελευτὴν Σαμψών ἀναρχίας καὶ εἰρήνης ἔτη μ'. p. 83. C. Ἡλεὶ ὁ ἵερεὺς μ'. p. 84. A. Σαμουὴλ ἔτη κ'.

^a Syncell. p. 174. B.—176. C. ἀναρχίας—ἔτη μ'. Ἡλεὶ ἵερεὺς—ἔτη κ'. Σαμουὴλ ἔτη κ'.

^b See above, note x.

with the accounts of Scripture; for this arrangement would give to *Samuel*, who began to prophesy while a child towards the end of the life of *Eli*, about $22 + 21 = 43$ years for his age at the election of *Saul*. But these are too few for the description^c. The 12 years in Josephus and Theophilus, and 9 years in Clemens, are still more erroneous^d.

The years of the reign of *Saul* are not mentioned in the Old Testament, but in Acts^e his reign is attested to have been 40 years. Josephus^f distinctly ascribes 40 years to *Saul*. He elsewhere states the sum of the regal government, including the reign of *Saul*, to have been 514 years^g. But as the other reigns, from *David* to *Zedekiah* inclusive, amount in Josephus to 473^h. 6ⁱ. 20^j. this will leave 514—474=40 years to *Saul*^k.

The period, then, from the exode to the temple is embarrassed by those two chasms in the dates of the sacred narrative, and is variously delivered by chronologers. A short view of the principal varieties will shew where the differences lie. Theophilus gives the following amount of years:

	<i>y.</i>
<i>Moses</i>	40
<i>Joshua</i>	27
<i>Judges</i> ⁱ	409
to <i>Saul</i> ^k	73
<i>Saul</i>	20
<i>David</i>	40
<i>Solomon</i>	3

—612

^e 1 Sam. VIII. 1. XII. 2. rendered by Josephus VI. 3, 2. 3. ἐπειδὴν γῆρας βασιλέμενος καὶ τὰ συνίθη πράττειν ἐμποδίζομενος τοὺς νιός τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ πλήθους παραδίδων—δὲ λαὸς—τάς τε τῶν νιών παρανομίας ἔλεγον, καὶ διὰ γηραιὸς αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ παρειμένος ὅποι τοῦ χρόνου κ. τ. λ.

^f Theophilus III. 24. p. 410. εἰρήνη ἐγένετο ἔτεσι μ'. εἰτα Σαμίρα ἔκρινε αὐτοὺς ἐναντίον Ἡλεῖ ἔτεσι κ. Σαμοῦλη ἔτεσι ;^g. For the 40 years of peace between *Samson* and *Eli* (which the Paschal Chronicle and Syncellus also compute) there is no warrant in Scripture. *Samson* may be also traced in Sulpicius I. 55. Post *Samson* judicem *Semigar fuit*. and seems to be *Shamgar* (who lived in the days of *Ehud*, and to whom one year is given by Josephus and Africanus) transposed to a wrong place. Clemens, as will be seen below, allowed 9 years to *Samuel* by one computation, and by another included him wholly in the reign of *Saul*.

^e XIII. 21.

^f Ant. VI. 14, 9. ἐθασιλεύετε δὲ, Σαμουήλου ζῶντος, ἕτη ὁκτὼ πρὸς τοὺς δέκα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ, δύο καὶ εἴκοσι.

^g Ant. X. 8, 4. ἕτη δὲ πάντες βασιλεύεσσαντες πεντακόσια καὶ δεκατέσσαρα καὶ μῆνας ἑξ καὶ ἡμέρας δέκα· ἐξ ἀνὴρ εἴκοσι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ὁ πρώτος αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς Σάμιλος, εἰκὲ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς ὑπάρχον.

474+20 would give only 494 years instead of 514. whence it is manifest that the number εἴκοσι is to be corrected into τεσσαράκοντα. Dr. Hales is inconsistent upon this subject. Vol. II. p. 354. quoting Hudson's correction of Josephus VI. 14, 9. ἕτη δὲ δύο (δύο δὲ ἕτη) εἴκοσι—“18 years and 2 years, and 20 years in all,” he remarks, “The present reading 22 years is utterly inconsistent with the history and with Josephus elsewhere, assigning only 20 years to *Saul's* reign (namely, in X. 8, 4) and 18 to *Samuel's* joint administration with him (in VI. 13, 5).” Hales had forgotten his own account in vol. I. p. 101. 102. of the chronology of Josephus, where he exhibits

<i>Saul</i> and <i>Samuel</i> ...	18	}
<i>Saul</i>	22	

and observes, “It is truly remarkable, and a proof of the great skill and accuracy of Josephus in forming the outline of this period, that he assigns with St. Paul 40 years to *Saul*.”

^h The appointment of *Saul* was at the time of wheat harvest: 1 Sam. XII. 17. from whence Usher p. 33. determines it to the time of Pentecost, about the end of May or beginning of June.

ⁱ See p. 303. g.

^k See note d.

Clemens according to Eusebius¹ computes 574 years from *Joshua* to the temple. The detail of Clemens^m gives the following numbers :

	y.
<i>Moses</i>	40
<i>Joshua</i>	27
<i>Judges</i> ⁿ	396
<i>Eli</i>	40
<i>Samuel</i>	9 }
with <i>Saul</i>	18 }
<i>Saul</i> (last)	2
<i>David</i>	40
<i>Solomon</i>	3
	—575

After mentioning *Eli*, he proceeds, τοῦτον δὲ διαδέχεται Σαμουὴλ ὁ προφήτης, σὺν οἷς Σαοὺλ ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐγη ἕικοσι ἑπτά κατασχών.—ἐτελεύτα δὲ Σαμουὴλ δυοῖν ἑταν πρότερος τοῦ Σαούλ. To *Saul* he gives 20 years: Σαοὺλ ἔτη ἕικοσι. From hence it follows that *Samuel* survived during 18 years of the reign of *Saul* (which is also the opinion of Josephus), and that he governed alone 9 years, before the election of *Saul*; the distribution of Clemens 27 + 2 being equivalent to 9 + 20. But these 9 years are neglected by Clemens in his collected periods, and *Samuel* is included in the reign of *Saul*. He computes thus^o:

	y. m.
Judges to <i>Samuel</i>	463. 7.
<i>Saul</i>	20
<i>David</i>	40
	—523. 7.

And again,

<i>Moses</i>	120
to the death of <i>David</i>	523. 7.
<i>Solomon</i>	40
	—683. 7.

¹ Euseb. Chron. I. p. 71. Clemens a Josua successore Mosis ad templi adfiscium annos congerit 574, quod e primo licet ejus libro cognoscere.

^m Strom. I. p. 324.

ⁿ See p. 303. g.

^o Clem. Strom. I. p. 325. Σαοὺλ πρῶτος ἐβασίλευεν ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τῶν κρτάς, ὃν ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἦν τοῦ Σαμουὴλ γνεται ἐτη τετρακόσια ἑξήκοτα τρία, μῆνες ἑπτά [sc. including *Joshua* and excluding *Samuel*]. ἑπτά διὰ τῆς πράτης βίθρων τῶν βασιλεῶν τοῦ Σαούλ ἔτη ἕικοσι, ἑπτὰ ἀνακατισθεὶς ἐβασίλευεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν Σαούλ βασιλεὺει Δαβὶδ—ἐτη τεσσαράκοτα, ὡς περίχρει ἡ δευτέρα τῶν βασιλεῶν.—γίνονται οὖν ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναοῦ [exclusive] ἑως παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Δαβὶδ, ὡς μέν τινες ἐτη τετρακόσια πεντάκοτα, ὡς δὲ ἡ προκειμένη δεκινοὶ χρονογραφία, συνάγονται ἐτη πεντακόσια ἕικοσι τρία μῆνες ἑπτὰ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Δαβὶδ τελευτὴν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβασίλευεν Σολομὼν νῦν δὲ Δαβὶδ ἐτη τεσσαράκοτα.—γίνονται οὖν ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως

ἕπει τὴν Σολομῶνος ἡλικίαν, ὡς μέν τινες φασιν, ἐτη πεντακόσια ἑπτακόσια πέτρες· ὡς δὲ ἔτεροι, πεντακόσια ἐβδομήκοντα ἔξ. εἰ δέ τις τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ μέχρι Δαβὶδ τετρακόσιοις πεντάκοτα ἔτεσι συγκαταριθμήσαι τὰ τῆς Μωϋσέως στρατηγίας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὄγδοηκοντα ἔτη ἡ γεγονέος ὁ Μωϋσῆς πρὸ τοῦ τὴν ἔξδων τοῖς Ἐβραιοῖς ἀπὸ Αἴγυπτου γεγονέαν, προσθεῖται ταύταις τὰ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς Δαβὶδ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, συνάξει ἐτη τὰ πάντα ἑξακόσια δέκα. ἀκριβέστερος δὲ ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρονογραφία πρέπει, εἰ τοῖς πεντακόσοις ἕικοσι καὶ τρισὶ καὶ μησὶν ἑπτὰ μέχρι τῆς Δαβὶδ τελευτῆς προσθεῖται τις τὰ τε τοῦ Μωϋσέως ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἔτη τὰ τοῦ Σολομῶνος μ'. συνάξει γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος τελευτὴν ἐτη ἑξακόσια ὡδούσηκοντα τρία μῆνας ἑπτά.

The seven months which appear in all these computations seem to arise from the seven months after the death of *Eli*, during which the ark was in the hands of the Philistines, expressed in 1 Sam. VI. 1.

In his own detail, from the death of *Moses* to the death of *Eli* are 463 years, but the sum of 523 years twice repeated is exclusive of the 9 years of *Samuel*; and according to these numbers his period from the exode to the temple will be this:

	<i>y.</i>	<i>m.</i>
<i>Moses</i>	40	
to the death of <i>David</i>	523. 7.	
<i>Solomon</i>	3	
	—	566. 7.

Nine years less than his amount in detail. Eusebius collects the numbers from the amount in detail, and must be understood to mean *inclusive* of *Joshua*.

Clemens reports the numbers of other calculators thus; from the death of *Moses* to the accession of *David* 450 years; from *Moses* to *Solomon* 595 or 576; and again,

	<i>y.</i>
<i>Moses</i>	120
to <i>David</i>	450
<i>David</i>	40
	—
	610

The numbers of Clemens himself err in defect; principally in the times of *Samuel* and *Saul*.

Africanus made this period 744 years, according to Eusebius^p. And this number may be collected from himself in the following account of his chronology^q:

^p Euseb. Chron. I. p. 70.

^q Africanus apud Euseb. Praep. X. 10. p. 489. D. ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξιδαι Μωσέως ἐπὶ Κύρου, δὲ ἐβασί- λευτε μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔτη φσλγ. Μωσέως γάρ ἔτη τὰ δοιά τεσσαράκοντα· Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μετ' ἐκείνον ἡγη- σαμένου ἔτη κέ^τ πρεσβυτέρων ἔτη οὐ τῶν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ κριτῶν· τῶν δὲ [I. Ἰησοῦν κριτῶν δὲ τῶν] ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν κριτῶν περιεχομένων ἔτη υγ. Ιερέων δὲ ἸΗλεὶ καὶ Σα- μουὴλ ἔτη γ' τῶν δὲ ἔξης βασιλέων Ἐθραιῶν ἔτη τετρα- κόσια γ'. (τῆς δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας ἐβδομάκοντα recte addit Valesius). Ής τὸ τελευταῖον ἔτος ἦν Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτος πρώτον—ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἀπὸ Μωσέως ἔτη αρι, ἐπει ἐπὶ τεντηκοστῆς πέμπτης ἔτος πρώτον ἔτη φσλγ. His comparative view of the Grecian epochs has been given already p. 6. z. Eusebius Chron. I. p. 70. thus remarks upon the dates of Africanus: *Non est prætermittendum ab Africano item chronologiæ quinque libros esse confectos, qui meo quidem judicio in his quæ mox addam crasso errore vagatur. Namque ab exitu Mosis ad Solomonen templique ædificium suis quidem peculia-ribus calculis supputat annos 744; cuius tempori magnam partem sine testimonio statuens pec- cat; non eo solum nomine quod divini sermonis libro adversatur, verum etiam quod a se temere fictos centum annos obtrudit. Quippe adjungit*

annos seniorum qui post Josuam fuerunt, quos annos scribit 30, deinde post Samsonem popula- ris potestatis annos 40, rursusque pacis annos 30. Atque tot annorum excessum sine debita confor- matione tacite constituens multorum annorum vim marte proprio inter Mosis tempora regnumque Solomonis inserit, quod spatium annis plus 740 definit. This passage is noticed by Syncellus p. 174. Africanus made up 490 years for the judges by computing the 40+30=70 years be- tween the death of Samson and the government of Eli in addition to the 420 years computed by Eusebius himself: see above p. 303. g. The years therefore ἀναρχίας καὶ εἰρήνης, which were an undefined interval in Sulpicius, and 40 years in Syncellus and Theophilus, were 70 years in Africanus. Vigerus ad Euseb. Praep. p. 489. D. reconciles the sum total of Africanus, 1237, with the particulars by supposing him to have reck- oned 41 years in the first term of his series and 71 years in the last. Dr. Routh with greater probability adapts the whole to the parts by reading κα^τ for κα in the years of Joshua: tom. II. p. 299. in which emendation he had been anticipated by Jackson vol. I. p. 157.

	<i>y</i>
<i>Moses</i>	40
<i>Joshua</i> (25)	27
The Elders	30
Judges	490
<i>Eli and Samuel</i>	90
Kings	490
Captivity	70
From the exodus to Ol. 55. 1 inclusive	1237
Deduct 54 Olympiads and one year	217
From the exodus to Ol. 1. 1 exclusive	1020

Africanus places the death of *Joseph*^r at A. M. 3563, the first year of *Eli*^s at A. M. 4292, and the 8th of *Solomon*^t at A. M. 4457. The exode was 144 years after the death of *Joseph*=A. M. 3707. But 4452 (the 3rd of *Solomon*)—3707=745 years for the period from the exode to the temple. Again, if the 8th of *Solomon* was in A. M. 4457, the first year of *Saul*, 87 years before, was in A. M. 4370; and 4370—4292=78 years for *Eli and Samuel*: 78 years, then, only elapsed before the election of *Saul*^v, and the 90 years terminated in the 12th of *Saul*. We may accordingly arrange the chronology of Africanus in this manner :

A. M.	<i>y.</i>	<i>y.</i>	B. C.
<i>Moses</i>	40	1796	
<i>Joshua</i> and the elders	57	1756	
Judges	490	1699	
4292 <i>Eli</i>	40	90 }	1209
4332 <i>Samuel</i> , to the 12th of <i>Saul</i>	50	90 }	1169
4382 <i>Saul</i> , last 28 years	28	490 }	1119
4410 <i>David</i>	40	490 }	1091
4450 <i>Solomon</i>	40	382 }	1051
4490 <i>Rehoboam</i> to the Captivity	382		1011
1st <i>Zedekiah</i> ^w to 1st <i>Cyrus</i> both inclusive ...	70	629	
1st <i>Cyrus</i> Ol. 55. 1.		560	

Eusebius in his Tables, as we have seen, limits this period to 480 years. In another

^r Syncell. p. 106. C. ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτὴν Ἰωσῆφ δι τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου [Genesis] γένεα μὲν καὶ ἔτη δὲ γράψῃ.

^s Syncell. p. 176. A. τὰ κατὰ Ἀφρικανὸν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τέλους τῶν κριτῶν καὶ ἀρχῆς Ἡλεῖ τοῦ ἱερέως ἔτη δοθῆσθαι.

^t Syncell. p. 181. D. εἰσὶν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἦν η ἔτους Σολομῶνος ἔτη—κατὰ Ἀφρικανὸν δονται.

^v The 70 years ἀπαρχῆς καὶ εἰρήνης reckoned by

Africanus (see note q) added to these 78 years =148 will accordingly express his period between the death of *Samson* and the election of *Saul*.

^w From whence Africanus dated the captivity : F. H. II. p. 321. where in line 10 for B. C. 630 read 629. B. C. 629—560, or more properly Ol. 37. 4—55. 1, both inclusive, will express the 70 years of Africanus.

place he gives 600 years^x as the interval. His detail on another occasion gives 613^y; namely,

	<i>y.</i>
<i>Moses</i>	40
<i>Joshua</i>	30
<i>Judges</i>	420
<i>Eli</i>	40
<i>Samuel</i> (no years)	—
<i>Saul</i>	40
<i>David</i> and <i>Solomon</i>	43
	—613

The Paschal Chronicle reckons from the 81st year of *Moses* to the 2nd of *Solomon* 630 years^z; and the numbers in detail agree with this amount:

	<i>y.</i>
<i>Moses</i>	40
<i>Joshua</i>	27
<i>Judges</i> ^a	402
Between <i>Samson</i> and <i>Saul</i>	100 ^b
<i>Saul</i>	20
<i>David</i>	40
<i>Solomon</i>	2
	—631

The 630 years will be exclusive of the second year of *Solomon*; the 631 will include it.

Syncellus computed the space at 659 years^c, which he thus obtained:

* Euseb. Chron. I. p. 73. *Summa temporis quo judices magistratum gesserunt anni omnino 450 usque ad Samuelem, suffragante etiam nostro apostolo [Act. XIII. 20]. Sunt tamen extra hunc censum aetates Mosis itemque Josuae successoris, necnon Samuelis et Saulis. Sed interim Samuelis et Saulis et Josuae tempora seponamus. Ex testimonio autem Apostoli anni Saulis 40 accenseantur judicum annis 450, cui numero additis 40 annis Davidis et 4 annis Solomonis, consurgit annorum summa 534; quae videlicet apostolica traditio est. Jam additis 40 annis quos Moses in deserto traduxit, rursusque annis 27 Josuae filii Navi, adstipulantibus ipsis Hebrewis, congeruntur anni 600.* In this sum he omits the years of *Samuel*, which he supposed (contrary to the Scripture account, as we have seen) to be included in the years of *Saul*.

y Euseb. Præp. X. 14. p. 502. 503. His own dates, however, seem to have been the contracted Hebrew period of 480 years, as exhibited in his tables; for in Præp. X. 9. p. 484. A. B. he reckons 408 years from the 3rd of *Labdon*, which he places at B.C. 1184, to the 50th of *Uzziah*, which he places at B.C. 776; and de-

termines the 3rd of *Labdon* to have been seven years before *Samson* judged Israel: which are nearly the dates of his tables, annis 835, 841, 1241.

^a Chron. Pasch. p. 91. B. συνάγεται ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ἀπὸ τὰ Μωϋσέων, καθ' ὃ ἡ ἐξ Αιγύπτου πορεία γέγονεν, ἐπὶ Σολομῶντα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ ιεροῦ κατασκευῆς εἰς ἔτη χλ̄.

^b See above p. 303. g.

^c Syncell. p. 175. B. ἦν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἀπόστολον τὰ τῶν κριτῶν νῦν ἔτη καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου μὲν ἔτη Μωϋσέων· Ἰησοῦ τε καὶ τῶν μετ' Ἰησοῦ πρεσβυτέρων μὲν, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἡλεί τῷ ιερέως καὶ Σαμονῆλ καὶ Σαοὶλ μὲν, Δαβὶθ τε μὲν καὶ Σολομῶνος δὲ συναριθμήσωμεν, ἔσται ὁ πᾶς χρόνος—ἔτην χλ̄'. His own detailed account gives one less: p. 176. A. τὰ νῦν ἔτη τῶν κριτῶν κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον ἀπὸ τῶν γῆς βῆτος τοῦ κόσμου ἐπὶ τὸ πρώτον ἔτος Ἡλεί πληροῦται, ἐνδὸς ἔτους ὑπολειπομένου, ὅπερ Ἀφρικανὸς τὸν Σεμέγαρον λέγει κρατῆσαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, τῆς γραφῆς [Judg. III. 31] οὐκ εἰπούσης χρόνον. In reality his detail has two years less than the 450. He states p. 154. A. the first servitude A. M. 3902. p. 174, the death of *Samson* A. M. 4309. 40 years *ἀναρχίας*; A. M. 4310. p. 176. B., first year of *Eli* A. M. 4350. But 3902—

	<i>y.</i>
<i>Moses</i>	40
<i>Joshua</i>	27
The elders	18
<i>Judges</i>	450
<i>Eli</i>	20
<i>Samuel</i>	20
<i>Saul</i>	40
<i>David and Solomon</i>	44
	—659

Josephus in the present text has various accounts of this period, 592, 612, 632 years^d. His detail of the particulars gives 609 years.

	<i>y.</i>
<i>Moses</i>	40
<i>Joshua</i>	25
Interregnum... 18	} 43 V. 1, 29. VI. 5, 4.
<i>Judges</i> ^e	391
<i>Eli</i>	40 V. 9, 1. 11, 3.
<i>Samuel</i>	12 VI. 13, 5.
<i>Samuel</i>	18
<i>Saul</i>	22
<i>David</i>	40 VII. 15, 2.
<i>Solomon</i>	3
	—609

The error is in omitting the 20 years of the ark at Kirjath-jearim, and placing only 12 years between *Eli* and *Saul*. If we correct Josephus by striking out the year of *Shamgar* and adding the 20 years of the ark, the period will amount to 628 years^f.

4349 both inclusive are only 448 years. And to obtain these he carries the period 40 years beyond the death of *Samson*.

^d We may collect 591 years from Ant. VII. 3, 2. 592 or 590 from VIII. 3, 1. 563 from IX. 14, 1. 632 years (namely 1062—430) from X. 8, 5, and 612 years from XX. 10, 1.

^e See above p. 303. g.

^f Josephus Ant. VI. 1, 4. mentions the ark: ἔθεράστενον τὴν κιβωτὸν οἱ Ἀμιανᾶδάρου παῖδες, καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταῦτης ἐνις ἐτῶν εἴκοσι προέστησαν. τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἔμενεν ἐν τῇ Καριαθιαρίᾳ, τοιήσασα παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις μῆνας τέσσαρας [7 months with the Philistines, 20 years at Kirjath-jearim: 1 Sam. VI. 1. VII. 2]. The gathering of the people to Mizpeh by *Samuel* and their victory over the Philistines (1 Sam. VII. 5—13) was during that period of the ark's abode: VI. 2, 1. τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκείνη τῷ χρόνῳ καθ' ὃν ἐλέγει η Καριαθιαριμιτῶν πόλις τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐπ' εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις τραπέντος τοῦ θεοῦ κ. τ. λ. And the 12 years of *Samuel* are described VI. 13, 5. as if immediately following

the 40 years of *Eli*: ἥρξε δὲ καὶ προέστη τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ τὴν Ἡλεί τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτὴν μόνος μὲν ἐτη δώδεκα, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Σαυλοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως δέκα τρὶς τοῖς ὅκτεν. Jackson vol. I. p. 148, and Hales vol. I. p. 100—102. have given the chronology of Josephus, but both are inaccurate. Jackson reckons *Samson* exclusive of the sixth servitude, which is contrary to Josephus; and gives only 20 years to the reign of *Saul*, to whom, as we have shewn, Josephus assigns 40 years. Hales tacitly inserts the 20 years of the ark, although he himself vol. II. p. 337. censures Josephus for his mistake in neglecting them. By this insertion of the 20 years, and by omitting to add the years of *Abdon*, while he inserts the years of *Tola*, he brings the period of Josephus to 621 years. These 621 years he affirms to be the true period of Josephus, obtained by comparing the date of the exode X. 8, 5. (1062 years before the destruction of the temple) with the date of the capture of Jebus by *David* (477 years before the same event) in Bell. VI. 10. This period, however,

St. Paul ^g gives the outline of the period :

	<i>y.</i>
Forty years in the wilderness	40
The division of the lands (in the 6th year)	6
The judges to <i>Samuel</i> , or the whole time between the division of the lands and <i>Samuel</i> the prophet } 450	
Administration of <i>Samuel</i> (no years).....	—
<i>Saul</i>	40
	<hr/>
	536
Add <i>David</i> ^h	40 } 43
<i>Solomon</i>	3 } <hr/> 579

We have the authority, then, of St. Paul for 579 years exclusive of the years of *Samuel*. The 450 years of the Apostle commence at the division of the lands in the 47th year after the exode ⁱ. But it is not clear when they terminate; whether at the call of the child *Samuel* in the last years of *Eli*, or whether at the administration of *Samuel* after the death of *Eli*. Now as we have seen already that there were 430 years from the first servitude inclusive to the death of *Eli*^k, if these 450 years terminate at that point, they will leave 20 years for *Joshua* and the elders, and, 32 years being assumed between *Eli* and *Saul*, the whole period will be 611 or 612 years. Hales supposes the period of the Apostle to end at the call of the child *Samuel*, which he assumes to be ten years before the death of *Eli*. This arrangement throws back the division of the lands ten years higher, allows 30 years for *Joshua* and the elders, and enlarges the whole period to 621 years. I think that the other interpretation is the most probable, and that the 450 years extended to the death of *Eli*.

The period, then, from the exode to the temple, founded on the testimony of St. Paul and on the Old Testament narrative, fluctuates between the 600 years of Eusebius and the 628 years arising out of the corrected numbers of Josephus. The truth lies somewhere between

is not obtained without considerable alterations. He inserts the 20 years before mentioned. He deducts 8 years from the interregnum and transfers them to *Abdon*: Vol. I. p. 102. "The only alteration here made in the present text of Josephus is the insertion of *Tola* and his 23 years, which are inadvertently omitted. To *Abdon* no years are assigned by Josephus, "perhaps designedly. But we may easily reconcile Josephus with Scripture by only deducting 8 years from the 18 years' interregnum "after *Joshua*, which will give *Abdon* his quota "of years." This is not to restore Josephus, but to remodel him. The 621 years may be nearly the true period, but they are scarcely the period of Josephus.

^g Acts XIII. 18—21.

^h *David* in reality reigned 40 years and 6 months; namely, 7 years and 6 months in *Hebron*, and 33 years in *Jerusalem*: 2 Sam. II. 11. V. 5. Joseph. Ant. VII. 15, 2. βασιλεύσας ἐπεὶ

μὲν ἐν Χεβρῷν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ μῆνας ἑξ, ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμοις δὲ ἀπάσῃς τῆς χώρας τρία καὶ τρίακοντα. But his reign is called 40 years: 2 Sam. V. 4. 1 Kings II. 11. because *Solomon* began to reign before the death of *David*: 1 Kings I. 32—40. The 40 years therefore of *Solomon* (1 Kings XI. 42) might begin six months before the death of his father, and the 80 years of these two reigns may be divided thus: *David* 40^{y.} 6^{m.}, *Solomon* 39^{y.} 6^{m.}. See the remark of Usher Annals p. 39.

ⁱ Οἱ τεσσαρακονταετὴ χρόνον ἐπροσθέρησεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἑρίμῳ, καὶ καθελὼν ἔνη ἐπεὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν κατεκληροδότησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅς ἔτεις τετρακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔωκε κρίτας ἐν Σαμουὴλ τοῦ προφήτου. This passage, and especially the expression μετὰ ταῦτα, refutes those who have supposed that the 450 years of the Apostle are to be dated from the exode.

^k That is, 390 years of the Judges and 40 years of *Eli*. See p. 303.

these points. We may assume 612 years as the most probable; which will give 27 years to one of the two undefined periods¹ and 32 years to the other^m. The rest of the outline, 40 years of *Moses*, 390 years for the judges, 40 for *Eli*, and 83 for *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*, is supplied by the testimony of Scripture. If any should object that 27 years are too short a space for *Joshua* and the elders, it may be answered, first, the terms of the Apostle, ὡς ἑτερινόν, expressing round numbers, do not fix the amount to a single year, and would be equally true if there were five or six years more than that number. Secondly, the 390 years of the judges are composed of 17 periods; and it is not at all likely that all these were complete years without a deficiency. Many of them might be current years, wanting some months of the complete period; as in the kings many reigns wanted some months to complete the years expressed. And as the first 98 years in the kings of Israel were in reality no more than 93 years, so the 390 years of the judges might be in reality only 384 or 385. The 450 years, then, of the Apostle, commencing at the 47th year from the exode and ending at the death of *Eli*, might contain 25 or 30 years of that undefined period which preceded the first servitudeⁿ.

This extended term of 612 years is inconsistent with the date in the book of Kings^o, which reckons the foundation of the temple in the 4th year of *Solomon* to be *in the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt*. But the computation of St. Paul delivered in a solemn argument before a Jewish audience, and confirmed by the whole tenour of the history in the book of Judges, outweighs the authority of that date; and we may agree with Jackson and Hales in rejecting it^p. A term of 300 years mentioned by *Jeph-*

¹ Between the death of *Moses* and the first servitude.

^m Between the death of *Eli* and the election of *Saul*.

ⁿ Among the computations of modern chronologers the following may be noticed: 1. Usher Annals p. 39. reckons 480 years, or rather 479^y. 16^d. Pref. p. 3. He strikes out all the space between *Joshua* and *Othniel*, and makes the 40 years of *Othniel* commence at the 47th year after the exode. He omits all the six servitudes with Eusebius, including them in the judges; and he reckons only 21 years to *Samuel*. 2. Petavius obtains 519 years. He allows to *Joshua* and the elders after the division of the lands 18 years. He admits the first four servitudes, but excludes the 5th and 6th. The 6th he divides between *Samson* and *Eli*, allowing 20 years to each. He omits *Samuel* altogether, who is included in the years of *Saul*. 3. De Tournemine reduces the time to 500 years, which he thus obtains, in Du Fresnoy tom. I. p. 444. He agrees with Petavius in inserting the first four servitudes and omitting the two last. He omits *Samson*, but gives 40 years to *Eli*. He strikes out 20 years from *Ibzan*, *Elon*, and *Abdon*, whom he makes contemporary with *Eli*. He gives *Samuel* 20 years and *Saul* 20. 4. Mr. Greswell vol. I. p. 392—394. fixes the period to 549 years, and adapts St. Paul to this amount by

dating the 450 years from the exode, contrary to the meaning of the Apostle; and by supposing that the term "about 450 years" may express in round numbers either 426 or 466. 5. Jackson vol. I. p. 145. supposes the 450 years of St. Paul to include *Samuel*, and assigns the 579 years mentioned at p. 312. as the period. 6. Serrarius enlarges the period to 680 years; which he thus obtains. He reckons the space from the division of lands to the first servitude 71 years, interpolates 9 years of anarchy after the death of *Gideon*, and gives 41 years to *Samuel* between *Eli* and *Saul*. 7. Pezron reckons 962 years. He gives after the division of Canaan 61 years to *Joshua* and the elders, and he inserts 10 periods of anarchy amounting to 322 years after the several judges. By this enormous computation *Othniel* survives his marriage with *Caleb's* daughter 177 years. 8. Des Vignoles, tom. I. p. 6. 172., who gives 648 years, follows the Scripture dates; and in the two chasms, *Joshua* and *Samuel*, where the Scripture is silent, he adopts Josephus. He improperly computes the 20 years of *Samson*. If these are retrenched, his period becomes 628 years, the corrected number arising from Josephus.

^o 1 Kings VI. 1.

^p See Jackson vol. I. p. 163. 164. Hales vol. I. p. 17. vol. II. p. 287. considers that number 480 as spurious. Petavius reckoned the 480

thah^q, which commenced at the 39th year from the exode and terminated at his own time, may be reconciled with the 612 years, if we understand it in round numbers^r. The actual period to the election of *Jephthah* would be 347 years; which might here be called 300, as the term 430 years is on another occasion called 400 years^s.

The kings of *Judah*, from *Rehoboam* to *Zedekiah* both inclusive, reigned 393^v. 6^m. according to the current years marked in Scripture, but 389^v. 1^m. in actual computation. This space may be divided into five periods. The first period extends to the accession of *Athaliah* and *Jehu*^t; the second to the death of *Amaziah*^v; the third to the 6th year of *Hezekiah* and 9th of *Hoshea*^w; the fourth to the death of *Josiah*^x; and the fifth to the destruction of the temple ^y.

The reigns of *Rehoboam* and *Jeroboam* began in the same year. The reigns of *Athaliah* and *Jehu* also began together. The first six reigns therefore in *Judah* were equal to the first eight in *Israel*. "But," Dr. Hales^z remarks, "it appears that the six of *Judah* amount to 95 years, and the eight of *Israel* to 98. Consequently three years must be retrenched from the latter, to reduce them to an equality with the former." Accordingly he "subtracts one year from each of the reigns of *Baasha*, *Ela*, and *Omri*, which are thereby reduced from current to complete years. And this reduction is warranted by the correspondences; for *Baasha* began to reign in the 3rd of *Asa*, and *Ela* in the 26th of *Asa*; which gives *Baasha* 23 years complete. *Ela* was slain in the 27th of *Asa*. He reigned therefore only one year complete, and *Zimri* and *Omri* reigned in succession from the 27th to the 38th of *Asa*, or only 11 years complete." All this is very manifest. But for similar reasons we must deduct two years from the 95 of *Judah*, which were only 93. For the collected reigns of *Jehosaphat* and *Jehoram* were in reality only 31 years complete instead of 33^a.

years current from the death of *Moses*: whence he obtained $480 + 40 = 520$ years current. Mr. Greswell vol. I. p. 400. endeavours to reconcile that date with the true history by computing its beginning from a still lower point. The opinion of Hales seems the most probable, that "the period of 480 years is a forgery, foisted into the text."

^q Judges XI. 26. *Art thou any thing better than Balak the son of Zipor king of Moab? Did he ever strive against Israel, or did he ever fight against them, while Israel dwelt in Heshbon and her towns, and in Aroer and her towns, and in all the cities that are along by the coasts of Arnon 300 years?*

^r Hales vol. II. p. 318. observes, "From the conquest of the lands of *Sihon* and *Og* to the election of *Jephthah* were 356 years [which is the number resulting from his dates], corresponding with the general statement of 300 years in round numbers, judiciously rendered by Josephus Ant. V. 7, 9. *ιπερ τριακόσια ἔτη*. "This is inconsistent with the shorter chronology of the Jews, reckoning the interval 293 years; of Usher, 265 years; and of Petavius, 238 years only." The Jewish period is founded upon erroneous numbers, which are exhibited by Hales vol. I. p. 16. Usher Annals p. 31.

makes the interval 264 years, namely, A. M. 2553—2817. But Petavius reckons 326 years, since he places the 39th year from the exode at B. C. 1492 and the accession of *Jephthah* at B. C. 1166: R. Temp. I. I. 5. 6. and the same term is produced by his collected numbers in Du Fresnoy Tablettes tom. I. p. 444. Petavius therefore is with us; and concurs in reckoning the 300 years to stand in round numbers for a larger period.

^s See above p. 297.

^t This is related in 20 chapters, 1 Kings XII. 2 Kings IX. six of which (XVII—XXII) treat of the reign of *Ahab*; and in 13 chapters of Chronicles, 2 Chron. X—XXII. 9. three of which (XIV—XVI) describe the reign of *Asa*, and four (XVII—XX) the reign of *Jehosaphat*.

^v Described 2 Kings X—XIV. 2 Chron. XXII. 10—XXV.

^w In 2 Kings XV—XVIII. 2 Chron. XXVI—XXIX.

^x In 2 Kings XVIII. 13—XXIII. 30. 2 Chron. XXIX—XXXV.

^y Related in 2 Kings XXIII. 31—XXV. 30. 2 Chron. XXXVI. 1—21.

^z Vol. II. p. 408.

^a See the Table at the end of this chapter, at the year 915.

Some dates within this period require notice. 1. The “36th of *Asa*.” This is examined in the following Table at B. C. 941. 2. Forty-two years for the age of *Ahaziah*^b are wrong on account of another passage^c, where it is given “twenty-two years;” and on account of the age of his father, who died at forty. 3. For the “17th of *Jehosaphat*” see the Table at the year 896. 4. The “18th of *Jehosaphat* was the 1st of *Joram*^d.” This is evidently impossible; for between the accession of *Jehosaphat* and the accession of *Joram* son of *Ahab* are 18 years complete of *Ahab* and two years of *Ahaziah*. 5. For the “2nd of *Jehoram*^e” see the Table at 895. 6. The phrase “*Jehosaphat* being then king of *Judah*^f” we may perhaps explain thus: *Jehoram* began to reign while his father was yet living (as in the accession of *Solomon*), and *Jehosaphat* died at the commencement of the 25th year, which is therefore the 1st of *Jehoram*^g.

In the second period are three reigns and a space of 75 years, from the accession of *Athaliah* to the death of *Amaziah*, and the corresponding reigns in *Israel* give the same amount^h. Within this period the “37th of *Joash*ⁱ” is inconsistent with the other dates. Usher^k here again solves the difficulty by supposing the son to be taken into consortship with the father. For this, however, there is no authority; and, if this had been so, the 16 years of *Je-hoash* would still have been sole years and distinct from the years of his father’s reign. The Septuagint, however, has the “39th year^l;” which might be the true reading.

In the third period the only difficulty consists in adjusting the reign of *Jeroboam II.* to the corresponding reigns in *Judah*; and the question to be decided is this, whether the death of *Amaziah* was followed by an interregnum of 12 years in *Judah* and the death of *Jeroboam II.* by an interregnum of 23 years in *Israel*, or whether there was no interregnum after *Amaziah*.

^b 2 Chron. XXII. 2.

^f 2 Kings VIII. 16.

^c 2 Kings VIII. 26.

^g The scheme of Usher for these reigns is

^d 2 Kings III. 1.

^e 2 Kings I. 17.

this: Annals p. 46—49.

17	Jehosaphat.	1	Joram	21	Ahab	1	Ahaziah, in the 17th Jehosaphat.
18	.....	2	.....	22	.....	2	
19	.....	3	.....	1	Jehoram	“latter end of 18th Jehosaphat and 2nd Joram.”	
20	.....	4	.....	2			
21	.....			3			
22	.....	Joram	1	4			
23	.....		2	5	[“Jehosaphat makes his son consort in the 5th Jehoram.”]		
24	.....		3	6			
25	.....		4	7			
5	.....			8			
6	.....			9			
7	.....			10			
8	.....			11			
	Ahaziah “12th Jehoram”			12			

By this distribution he adjusts the apparently discordant dates. But this is done at the expense of many conjectural alterations of the plain meaning of the Scripture narrative. He supposes three beginnings of the reign of *Joram* king of *Judah*. He supposes four of the 8 years to have been conumerary with the years of *Jehosaphat*. He gets rid of the reign of *Ahaziah* king of *Israel*, which is nearly included in that of *Ahab*. But for all these suppositions there is

no authority. If *Joram* reigned with his father at all, his eight years are still the years of his sole reign. And *Ahaziah* and his acts are clearly marked to be subsequent to the death of *Ahab*.

^h In *Judah* $6+40+29=75$. In *Israel* we may compute $28+16\frac{1}{2}+16+14\frac{1}{2}=75$.

ⁱ In 2 Kings XIII. 10.

^k Annals p. 51.

^l 4 Reg. XIII. 10. ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ καὶ ἑνάτῳ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ βασιλεῖ Ἰούδᾳ.

and only 11 years interregnum after the death of *Jeroboam*. Hales^m argues for the double interregnum in the following manner: “*Jeroboam II.* began to reign in the 15th year of “*Amaziah*, and reigned 41 years. He died therefore in the 16th of *Uzziah*. But *Zachariah* “his son succeeded him in the 38th of *Uzziah*; consequently the interregnum in *Israel* lasted “ $38 - 16 = 22$ years. *Amaziah* survived *Joash* 15 years. He died therefore in the 16th of “*Jeroboam*. But *Uzziah* did not begin to reign till the 27th of *Jeroboam*; therefore from “the death of *Amaziah* to the accession of *Uzziah* there was an interregnum of $27 - 16 = 11$ “years.” If that date, the 27th of *Jeroboam*ⁿ, is genuine, there was undoubtedly an interregnum of 12 years (rather than 11) in *Judah*, and of 23 (rather than 22) in *Israel*. Accordingly Du Fresnoy and Le Brun Desmarettes^o, like Hales, suppose the double interregnum of 11 and 22 years. But this interregnum of 11 or 12 years in *Judah* is not to be discerned in the Scripture narrative^p; and an interregnum of 23 years’ duration in *Israel* between *Jeroboam* and his son is not probable. And Josephus^q, who knows no *interregna*^r,

^m Vol. II. p. 409. ⁿ In 2 Kings XV. 1.

^o See Du Fresnoy Tablettes tom. I. p. 432. 447—451.

^p Compare 2 Kings XIV. 17. 2 Chron. XXV. 27. for the death of *Amaziah*, and 2 Kings XIV. 21. 22. 2 Chron. XXVI. 1. 2. for the succession of *Uzziah*.

^q Ant. IX. 10, 3.

^r Dr. Hales vol. II. p. 410, misrepresents Josephus, and supposes him to acknowledge the interregnum: “That he was no stranger to the

“chasm of 32 years in *Israel* we may infer from “his taking into account the 11 years of inter- “regnum in *Judah*, necessary to complete his “amount of the whole period, from the founda- “tion to the destruction of the temple, 441 “years. See vol. I. p. 102.” Josephus, how- ever, is so far from taking into account this sup- posed interregnum in *Judah*, that he neglects even the two *interregna* which did actually occur in *Israel*. His account of the double line of kings is as follows:

	<i>y.</i>		<i>y.</i>		
Saul	40	VI. 14, 9.			
David	40				
Solomon	(80) 40				
Rehoboam	17	VIII. 10, 4.	Jeroboam	22	VIII. 11, 4.
Abijah	3	VIII. 11, 3.	Nadab	2	VIII. 11, 4.
Asa	41	VIII. 12, 6.	Baasha	24	VIII. 12, 3.
			Elah	2	VIII. 12, 4.
Jehosaphat	25	IX. 3, 2.	Zimri 7 days	—	VIII. 12, 5.
Jehoram	8	IX. 5, 3.	Omri	12	VIII. 12, 5.
Ahaziah	1	IX. 6, 3.	Ahab	22	VIII. 13, 1.
Athaliah	6	IX. 7, 1.	Ahaziah	2	IX. 2, 1.
Joash	40	IX. 8, 4, 7, 2.	Joram	12	IX. 2, 2.
Amaziah	29	IX. 9, 3.	Jeju	27	IX. 8, 1.
Uzziah	52	IX. 10, 4.	Jehoahaz	17	IX. 8, 5.
			Joash	16	IX. 8, 6.
Jotham	16	IX. 12, 1.	Jeroboam	40	IX. 10, 1.
Ahaz	16	IX. 12, 3.	Zachariah 6 months	—	IX. 11, 1.
Hezekiah	29	X. 3, 1.	Shallum 30 days	—	IX. 11, 1.
Manasseh	55	X. 3, 2.	Menahem	10	IX. 11, 1.
Amon	2	X. 4, 1.	Pekaiyah	2	IX. 11, 1.
Josiah	31	X. 5, 1.	Pekah	20	IX. 11, 1.
Jehoahaz	3 ^m . 10 ^d .		Hoshea	9	
Jehoiakim 11.					239 ^y . 7 ^m . 7 ^d .
Jehoiakin	3 ^m . 10 ^d .	22 ^y . 6 ^m . 20 ^d .	X. 5, 2.		
Zedekiah 11.			X. 6, 3.		
			X. 6, 3.		
			X. 8, 2, 5.		
		513 ^y . 6 ^m . 20 ^d			

reads "the 14th year of *Jeroboam*:" Ὁξίας ὁ τοῦ Ἀμασίου νιὸς, ἔτος ηδη τέταρτον πρὸς τοῖς δέκα βασιλεύοντος Ἰεροβοάμου, τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἐβασίλευεν. We may concur, then, with Jackson, Des Vignoles, and Mr. Greswell^s, in rejecting that date, the 27th of *Jeroboam*, as corrupt.

He calls the reigns in *Judah* X. 8, 4. 514^y. 6^m. 10^d. (see above p. 306. g), and the reigns in *Israel* IX. 14, 1. 240^y. 7^m. 7^d. ἔτη ἑστὶ διαδοσία τεσσαράκοτα μῆνες ἵπτα ἡμέραις ἵπτα. In each case, as it seems, computing current years for complete. In the reigns of *Judah* he concurs throughout with Scripture. In two reigns of *Israel*, *Jehu* and *Jeroboam II.*, he has two years less than the Scripture account. But both in the sums total and the detail it is clear that he acknowledged no *interregna* in either line. Hales in vol. I. p. 103., to which he refers, had said, "The insertion of the 11 years' interregnūm is warranted by Scripture, and is also necessary to fill up the outline of the period of Josephus." p. 100. "From the subtraction of the genuine period of 621 years from the entire period of 1062 years, we get 441 years; the correct period from the foundation to the destruction of the temple." But this period of 441 years is a number created by Hales himself, who subtracts 621 from 1062. Josephus X. 8, 5. merely says: ἀνεγράφθη ὁ ναὸς μετὰ τετρακόσια ἔτη καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἔξι καὶ δίκαια ἡμέραις ἀφ' ὅπερ κατεσκενάσθη τῷ δὲ Αἰγύπτου μεταναστότοι τοῦ λαοῦ τότε ἦν ἐπη χρίσια ἐγκότα δύο μῆνες ἔξι ἡμέραις δίκαια. The first number, 470 years, for the duration of the temple is confessedly corrupt, and perhaps arises from the computation of 80 years to *Solomon*. The second, according to the account of Josephus himself for the Jewish reigns, is rather to be divided thus: $514 - 84 = 430 + 632 = 1062$; and will give 632 years from the exode to the temple, and 430 from the foundation of the temple to the destruction.

^s Jackson vol. I. p. 181. "Uzziah began to reign in the 15th year of *Jeroboam II.* as the numbers plainly shew. Josephus says that he began to reign in the 14th (ending) of *Jeroboam II.* Yet by a strange error of numbers it is said 2 Kings XV. 1. that he began to reign in the 27th year of *Jeroboam*. This error is so evident that nothing more need be said to confute it." Vignoles in his Table given by Du Fresnoy tom. I. p. 453. adopts the same arrangement. Uzziah succeeds in the 14th of *Jeroboam*, and the first interregnūm in *Israel* is 11 years instead of 23. Greswell vol. III. p. 240. "I conclude that 2 Kings XV. 1. the 27th of *Jeroboam* is a corruption of the text for the 15th. There are no means of avoiding this inference except by supposing an interregnūm between the death of *Amaziah* in the 15th

" *Jerob.* and the accession of *Uzziah* in the 27th; a supposition which some commentators have accordingly made, but for which there appears so little reason that I consider the other assumption (that of error in the text, 27 for 15) on every account to be preferred. Nothing can be clearer than that *Uzziah* was made king at 16 years old immediately on the death of his father." The two schemes are these:

29 Amaz. slain 14 Jer. II.

1	Interregn.	15
2		16
3		17
4		18
5		19
6		20
7		21
8		22
9		23
10		24
11		25
12		26
13	Uzziah	27
14		28
15		29
16		30
17		31
18		32
19		33
20		34
21		35
22		36
23		37
24		38
25		39
26		40
27		41 ending
28		1 Interregn.
29		2
30		3
31		4
32		5
33		6
34		7
35		8
36		9
37		10
38		11
39	Zachar.	6 ^m .

29 Amaz. slain 14 Jer. II.

1	Uzziah	15 ending
2		16
3		17
4		18
5		19
6		20
7		21
8		22
9		23
10		24
11		25
12		26
13		27
14		28
15		29
16	1 Interregn.	30
17		31
18		32
19		33
20		34
21		35
22		36
23		37
24		38
25		39
26		40
27		41 ending
28		1 Interregn.
29		2
30		3
31		4
32		5
33		6
34		7
35		8
36		9
37		10
38		11
39	Zachar.	6 ^m .

It is said of *Ahaz* that his accession was at twenty years of age. Josephus has the same numbers. But as *Hezekiah* was 25 at his accession and *Ahaz* 36 at his death, these dates suppose *Ahaz* to be only 11 at the birth of his son. The reading of the Septuagint, 25 for 20^t, removes the difficulty, and makes *Ahaz* 41 at his death and 16 at the birth of his son *Hezekiah*^v.

The amount of the fourth period is clearly marked in Scripture and in Josephus. But the ages of the five last kings of *Judah* may require some notice. *Josiah* was 8 years old at his accession. He could not be more, because his father *Amon* died at 24 years of age. But *Josiah* died at 39, leaving *Eliakim* 25 years of age, *Jehoahaz* 23, and *Zedekiah* 10. *Eliakim* again died at 36, leaving *Jeconias* 18 years of age; the years therefore of *Eliakim* cannot be abridged. The following numbers result from these ages :

<i>Amon</i> was 16	at the birth of	<i>Josiah</i>
<i>Josiah</i> 14		<i>Eliakim</i>
<i>Eliakim</i> .. 18		<i>Jeconias</i>

We may assume that *Amon* was 22 complete and *Josiah* 8 complete at their respective accessions ; and that *Eliakim* was only entering his 25th year and *Jeconias* commencing his 18th. This will lessen the difficulty. *Josiah* might be 15 at the birth of his son^w.

The six months of *Zachariah* began in the 38th and ended in the 39th of *Uzziah*. It is plain, then, that if that number, "the 27th of *Jeroboam*," be admitted, there will arise an interregnum of 12 years in *Judah* and 23 years in *Israel*. And this interregnum, by interposing 12 years, will derange every preceding epoch ; throwing back every date preceding the accession of *Uzziah* 12 years too high. Usher Annals p. 52. 53. has recourse to the usual expedient of supposing *Jeroboam* to reign in consortsip with his father 11 years, and the 27th year of his reign to describe the 16th year from the death of his father. But according to this hypothesis *Jeroboam* would only reign 30 years after the death of his father, and if his 27th year was the 1st of *Uzziah*, his 41st would be the 15th of *Uzziah* ; and there would be left an interregnum of 23 years in *Israel* instead of 11, to which Usher reduces it p. 55. Mr. Greswell vol. III. p. 236. very justly remarks that with regard to this method of solution (the associating the son with the father), it appears so very questionable, that without the most demonstrative evidence it ought never to be entertained ; that there is no proof that any one of the children of the monarchs of *Judah* or *Israel* were associated with them, or, if they were, that the notices of their reigns were dated from that association, and not from the actual death of their predecessors ; that *Jehoram* and *Uzziah* are cases in point,

for, though the former was struck by disease two years before his death, and the latter for probably a longer time was a leper, there is no mention of their sons being associated with them. And he lays it down as a rule that no king's reign bore date except from the demise of his predecessor. In these remarks we shall agree. We shall not, however, concur in another hypothesis, by which Mr. Greswell vol. III. p. 232. vol. I. p. 207. (after Reland) supposes that the lengths of reigns were reckoned by one rule and the synchronisms by another ; that the former were referred to some nominal *ἀρχὴν*, the latter to the true ; that the reign of every king was supposed to begin from *Nisan*, but that no synchronisms are ever referred except to the true date of the reigns. This scheme, which Mr. Greswell affirms to be an obvious possibility, is, however, so very improbable, that we cannot accept it without direct evidence. Nor does it solve the difficulties ; for the difficulties lie in the synchronisms, and these Mr. Greswell admits are still to be adjusted by the true accessions ; and many dates remain which he acknowledges to be corruptions of the text.

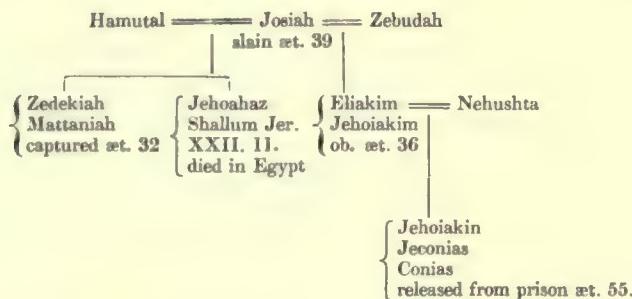
^t In 2 Chron. XXVIII. 1.

^v Dr. Hales vol. II. p. 453—463. makes no remark, and finds no difficulty in the ordinary reading.

^w The genealogy stands thus :

The amount of the fifth period from the death of *Josiah* to the destruction of the temple is determined by Usher^x to about 22^y. 0^m. 25^d. In this period the positions of all the preceding epochs are first ascertained, by measuring the dates of Scripture with profane testimony. The fourth year of *Jehoiakim* was still current 70 years before the 1st of *Cyrus* (according to Scripture reckoning) at Babylon^y. We are enabled, however, to bring Scripture and profane accounts to a still nearer coincidence, by comparing the history of *Zedekiah* and *Jehoiakin* with the dates assigned to the Babylonian kings by the Astronomical Canon.

The 37th year of *Jehoiakin's* captivity in the 25th day of the 12th month fell within the 1st year of *Evil-Merodach*^z. This 25th day of the 12th month was in reference to the months of the Hebrew year^a, and marked the month of February. But as the 1st of *Evil-Merodach* was dated from Jan. 11. B. C. 561, this would be February B. C. 561. And as *Zedekiah* began to reign about June^b, the captivity of *Jehoiakin* necessarily commenced in June, and consequently his 37th year in June B. C. 562, since it was still current in February following. But if his 37th year commenced in June B. C. 562, his captivity is fixed to June B. C. 598; the 11th year of *Zedekiah* was completed in June B. C. 587, and the month *Ab*, in which the temple was destroyed, was in July B. C. 587: which refutes the date of Usher, B. C. 588^c, for the burning of the temple, because, if this event had occurred in that year, the 37th of *Jehoiakin's* captivity would have commenced in June B. C. 563, and the 12th month and 25th day would have fallen in February B. C. 562, before the accession of *Evil-Merodach*. Again, it refutes the date of Jackson and Hales, B. C. 586, because in that case the 37th year would have commenced in June B. C. 561, and February of that 37th year would have fallen in B. C. 560, which would rather belong to the second year of *Evil-Merodach*^d.



The sons of *Josiah* are differently stated in 1 Chron. III. 15. namely,

1. The first born *Johanan*
2. *Jehoiakin*
3. *Zedekiah*
4. *Shallum*

But this account is refuted by Jerem. XXII. 11.

^x See F. H. III. p. 375.

^y See F. H. II. p. 301.

^z 2 Kings XXV. 27. Jerem. LII. 31.

^a See F. H. III. p. 375. ^b Ibid.

^c Usher Annals p. 87—91.

^d It may be said that the reign of *Evil-Merodach* or *Ilvarodamus* in the Canon might have

commenced three or four months later than Jan. 11. B. C. 561, and therefore that February B.C. 560 might have fallen within his first year. But it is manifest from the Scripture narrative that *Evil-Merodach* released *Jehoiakin* from prison in the beginning of his reign; that this was one of his first acts, and was not delayed till the close of the first year. We may accordingly conclude that his accession really occurred soon after Jan. 11th, and that February of the 37th year was the month following. And it must also be observed that the 25th day of the 12th Hebrew month *Adar* would most probably fall in the beginning of March; which makes it still less likely that this should be *Adar* of B. C. 560.

The captivity of *Zedekiah* being determined to June B.C. 587, the accession of *Rehoboam*, 389^{v.} 1^{m.} before, is fixed to May B.C. 976; and we ascend from thence to the dates of all the preceding epochs, as exhibited in the following Table:

B.C.	A.M.	y.
[4138]	<i>Adam</i>	1656
[2482]	1656. The Deluge	352
[2130]	2008. Birth of <i>Abraham</i>	75
[2055]	2083. The Call	430
[1625]	2513. The Exode	40
[1585]	2553. Death of <i>Moses</i>	[27]
[1558]	[2580] First Servitude	430
[1128]	[3010] Death of <i>Eli</i>	[32]
1096.	[3042] Election of <i>Saul</i> (May or June ^e)	40
1056.	[3082] <i>David</i> (40 ^{v.} 6 ^{m.})	40
1016.	[3122] <i>Solomon</i> (39 ^{v.} 6 ^{m.})	40
976.	[3162] <i>Rehoboam</i> (May)	389 ^{v.} 1 ^{m.}

B.C.	y.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
976	1	<i>Rehoboam</i> æt. 41. 17 years : 1 Kings XIV. 21. Joseph. Ant. VIII. 10, 4. Ροβαμος—έτελεύτησε βιώσας ἐτη πεντήκοντα και ἔπτα βασιλεύσας δ' αὐτῶν ἑπτακαΐδεκα.	<i>Jeroboam</i> 22 years : 1 Kings XIV. 20. It appears from 1 Kings XII. 12. that the accession of <i>Rehoboam</i> was prior to that of <i>Jeroboam</i> . Hence the 1st of <i>Jeroboam</i> was conumerary partly with the 1st and partly with the 2nd of <i>Rehoboam</i> , and so successively. The 4th of <i>Asa</i> commenced before the 21st of <i>Jeroboam</i> was ended, and the 1st of <i>Nadab</i> before the 2nd of <i>Asa</i> was ended : hence it follows that the 22nd of <i>Jeroboam</i> was not complete. The 1st again of <i>Basha</i> commenced before the 3rd of <i>Asa</i> was ended ; which shews that the 2 years of <i>Nadab</i> were not complete. These two first reigns in <i>Israel</i> , instead of being 24 years, were less than 23.
974	3	Three years of good conduct : 2 Chron. XI. 17. Joseph. Ant. VIII. 10, 1. ηξῆγαν ἐπ' ἐτη τρία.	
972	5	Invasion of <i>Shishak</i> , 5th <i>Rehob.</i> 1 Kings XIV. 25. 2 Chr. XII. 2. Josephus VIII. 10, 2. πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ροβαμον βασιλείας ἐπιστρατεύεται.	
959	18	<i>Abijah</i> 3 years, 18th <i>Jerob.</i> 1 Kings XV. 1, 2. Josephus VIII. 10, 4. διεδέξατο Αβίας, ὅγδουν ἥδη και δέκατον ἔτος Ιεροβαμον τῶν δέκα φιλῶν βασιλεύοντος. VIII. 11, 3. Αβίας —ἐτη βασιλεύσας τρία.	The 18th of <i>Jeroboam</i> conumerary with the 1st and 2nd of <i>Abijah</i> .

^e See above p. 306. h.

^f See above p. 312. h.

B.C.	y.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
957	20		20th of <i>Jeroboam</i> conumerary with the 3rd of <i>Abijah</i> and 1st of <i>Asa</i> .
956	21	<i>Asa</i> 41 years: 1 Kings XV. 10. Josephus VIII. 12, 6. Ἀσανος—τεσσαράκοντα καὶ εἰ ἔτες ἔτος εἴμαιρες ἀπέθανε. 20th of <i>Jerob.</i> 1 Kings XV. 9. that is, before the 20th of <i>Jeroboam</i> was ended: conf. a. 976.	
955	22	The 2nd of <i>Asa</i> conumerary with the 22nd of <i>Jerob.</i> and 1st of <i>Nadab</i> .	(22) <i>Nadab</i> 2 years, 2nd of <i>Asa</i> : 1 Kings XV. 25.
954	23	The 3rd of <i>Asa</i> conumerary with the 2nd of <i>Nadab</i> and 1st of <i>Baasha</i> .	
953	24		<i>Baasha</i> 24 years: 1 Kings XV. 33. 3rd of <i>Asa</i> : Ibid. XV. 28. 33.
947	30	The 10th of <i>Asa</i> . Tenth year of peace: 2 Chron. XIV. 1. Josephus VIII. 11, 3. τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπέλαυσεν ἡ χώρα ἐπὶ ἑτη δέκα. According to Josephus VIII. 12, 1. after these years of peace the Ethiopian war followed: οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ δέκα ἐπη βασιλεύοντος, στρατεῖς μεγάλῃ δυνάμει Ζαράνος ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας βασιλεὺς. But the spoil which was offered in the 15th of <i>Asa</i> in the 3rd month (2 Chron. XV. 10. 11) seems to be part of the spoil taken from the Ethiopians; which would fix the victory of <i>Asa</i> to about his 14th year. After this victory <i>Judah had rest</i> : 2 Chron. XV. 15. and <i>no more war</i> : XV. 19. (that is, with the Ethiopians) until the 35th of <i>Asa</i> . The Ethiopian war was followed by a league with <i>Ben-Hadad</i> made in the 16th of <i>Asa</i> and the 36th of the Jewish kingdom, or in his 26th year, a little before the death of <i>Baasha</i> . conf. a. 941.	
942	35	Covenant with God in the 15th of <i>Asa</i> : 2 Chron. XV. 10—12.	
941	36	(<i>Asa's</i> league with <i>Ben-Hadad</i> son of <i>Tabrimon</i> son of <i>Hezion</i> king of Syria: 1 Kings XV. 18. in the 36th year of the reign of <i>Asa</i> : 2 Chron. XVI. 1—3. when he was threatened with war by <i>Baasha</i> : 1 Kings XV. 17. 2 Chron. XVI. 1. As in the 36th of <i>Asa</i> <i>Baasha</i> was dead, we must either correct the numbers to "26th," and place these transactions in the year of the death of <i>Baasha</i> , or we must understand them (with many commentators) to mean the 36th year of the kingdom of Ju-	

B.C.	y.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
		<i>dah</i> ; which would place the league with <i>Ben-Hadad</i> in the 16th year of <i>Asa</i> . This is probable, because it is twice asserted 1 Kings XV. 16, 32. that there was <i>war between Asa and Baasha all their days</i> ; which would not be true if war had been delayed till the last year of <i>Baasha</i> .)	
931	46	The 26th of <i>Asa</i> reached the 1st of <i>Elah</i> , which began before the 26th of <i>Asa</i> was ended.	The 24th of <i>Baasha</i> . <i>Elah</i> 2 years, 26th of <i>Asa</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 8.
930	47	The 27th of <i>Asa</i> conumery with the 2nd of <i>Elah</i> and 1st of <i>Omri</i> in <i>Tirzah</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 15, 16.	<i>Elah</i> slain in the 27th of <i>Asa</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 10. <i>Zimri</i> 7 days, in the 27th of <i>Asa</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 15. <i>Omri</i> 12 years: 1 Kings XVI. 23.
926	51	The 31st of <i>Asa</i> marks the date of the foundation of <i>Samaria</i> by <i>Omri</i> ; which was accordingly commenced in the 5th year of his reign. He reigned in <i>Tirzah</i> till the 6th year.	<i>Omri</i> the 31st of <i>Asa</i> . He reigned over <i>Israel</i> 12 years, 6 years in <i>Tirzah</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 23. <i>Samaria</i> built: Ibid. XVI. 24.
922	55	The 35th of <i>Asa</i> : 2 Chron. XV. 19. <i>And there was no more war</i> [after the defeat of the Ethiopians 2 Chron. XIV. 9—15. about the 14th of <i>Asa</i> : conf. XIV. 10] <i>unto the 35th year of Asa</i> . This appears to mean war with the Ethiopians; with whom therefore in the 35th year war was renewed.	
919	58	The 38th of <i>Asa</i> conumery with the 1st of <i>Ahab</i> , who began to reign before the 38th of <i>Asa</i> was ended. Hence it appears that the 12th of <i>Omri</i> was not complete; for, since the 27th of <i>Asa</i> had commenced before the death of <i>Elah</i> (conf. a. 930), it is evident that the 38th of <i>Asa</i> had commenced before the 11th year of <i>Omri</i> was concluded.	<i>Ahab</i> 22 years, 38th of <i>Asa</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 29. Consequently from the accession of <i>Jeroboam</i> to the accession of <i>Ahab</i> were not quite 58 years. But the reigns in <i>Israel</i> are $22+2+24+2+12=62$ years: whence it is manifest that these reigns were of <i>current</i> years and not <i>complete</i> , and that more than 4 years are to be deducted from their amount. Josephus Ant. VIII. 11, 4—13, 1. describes the first reigns in <i>Israel</i> down to the death of <i>Ahab</i> conformably with Scripture. See above p. 316. r.
918	59	<i>Asa's disease</i> in his 39th year: 2 Chron. XVI. 12.	The 2nd of <i>Ahab</i> commenced in the 39th of <i>Asa</i> .
916	61	Death of <i>Asa</i> in the 41st year of his reign: 2 Chron. XVI. 13.	The 4th of <i>Ahab</i> conumery with the 41st of <i>Asa</i> and 1st of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> .
915	62	<i>Jehoshaphat</i> 25 years set. 35. in the 4th of <i>Ahab</i> : 1 Kings XXII. 41. Josephus IX. 3, 2. Ιεωσάφατος—ἀπέθανε ζῆσας μὲν ἀριθμὸν ἑταῖρον ἐξήκοντα βασιλεύσας δὲ εἰς αὐτῶν πέντε	

B.C.	y.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
		<i>καὶ ἔκοσι.</i> The reigns of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> and <i>Jehoram</i> , which were $25 + 8 = 33$ years current, were only $24 + 7 = 31$ years complete. For <i>Ahab</i> began to reign in the 38th of <i>Asa</i> , and <i>Jehoshaphat</i> in the 4th of <i>Ahab</i> . But the 5th of <i>Joram</i> was the 1st of <i>Jehoram</i> , and the 11th of <i>Joram</i> was the last year of <i>Jehoram</i> . Between the accession, then, of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> and the death of <i>Jehoram</i> his son are 18 years of <i>Ahab</i> , 2 of <i>Ahaziah</i> , and 11 of <i>Joram</i> ; making 31 years complete instead of 33.	
913	64	Book of the Law read in the 3rd year of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> : 2 Chron. XVII. 7.	The 7th of <i>Ahab</i> conumerary partly with the 3rd and partly with the 4th of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> .
898	79	<i>Jehoshaphat</i> goes out with <i>Ahab</i> against <i>Ben-Hadad</i> king of Syria: 1 Kings XXII. at the close of his 18th year.	<i>Ahab</i> slain in battle by the Syrians: 1 Kings XXII. His 22nd year would be completed in the 19th of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> .
896	80	The 19th of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> conumerary partly with the 22nd of <i>Ahab</i> , partly with the 1st of <i>Ahaziah</i> . The "17th year" therefore in 1 Kings XXII. 51. is inconsistent with the other coincidences given at the years 916. 915.	<i>Ahaziah</i> 2 years: 1 Kings XXII. 51. Josephus IX. 2, 1. ὁ δὲ Ἀχάζιον παις Ὁχζίας ἐβασίλευε τὸν Ἰσραὴλιτῶν — τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἑταῖς ἥδη δεύτερον ἔχοντος, συνέβη τὸν Ὁχζίαν — νοσήσαται πέμψας κ. τ. λ. IX. 2, 2. διαλέχεται αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰώραμος· ἄπαις γὰρ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ Ἰώραμος οὗτος ἐβασίλευε ἐπὶ δώδεκα.
895	82	<i>Joram</i> son of <i>Ahab</i> is said 2 Kings I. 17. to have succeeded his brother in the 2nd of <i>Jehoram</i> king of <i>Judah</i> . But, as the 1st of <i>Jehoram</i> king of <i>Judah</i> was the 5th of <i>Joram</i> king of <i>Israel</i> (conf. a. 891), and the 8th of the king of <i>Judah</i> was the 11th or the 12th of the king of <i>Israel</i> (conf. a. 884), this date, "the 2nd of <i>Jehoram</i> ," is evidently wrong.	<i>Joram</i> 12 years: 2 Kings III. 1. Translation of <i>Elijah</i> . He was present at the last sickness of <i>Ahaziah</i> : 2 Kings I. 3—17. and yet was translated before the Moabite war: 2 Kings III. 11. His translation, then, and the succession of <i>Elisha</i> (2 Kings II. 1—15) may be placed in the first year of <i>Joram</i> king of <i>Israel</i> . <i>Elisha</i> continued to prophesy about 60 years: conf. a. 837. <i>Elijah</i> is first mentioned in the beginning of the reign of <i>Ahab</i> : 1 Kings XVII. 1. and may have prophesied 24 years.
894	83	(<i>Jehoshaphat</i> assists <i>Joram</i> against <i>Moab</i> : 2 Kings III. 7. about the 22nd year ending of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> and the 2nd beginning of <i>Joram</i> .)	(The Moabite war soon after the death of <i>Ahab</i> : 2 Kings III. 5.)
891	86	(The 25th of <i>Jehoshaphat</i>); the 1st of <i>Jehoram</i> , aet. 32. 8 years: 2 Chron. XXI. 5. in the 5th of <i>Joram</i> : 2 Kings VIII. 16. 17. Josephus IX. 5, 3. Ἰώραμος — ὀλειῶς ἀπέθανε. — ἦς διέτην ἔθαψαν, βιβσάντα μὲν ἐπη τεσσαράκιντα βασιλεύσαντα δὲ ὅκτω.	The 5th of <i>Joram</i> is conumerary with the 25th current of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> and the 1st commencing of <i>Jehoram</i> .

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884	93	(The 8th of <i>Jehoram</i>). <i>Ahaziah</i> aet. 22. one year: 2 Kings VIII. 25. 26. In the 12th of <i>Joram</i> : v. 25—the 11th of <i>Joram</i> : Ibid. IX. 29. <i>Jehoram's</i> death therefore happened before the 11th of <i>Joram</i> was concluded. Josephus IX. 6, 3. Ὁχέλας—ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τελευτὴ,—βασιλεύσας ἐναντὸς ἑα.	The 12th of <i>Joram</i> conumerary with the year of <i>Ahaziah</i> . The Syrian war: 2 Kings VIII. 28. <i>Ahaziah went with Joram son of Ahab to the war against Hazael king of Syria—and the Syrians wounded Joram. Hazael had murdered Ben-Hadad</i> : 2 Kings VIII. 15. He smote Israel in the days of <i>Jehu</i> : 2 Kings X. 32. approached Jerusalem in the days of <i>Joash</i> : 2 Kings XII. 17. oppressed Israel all the days of <i>Jehoahaz</i> : 2 Kings XIII. 3. 22. and was succeeded by his son <i>Ben-Hadad II</i> . towards the end of the reign of <i>Jehoahaz</i> : 2 Kings XIII. 3. 24. <i>Hazael</i> might reign cir. B.C. 886—840; about 46 years.
883	94	<i>Athaliah</i> 6 years: 2 Kings XI. 3.	<i>Jehu</i> 28 years: 2 Kings X. 36. Josephus IX. 8, 1. Ἰηοῦς—ἀπέθανε βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἑπτά καὶ εἰκοσι—τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον Ἰώαζω τὸν γίνοντα καταλαπόν. Contemporary with <i>Athaliah</i> : 2 Kings IX—XI.
877	100	<i>Athaliah</i> slain in the 7th year: 2 Kings XI. 4. 2 Chron. XXIII. 1. Josephus IX. 7, 1. ἔτεσιν ἐξ οἵς ἐβασίλευσε Γοθολατὸν τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων—τῷ ὧ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει καινολογησάμενός τισιν Ἰώδαος κ.τ.λ. <i>Joash</i> aet. 7. reigns 40 years: 2 Chron. XXII. 12. XXIII. 1. XXIV. 1. 2 Kings XI. 21. XII. 1. Josephus IX. 8, 4. Ἰώασος—διεφθάρη.—ἐβίσσε δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.	The 7th of <i>Jehu</i> is conumerary with the 1st of <i>Joash</i> ; consequently his 28th year is conumerary with the 22nd, and the accession of <i>Jehoahaz</i> is in the very beginning of the 23rd of <i>Joash</i> .
855	122	The 23rd of <i>Joash</i> coincides with the 1st of <i>Jehoahaz</i> , <i>Jehoiada</i> still living in the 23rd of <i>Joash</i> : 2 Kings XII. 6. 7. He died aet. 130: 2 Chron. XXIV. 15.	<i>Jehoahaz</i> 17 years, in the 23rd of <i>Joash</i> : 2 Kings XIII. 1. Josephus IX. 8, 5. εἰκοστῷ καὶ τριάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἰώδου βασιλείας παρέλαβε τὴν τὸν Ἱεραπόλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰώαζος δ τῷ Ἰηοῦ νῦν—καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσι δέκα καὶ ἑπτά. As Josephus gave only 27 years to <i>Jehu</i> , he might place the accession of <i>Jehoahaz</i> in the 21st of <i>Joash</i> .
839	138	To the 39th of <i>Joash</i> inclusive from the accession of <i>Athaliah</i> there are in <i>Judah</i> $6+39=45$ years. In <i>Israel</i> from the same epoch are $28+17=45$. The 17th, then, of <i>Jehoahaz</i> coincided with the 39th of <i>Joash</i> . But if the accession of <i>Joash</i> was within that 39th year, it follows that the 17th of <i>Jehoahaz</i> was not complete.	The 17th of <i>Jehoahaz</i> not completed. <i>Joash</i> 16 years: 2 Kings XIII. 10. In the “39th of <i>Joash</i> ,” in some copies of the Septuagint. The Hebrew text has “37th of <i>Joash</i> ;” and Josephus IX. 8, 6. Ἐβδομήνη καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος βασιλεύοντας Ἰώάσου τῆς Ἰώδα φυλῆς, παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν δ Ἰώασος δ Σαμαρείᾳ τὸν Ἱεραπόλιτον—καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσι ἑκατόντα. Josephus is consistent with himself; since he placed the accession of <i>Jehoahaz</i> in the 21st year: conf. a. 855.
838	139	The 40th of <i>Joash</i> conumerary with the 1st of <i>Joash</i> ending and the 2nd beginning.	The 2nd of <i>Joash</i> commencing.

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837	140	<i>Amaziah</i> aet. 25. 29 years: 2 Kings XIV. 2. 2 Chron. XXV. 1. In the 2nd of <i>Jehoash</i> : 2 Kings XIV. 1. Josephus IX. 9, 1—3. δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἰωάννου βασιλείας ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμαζίας τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς.—κατέστρεψε δὲ τὸν βίον—βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ πεντηκόντα βασιλεύσας δὲ ἑνία καὶ εἴκοσι. The reign of <i>Amaziah</i> commenced towards the close of the 2nd year of <i>Jehoash</i> .	The 2nd of <i>Jehoash</i> concluded, and the 3rd commencing. <i>Elisha</i> dies in the reign of <i>Jehoash</i> : 2 Kings XIII. 14. <i>Jehoash</i> after his death thrice defeated <i>Ben-Hadad</i> son of <i>Hazaël</i> king of Syria: 2 Kings XIII. 25. as <i>Elisha</i> had predicted to <i>Jehoash</i> at the beginning of his reign: 2 Kings XIII. 14—19. conf. Josephum IX. 8, 6. 7.
823	154	The 15th of <i>Amaziah</i> commenced towards the close of the 16th of <i>Jehoash</i> , and contained the accession of <i>Jeroboam II</i> .	The 16th of <i>Jehoash</i> concluded. <i>Jeroboam II</i> . 41 years, in the 15th of <i>Amaziah</i> : 2 Kings XIV. 23. Josephus IX. 10, 1. πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀμαζίαν βασιλείας ἐβασίλευσεν—Ιεροβόαμος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ἐπη τεσσαράκοντα.
809	168	The 29th of <i>Amaziah</i> . He survived <i>Jehoash</i> 15 years: 2 Kings XIV. 17. 2 Chron. XXV. 25. Josephus IX. 9, 3. ἐπιβιώνειθεις ὥπο τῶν φίλων φεύγεις μὲν εἰς Δάχεσταν τόλιν ἀναφεύτας δὲ ὥπο τῶν ἐπιβαίλων—διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Ὁζίας τοῦνομα.	The 14th of <i>Jeroboam II</i> . ends and the 15th begins in the 29th year of <i>Amaziah</i> ; whence it appears that the 15 years which are said to have elapsed from the death of <i>Jehoash</i> to the death of <i>Amaziah</i> were only current years, and that the 29th of <i>Amaziah</i> was complete.
808	169	<i>Uzziah</i> 52 years, aet. 16: 2 Kings XV. 2. 2 Chron. XXVI. 1—3. His accession is placed in the “27th year” of <i>Jeroboam</i> in 2 Kings XV. 1. but in the “14th” by Josephus IX. 10, 3. See above p. 316. Josephus IX. 10, 4. Ὁζίας—ἀπέθανεν ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ὅκτω καὶ ἑξήκοντα, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύσας πεντήκοντα δύο.	The 1st of <i>Uzziah</i> contained partly the 15th and partly the 16th year of <i>Jeroboam II</i> .
783	194	The 26th of <i>Uzziah</i> contained part of the 40th and part of the 41st year of <i>Jeroboam II</i> .	
771	206	The 38th of <i>Uzziah</i> contained the beginning of the reign of <i>Zachariah</i> : 2 Kings XV. 8. In the 38th year of <i>Uzziah</i> did <i>Zachariah</i> the son of <i>Jeroboam</i> reign over <i>Israel</i> in <i>Samaria</i> 6 months.	As the 10th of <i>Jeroboam II</i> . ended in the 1st year of <i>Uzziah</i> , his 41st year ended in the 27th of <i>Uzziah</i> . But as <i>Zachariah</i> began to reign in the 38th, there remains an interregnum in <i>Israel</i> of about 11 years.
770	207	The 39th of <i>Uzziah</i> contained the end of <i>Zachariah</i> , the month of <i>Shallum</i> , and the beginning of the 1st year of <i>Menahem</i> .	<i>Zachariah</i> slain in the 39th of <i>Uzziah</i> : 2 Kings XV. 10—13. <i>Shallum</i> —stew him and reigned in his stead. <i>Shallum</i> began to reign in the 39th year of <i>Uzziah</i> , and he reigned a full month in <i>Samaria</i> . Slain by <i>Menahem</i> also in the 39th of <i>Uzziah</i> : Ibid. 14—17. <i>Menahem</i> reigns 10 years: Ibid. Josephus IX. 11, 1. Ζαχαρίας ἐξ μῆνας βασιλεύσας—ἀπέθανεν ὥπερ φίλου τινὸς Σελλούμου τοῦ νομα—οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν μετ' αὐτὸν παραλαβόν εὐπλείσια χρόνον ημερῶν αὐτὴν κατέσχε τριάκοντα. ὁ

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			γὰρ στρατηγὸς Μανάημος—ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Σέλλουμον, καὶ βασιλέα καταστήσας ἐντὸν—ἐπ' ἐτῇ δέκα σκαιδὸς καὶ πάντων ὀμότατος διέμενε.
759	218	The 50th of <i>Uzziah</i> coincides with the 1st of <i>Pekaiah</i> .	<i>Pekaiah</i> two years, in the 50th of <i>Uzziah</i> : 2 Kings XV. 23. Josephus IX. 11, 1. δυσὶν ἔτεσι μένος ἦρξε. Since the 1st of <i>Menahem</i> began in the 39th of <i>Uzziah</i> , his 10th year began in the 48th of <i>Uzziah</i> , and was completed in the 49th; and some short interval must have elapsed between the death of <i>Menahem</i> and the accession of <i>Pekaiah</i> .
757	220	The 52nd of <i>Uzziah</i> conumerary with the 1st of <i>Pekah</i> .	<i>Pekah</i> 20 years, in the 52nd of <i>Uzziah</i> : 2 Kings XV. 27. Josephus IX. 11, 1. κα- τασχὼν δὲ καὶ εὗτες ὁ Φακέας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσι εἴκοσι.
756	221	<i>Jotham</i> ἥτ. 25. 16 years, in the 2nd of <i>Pekah</i> : 2 Kings XV. 32. 33. 2 Chron. XXVII. 1. Josephus IX. 12, 1. Ἰάθαμος μετήλλαξεν ἐπὶ βιώσας ἐν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βα- σιλεύσας δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκκαίδεκα.	The 2nd of <i>Pekah</i> conumerary with the 1st of <i>Jotham</i> .
741	236	The 16th of <i>Jotham</i> not complete; for the 1st of <i>Ahaz</i> began in the 17th of <i>Pe- kah</i> : 2 Kings XVI. 1. <i>Ahaz</i> reigned 16 years, and was 20 years of age: 2 Kings XVI. 2. 2 Chron. XXVIII. 1. Josephus IX. 12, 3. also makes him 20 at his acces- sion: ἐτελεύτησεν ἐπὶ μὲν βιώσας ἐξ καὶ τριά- κοντα βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκκαίδεκα. But the number of the Septuagint better agrees with the age of <i>Hezekiah</i> . See above p. 318.	The 17th of <i>Pekah</i> contained partly the 16th of <i>Jotham</i> and partly the 1st of <i>Ahaz</i> .
738	239	The 4th of <i>Ahaz</i> . In the reign of <i>Ahaz</i> the kings of Damascus were ended by the Assyrians: Isaiah XVII. One dynasty reigned for eleven generations, according to Nicol. Damasc. apud Josephus Ant. VII. 5, 2. Νικόλαος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ιστορῶν— “Τὸν ἐγχερίων τις Ἀβάδος ὄνυμα πλείου ισχύσας “Δαμασκοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς Συρίας, ἔξι Φωνί- “κης, ἐβασίλευσε” πόλεμον δὲ ἐξεγέκας πρὸς “Δανιὴλ βασιλέα τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τολλαῖς μά- “χαις κριθεῖς, ιστάτη δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἐν “ἡ ἡπτάτῳ [conf. 2 Sam. VIII. 3—6], ἄρι- “στος ἐδοκεῖ εἶναι βασιλέων ῥώμη καὶ ἀνδρεῖα.” —“τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἑκείνου, οἱ ἀπόγονοι ἐπὶ δέκα “γενεᾶς ἐβασίλευεν, ἐκάστου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄμα “τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ἐκδεχομένου.—μέγι- “στον δὲ πάντων δυνηθεὶς δὲ τρίτος—στρατεύσας “ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους ἐπόρθησε τὴν ἱνν Σαμαρείτιν καλον- “μένην [conf. Joseph. l. c. 1 Reg. XX.	The 20th of <i>Pekah</i> , if completed, would contain partly the 3rd and partly the 4th of <i>Ahaz</i> . <i>Pekah</i> is slain in the 20th year of <i>Jotham</i> : 2 Kings XV. 30.

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		"XXII]." Their reigns would occupy about 300 years. But the succession had been interrupted by <i>Hazaël</i> : conf. a. 884.	
730	247	The 12th of <i>Ahaz</i> is made the 1st of <i>Hoshea</i> : 2 Kings XVII. 1. But if the 1st of <i>Hoshea</i> commenced at the close of the 12th, his 4th year would commence at the close of the 15th of <i>Ahaz</i> . Hence it appears that the 16th of <i>Ahaz</i> was not complete, because the 1st of <i>Hezekiah</i> began within that 4th year of <i>Hoshea</i> .	<i>Hoshea</i> 9 years: 2 Kings XVII. 1. in the 12th of <i>Ahaz</i> . And, as <i>Pekah</i> was slain in the beginning of the 4th of <i>Ahaz</i> (conf. a. 738), hence it is collected that an interregnum of 9 years current intervened between <i>Pekah</i> and <i>Hoshea</i> .
726	251	The 16th of <i>Ahaz</i> not complete. <i>Hezekiah</i> æt. 25. 29 years: 2 Kings XVIII. 2. 2 Chron. XXIX. 1. Josephus X. 3, 1. ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐζέκιας—τέλευτῷ, τεττυκοστὸν μὲν καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς ζωῆς διανίσας εἴκοσι δὲ βασιλεύσας καὶ ἐνίά. His accession is placed in the 3rd of <i>Hoshea</i> : 2 Kings XVIII. 1. But this is inconsistent with other dates. The 4th of <i>Hezekiah</i> was the 7th of <i>Hoshea</i> ; the 6th was the 9th. The 1st therefore was in the 4th. Josephus IX. 13, 1. ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς βασιλείας Ὡσήου ἰβασιλεύειν Ἐζέκιας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. The 4th of <i>Hoshea</i> commenced at the close of the 15th of <i>Ahaz</i> , and concluded in the beginning of the 1st year of <i>Hezekiah</i> .	
723	254	The 4th of <i>Hezekiah</i> commenced at the close of the 7th of <i>Hoshea</i> .	Samaria besieged in the 4th of <i>Hezekiah</i> , which was the 7th year of <i>Hoshea</i> : 2 Kings XVIII. 9. Josephus IX. 14, 1. Σαλμανασάρης—ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἔτει ἑβδόμῳ τῆς Ὡσήου βασιλείας.
722	255	The 5th of <i>Hezekiah</i> at the close of the 8th of <i>Hoshea</i> .	Second year of the siege.
721	256	The 6th of <i>Hezekiah</i> commenced towards the close of the 9th of <i>Hoshea</i> . Samaria therefore was taken in the beginning of the 6th of <i>Hezekiah</i> .	Samaria taken at the end of three years, in the 6th year of <i>Hezekiah</i> , that is, the 9th year of <i>Hoshea</i> : 2 Kings XVIII. 10. compare XVII. 5, 6. Josephus IX. 14, 1. Σαλμανασάρης—ἔτει πολεορκίας τριῶν εἰλέ κατὰ κράτος τὴν Σαμάρειαν, ἔνατον μὲν ἔτος Ὡσήου βασιλεύειν ἑβδόμον δ' Ἐζέκιν. Demetrius apud Clem. Al. ascribes the capture to <i>Sennacherib</i> : see above p. 288. l.
713	264	In the 14th of <i>Hezekiah</i> , <i>Sennacherib</i> invades Judea: 2 Kings XVIII. 13. Isaiah XXXVI. 1. Josephus X. 1, 1. Ἐζέκιον—τέταρτον ἡδη καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῆς ἥγεμονίας ἔχοντος, ὁ τὸν Ἀσσυρίαν βασιλεὺς Σενναχέριβας στρατεύει—ἐπ' αὐτὸν. Sickness of <i>Hezekiah</i> 15 years before his death: 2 Kings XX. Isaiah XXXVIII. Josephus X. 2, 1. ὅτι βώστεται μετ' αὐτῷ (τὴν νόσον) ἐπη πεντεκαθέκα. His sickness was after the retreat of <i>Sennacherib</i> : 2 Kings XIX. XX. whence we may collect that <i>Hezekiah</i> reigned 29 years complete.	

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697	280	<i>Manasseh</i> æt. 12. 55 years: 2 Kings XXI. 1. 2 Chron. XXXIII. 1. Josephus X. 3, 2. ζῆσας οὖν ἔτη ἑβήκοντα ἐπτὰ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, βασιλεύσας ἔτη πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα.
642	335	<i>Amos</i> æt. 22. two years: 2 Kings XXI. 19. 2 Chron. XXXIII. 21. Josephus X. 4, 1. Ἀμωσος—ἀπέθανε, βιώσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι βασιλεύσας δὲ ἑπτά τέλον δύο.
640	337	<i>Josiah</i> æt. 8. 31 years: 2 Kings XXII. 1. 2 Chron. XXXIV. 1. Josephus X. 4, 1. τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰωσήπ παραδίδουσιν ὀκτατέτει τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντι. X. 5, 1. Ἰωσίας—τελευτῇ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς—βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τριακούσιαν βασιλεύσας δὲ τούτων ἐν καὶ τριάκοντα.
628	349	<i>Jeremiah</i> begins to prophesy in the 13th year of <i>Josiah</i> : Jerem. I. 2. XXV. 3.
623	354	The 18th of <i>Josiah</i> commences about May B.C. 623.
622	—	In the 18th year of <i>Josiah</i> the book of the Law read, the Passover solemnly kept, the altar at Bethel destroyed: 2 Kings XXII. 3—XXIII. 23. Josephus X. 4, 2. ὕδον ἥδη καὶ δέκατον τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος ἔχων πέμπει πρὸς Ἐλιακίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα. The prophecy in the 1st year of <i>Jeroboam</i> (1 Kings XIII. 2) was now fulfilled: Josephus X. 4, 4. συνέβη δὲ ταῦτα λαβεῖν τέλος μετὰ ἔτη τριακόσια καὶ ἑβήκοντα καὶ ἐν. The 18th of <i>Josiah</i> was the 358th year according to the current years of the reigns of <i>Judah</i> marked in Scripture and Josephus, but the 354th according to the complete years. If the 18th year commenced in May B.C. 623, the Passover of that 18th year would fall in March or April B.C. 622.
609	368	Death of <i>Josiah</i> . From the age of his son it is probable that he reigned 31 years complete. See above p. 318. And if his death occurred in May B.C. 609, his accession would be placed in May B.C. 640. <i>Jehoahaz</i> 3 ^m . <i>Jehoiakim</i> 10 ^v . 6 ^m . 15 ^d . from August B.C. 609.
606	371	The fourth year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> , from August B.C. 606. The 23rd from the 13th of <i>Josiah</i> : Jerem. XXV. 3. The deportation of <i>Daniel</i> was in the 3rd year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> : Dan. I. 1. Whence we may place the expedition of <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> towards the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th year, in the summer of B.C. 606. In the 4th year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> <i>Baruch</i> writes the book: Jerem. XXXVI. 1. 2.
605	372	The 5th year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> commences from August B.C. 605. In the 9th month, in the 5th year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> , <i>Baruch</i> reads the book: Jerem. XXXVI. 8—10.=Nov. or Dec. B.C. 605. While the king sat in the winter house: v. 22. Josephus X. 6, 2. μηνὶ ἐνάτῳ τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰωακίμου βασιλείας ἀνέγνω τὴν βίβλον.
598	379	The 10th year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> is completed in August B.C. 599. The 11th year not complete. <i>Jehoiakin</i> 3 ^m . æt. 18: 2 Kings XXIV. 8. Josephus X. 6, 3. Ἰωάκημος—ἐβασίλευε μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας δέκα. from the end of <i>Adar</i> (about the beginning of March) to <i>Thamus</i> or June B.C. 598. Taken in the 8th year of the king of Babylon: 2 Kings XXIV. 12. which was therefore current (by the Scripture computation) in June B.C. 598. <i>Zedekiah</i> æt. 21. 11 years: 2 Kings XXIV. 18. 2 Chron. XXXVI. 11. Josephus X. 7, 2. Σεδεκίας ἦν μὲν ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑνὸς ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν. His 11 years commenced in June B.C. 598, because they were completed in June B.C. 587.
587	390	The 11th year of <i>Jehoiakin's</i> captivity commences in June B.C. 588. <i>Ezekiel</i> prophesies against Tyre in the 11th year in the 1st day of the month: XXVI. 1. against Egypt in the 11th year in the 1st day of the 3rd month: XXXI. 1.=March and May B.C. 587. The 11th year of <i>Zedekiah</i> is completed in June B.C. 587. Jerusalem is taken on the 9th day of the 4th month: 2 Kings XXV. 2—4. Jerem. XXXIX. 2. LII. 5. 6. Josephus X. 8, 2. γρέθη ἡ πόλις ἐδεκάτῃ ἔτει τῆς Σεδεκίου βασιλείας, τοῦ τετάρτου

B.C.	y.	JUDAH.
		μηνὸς τῇ ἑνάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.—June B.C. 587. The temple burnt on the 10th day of the 5th month <i>Ab</i> =July B.C. 587: Jerem. LII. 12. The 7th day of the 5th month is mentioned 2 Kings XXV. 8. on which Nebuzar-adan came up. But the destruction was completed on the 10th, μηνὶ πέμπτῳ τῇ νοεμνῇ Joseph. Ant. X. 8, 5. but more correctly ἡμέρᾳ δεκάτῃ Λαόν μηνός; Idem Bell. VI. 4, 5. From this point Usher fixes the accessions of the last four kings in <i>Judah</i> : see F. H. III. p. 375. p. The 12th year of <i>Jehoiakin's</i> captivity commences at the capture of <i>Zedekiah</i> . <i>Ezekiel</i> prophesies in the 5th day of the 10th month: XXXIII. 21.—Dec. B.C. 587. and in the 1st day of the 12th month: XXXII. 1.—February B.C. 586.
573		<i>Ezekiel's</i> vision, in the 25th year of our captivity, in the beginning of the year, in the 10th day of the month, in the 14th year after that the city was smitten XL. 1. The 25th year began in June B.C. 574, and the 1st month=March B.C. 573. The city was smitten in June B.C. 587; the 14th year commenced June B.C. 574, and was current till June B.C. 573.
561		The 37th year of <i>Jehoiakin's</i> captivity commenced in June B.C. 562; the 25th day of the 12th month: Jerem. LII. 31. or the 27th day: 2 Kings XXV. 27., <i>Adar</i> or February B.C. 561, fell within the 1st year of <i>Evil-Merodach</i> , whose reign is dated from January 11. B.C. 561. See above p. 319.

y.	y.	y.	B.C.
<i>Rehoboam</i>	17.	976	
18. <i>Abijah</i>	3.	959	
21. <i>Asa</i>	41.	956	
62. <i>Jehoshaphat</i>	(25)	24.	915
86. <i>Jehoram</i>	(8)	7.	891
93. <i>Ahaziah</i>	1.	884	
94. <i>Athaliah</i>	6.	883	
100. <i>Joash</i>	40.	877	
140. <i>Amaziah</i>	29.	837	
169. <i>Uzziah</i>	52.	808 (May)	
221. <i>Jotham</i>	(16)	15.	756
236. <i>Ahaz</i>	(16)	15.	741
251. <i>Hezekiah</i>	29.	726	
280. <i>Manasseh</i>	55.	697	
335. <i>Amon</i>	2.	642	
337. <i>Josiah</i>	31.	640 (May)	
368. <i>Jehoahaz</i>	3 ^m .	609 (May)	
<i>Jehoiakim</i>	11		
<i>Jehoiakin</i>	3 ^m .		609 (Aug.)
<i>Zedekiah</i>	11	22 ^{y.} 1 ^m .	598 (March)
			598 (June)

(393. 6.) 389. 1.

VI.

KINGS OF SPARTA.

MR. MULLER^a is of opinion that an authentic account of the years of each Lacedæmonian reign from the return of the *Heraclidæ* to the Olympiad of *Coræbus* had been preserved to the times of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus; and that the chronology of Apollodorus for these reigns can be restored from the Armenian Eusebius^b. The account of Eusebius is this^c:

Lacedæmoniorum reges e Diodori libris. Quoniam a rebus Trojanis usque ad Ol. 1. difficultas temporum notatio est, propterea quod eo intervallo neque Athenis neque aliis in urbibus anni magistratus fuerunt, idcirco nos ad eam rem utimur Lacedæmoniorum regibus. A Trojæ excidio ad Ol. 1. lapsi sunt, uti Atheniensis Apollodorus ait, anni 408; quorum 80 numerantur usque ad Heraclidarum descensum, reliqui occupantur a Lacedæmoniorum regibus Procle, Eurystheo, horumque posteris. Nos vero singulos ex his familiis reges percensemus usque ad Ol. 1. Eurystheus regnum exorsus est anno post res Trojanas 80° tenuisse annis 42; post eum Agis anno uno, Echestratus annis 31; quem exceptit Labotas annis 37; tum Doryssus 29: his successit Agesilaüs 44, Archelaüs 60, Teleclus 40, Alcmenes denique annis 38. In hujus imperantis anno 10° prima Olympias comperitur qua vicit stadium Coræbus Eleus. Ex altera pariter domo regnaverunt Procles primo annis 49, tum Prytanis 49, deinde Eunomus 45, deinde Chariclus 60; postea Nicander 38, Theopompus 47. In hujus item decimo anno Ol. 1. comperitur. Summa temporis a Troja capta usque ad descensum Heraclidarum anni sunt 80. Secuti sunt Lacedæmoniorum reges.

	Annis		Annis
<i>Eurystheus</i>	42	<i>Procles</i>	51
<i>Agis</i>	1	<i>Prytanis</i>	49
<i>Echestratus</i>	35	<i>Eunomius</i>	45
<i>Labotas</i>	37	<i>Chariclus</i>	60
<i>Doryssus</i>	29	<i>Nicander</i>	38
<i>Agesilaüs</i>	44	<i>Theopompus</i>	47
<i>Archelaüs</i>	60	<i>cujus 10° Ol. 1</i> }	<u>47</u>
<i>Teleclus</i>	40	<i>Summa annorum</i>	290
<i>Alcmenes</i>	37		
<i>cujus 10° Ol. 1</i> }	<u>37</u>		
<i>Summa annorum</i>	325		

The account in the Canon corresponds with this representation of the reigns:

^a Dorians vol. I. p. 151.

^b Vol. II. p. 510.

^c Chron. I. p. 166.

<i>Anno</i>	
916. <i>Eurystheus</i>	42
958. <i>Agis</i>	1
959. <i>Echestratus</i>	35
994. <i>Labotas</i>	37
1031. <i>Doryssus</i>	29
1060. <i>Agesilaüs</i>	44
1104. <i>Archelaüs</i>	60
1164. <i>Teleclus</i>	40
1204. <i>Alcamedes</i>	37
	—325

1240. *Alcamedes* 37° Ol. 1.

It is evident that this was not the account of Apollodorus, according to whom the 328th year, the year of the first Olympiad, is said to be the 10th of *Alcamedes*. But in these accounts the 10th of *Alcamedes*, falling upon the Eusebian year 1213, is only the 298th from the Return. Mr. Muller proposes to bring the numbers to their true amount by inserting 31 years before the reign of *Eurythenes*, who began to reign according to Mr. Muller in the 32nd year after the Return^d; and the 30 years which precede Mr. Muller supposes to be the years of his minority. But in this case the reign of *Eurythenes* would have been called 72 years, and not 42. The years of a king are computed from his accession, and not from his majority. We have many examples of this at Sparta. *Pleistarchus* in B.C. 480, *Pleistoanax*

^d Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 510. "The date of
"Apollodorus can now be completely restored
"from the Armenian Eusebius p. 166. from
"which we see that according to Apollodorus
"Ol. 1. coincided with the 10th of *Alcamedes*.
"The Canons of Eusebius place Ol. 1. at the
"37th of *Alcamedes*; an error which appears to
"have arisen from Eusebius having taken the
"first year of *Eurythenes* as identical with the
"epoch of the Return of the *Heraclidae*; while
"Apollodorus allowed with the Lacedaemonian
"public register about a year for *Aristodemus*,
"and then 30 years for the minority of the bro-
"thers. Now the Canon has 324 years from

"the Return to Ol. 1 (916—1240); subtract
"from this number the 27 years of *Alcamedes*,
"and 31 years for *Aristodemus* and the mi-
"nority, and there remain 328 years; doubtless
"the precise era calculated by Apollodorus."
The words "and 31" are perhaps an error of the
press for "and add 31." Mr. Muller means
this: $(324 - 27 =) 297 + 31 = 328$. The Canon
however has 325 years; for those years of Eu-
sebius are both inclusive, and the numbers must
be $298 + 30$ to obtain 328. Mr. Muller again
in his Table has not distinguished current years.
He gives these numbers:

B.C.	
1104.	1. Migration of the Darians into Peloponnesus—328 years before Ol. 1.
1103.	2. Birth of <i>Eurythenes</i> and <i>Procles</i> .
1072.	32. <i>Eurythenes</i> and <i>Procles</i> govern.
786.	318. <i>Alcamedes</i> .
776.	328. Olympiad of <i>Coræbus</i> .

But if the 1st year was 1104 and the 2nd 1103, then 1072 was the 33rd, 786 was the 319th, and 776 was the 329th. Again, if the 1st of *Alcamedes* was in 786, the games in July B.C. 776 were in the 11th year of his reign. Mr. Muller has rightly made the year 328 coincide with B.C. 776, which was doubtless the

meaning of Apollodorus. But to make the other numbers correspond, he should have placed the accession of *Alcamedes* at B.C. 785, the Return at B.C. 1103 (which was the real date of Apollodorus: see p. 125), and should have supplied 30 years instead of 31 to complete the numbers of Eusebius.

in B.C. 458, *Pausanias* in 408, *Agesipolis* in 394, all succeeded in their minority^e; and yet the reigns of all were computed from their accessions. It is much more likely, then, that the deficient numbers are to be supplied by adding 30 years to the reign of *Agis*, whose reign, contrary to all probability, is reduced to one year by some blunder of Diodorus, whom Eusebius follows.

But the years of the other line are still more defective. Apollodorus, we are told, reckoned the 10th of *Theopompus* the 328th year after the Return. But in that account it is only the 253rd; and there is a deficiency in Diodorus or Eusebius, or in both, of 75 years and at least two reigns^f. If, however, we compute upwards from the 10th of *Theopompus*, we shall obtain $10 + 38 + 60 = 108$ years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus* for the 1st year of *Charilaüs*; precisely agreeing with the date of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus for the regency of *Lycurgus*: whence we may collect that the 60 years of *Charilaüs* were computed not from the 30th year of his life but from his birth; and we have another example that the years of minors are dated from their accession.

The dates, then, of Apollodorus, as far as we can trust the numbers in Eusebius, may be probably arranged in the following manner:

<i>y.</i>	<i>y.</i>	<i>y.</i>	
1. <i>Eurysthenes</i>	42	1. <i>Procles</i>	51
43. <i>Agis</i>	(31)	52. [<i>Soüs</i>]	*
74. <i>Echestratus</i>	35	* [<i>Eurypon</i>]	*
109. <i>Labotas</i>	37	127. <i>Prytanis</i>	49
146. <i>Doryssus</i>	29	176. <i>Eunomus</i>	45
175. <i>Agesilaüs</i>	44	221. <i>Charilaüs</i>	60
219. <i>Archelaüs</i>	60	281. <i>Nicander</i>	38
279. <i>Teleclus</i>	40	319. <i>Theopompus</i> first	10
319. <i>Alcamenes</i> first	10		

If (as Mr. Muller supposes) an authentic register of the years of these reigns had existed, there would have been less uncertainty in the date of the Trojan war, which might have been ascertained at once; and less variation between Apollodorus and other writers in their accounts of these reigns. We shall see below considerable variations; from whence we may conclude that no complete series of the years had been preserved, but that, although the duration of some reigns might have been remembered and transmitted, yet the years of others were obtained by conjecture, and inferred from a comparison of facts^g.

^e See F. H. II. c. 3.

^f See above p. 144. ^z

^g Mr. Lewis Philolog. Mus. vol. II. p. 46. well observes, "Plutarch says that Eratosthenes and Apollodorus calculated the date of *Lycurgus* by the successions of the Spartan kings: that is, by assuming a certain average number

" of years for every reign; which they would hardly have done, if there had been an accreted chronology of those reigns founded on contemporary registers." We must add, however, that, although we reject the years assigned, there is not the same reason for rejecting the facts.

AGIDÆ.

2. EURYSTHENES. We have seen above p. 112. m. that according to Lacedæmonian accounts *Aristodemus* himself lived to reign at Sparta, and have assumed as probable that the twins might be born about the fifth year after the Return. M^r. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 510. conjectures that Apollodorus took into account the reign of *Aristodemus*, and allowed him one year. But this is by no means certain. We shall see other instances in which the chronology of Apollodorus is at variance with Spartan accounts, and it might be so in this. Herodotus attests the guardianship of *Theras* and his migration from Sparta after the minors had assumed the government: see above p. 86. l. 131. n.

Eurythenes and *Procles* both survived *Temenus*, and lived till *Aegyptus* son of *Cresphontes* was grown to manhood: Pausan. IV. 3, 5. ὁ δὲ Αἴπυτος—περιγίνεται μόνος τοῦ οίκου [see p. 111. k], καὶ ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, οἱ Ἀρχάδες κατάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς Μεσσήνην συγκατήγαγον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς τῶν Δωριέων οἵ τε Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες καὶ Σίμος [*Ισθμιος*; Bekk. Κεῖσος Siebel.] ὁ Τημένου. Apollodorus apud Diod. assigns to *Eurythenes* only 42 years; but as *Procles* reigned 51, *Eurythenes* according to the tradition preserved by Cicero reigned 52.

The twin brothers were said to have married twin sisters: Pausan. III. 16, 5. (τάφοι δέ εἰσιν)—Λαεβίας καὶ Ἀναξάνδρας· αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ τε ἡσαν δίδυμοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφᾶς οἵ τ' Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες, ἄτος ὅντες καὶ αὐτοὶ δίδυμοι, λαμβάνουσι· συγατέρες δὲ ἡσαν Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀγαμιδίδα, βασιλεύοντος μὲν Κλειστωνίων [*Κλεωναίων* Kuhn.] τετάρτου δὲ ἀπογόνου Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους.

3. AGIS. Subdued the Helots: F. H. II. p. 405. z. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 31. conjectures that the Helots were an aboriginal race subdued at a very early period, and that they immediately passed over to the Dorians as slaves. But this conjecture is at variance

PROCLIDÆ.

2. PROCLES. Was more eminent than his brother, and died one year before him: Cic. Div. II. 43. *Procles et Eurythenes Lacedæmoniorum reges gemini fratres fuerunt. At hi nec totidem annos vixerunt; anno enim Procli vita brevior fuit, multumque is fratri rerum gestarum gloria præstitit.* This tradition invalidates the chronology of Apollodorus, who makes *Procles* live 9 years longer than his brother.

The two brothers were hostile to each other: Herodot. VI. 52. τούτους ἀνδρωθέντας αὐτούς τε ἀδελφεοὺς ἔντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς γόνης ἀλλήλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομένους ὥσταύτως διατελέσιν. Pausan. III. 1, 6. δίδυμοι δε ὅντες διάφοροι τὰ μάλιστα ἦσαν. προεληλυθότες δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἀπεχθείας ὥμως ἐν κοινῷ Θήρᾳ τῷ Αὐτεσίωνος ἀδελφῷ τῆς μητρὸς σφῶν ὅντι Ἀργείας, ἐπιτροπεύσαντι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν, συνήραντο ἐς ἀποικίαν. To this enmity we may refer the narrative in Polyænus I. 10. Προκλῆς καὶ Τήμενος Ἡρακλεῖδαι Εὔρυσθεῖδαι κατέχουσι τὴν Στάρτην ἐπολέμουν κ.τ.λ. The Εὔρυσθεῖδαι will mean “*Eurythenes* and his “party;” for each of these kings was supported by foreign adherents: Ephorus apud Strab. VIII. p. 366. ἐπήλυδας ἀνθεώπους δεξάμενοι δι’ ἐκείνων ἐδυνάστευσαν. For the institutions of *Eurythenes* and *Procles* in Laconia, described by Ephorus, see F. H. II. p. 404. z.

It would seem from Thucyd. V. 16. that the memory of the ceremonies observed at the first occupation of Laconia was preserved at Sparta: τοῖς ὅμοιοις χοροῖς καὶ θυσίαις καταγαγεῖν ὥσπερ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον Λακεδαιμόνια κτίζοντες τοὺς βασιλεῖς καθίσταντο. These ceremonies would belong to the occupation of Sparta by *Aristodemus*.

3. SOÜS. Since *Eurythenes* and *Procles* died within a year of each other, *Agis* and *Soüs* were contemporaries. This is marked by Plutarch Lycurg. c. 2. who ascribes the war with the Helots to the reign of *Soüs*: τῶν δὲ προγόνων αὐτοῦ [sc. *Lycurgi*] μάλιστα ἐθαυμάσθη

AGIDE.

with Theopompos apud Athen. VI. p. 265. b. who affirms that the Lacedæmonians, when they conquered the Achæans, and the Thessalians, when they conquered the *Perrhaebi* and *Magnetes*, were the first who reduced to slavery the former occupiers of the country. But this account would not be true, if the Achæans themselves some generations before the Trojan war had reduced to this kind of slavery the *aborigines* of Laconia.

From *Agis* the kings of this line were called *Agidae*: Pausan. III. 2, 1. Εύρυτένει πρεσβυτέρων τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων ὅντι ἡλικίᾳ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν εἰδὸν Ἀγιν ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τὸ γένος τὸ Εύρυτένους καλοῦσιν Ἀγίδας. See Ephorus in a mutilated passage of Strabo VIII. p. 366.

The migration of *Grais* was referred to his reign: Pausan. III. 2, 1. ἐπὶ τούτου συνήραντο Γρᾶς κ. τ. λ. See p. 103. k. Lesbos was occupied about 51 years after the Return: see p. 105. 140. which would sufficiently agree with the beginning of the reign of *Agis*.

It is evident that Pausanias did not limit the reign of *Agis* to a single year, and the acts ascribed to *Agis* render so short a reign very improbable. Wherefore we may here supply the deficient years which are required to complete the period of Apollodorus, as already remarked at p. 332.

4. ECHESTRATUS. Pausan. III. 2, 2. ἐπὶ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἀγίδος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Κυνουρέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦσιν ἀναστάτους, αἵτινας ἐπενεγκότες ὡς τὴν Ἀργολίδα συγγενῶν σφίσιν ὄντων Ἀργείων λησταί τε ἐκ τῆς Κυνουριακῆς κακουργοῖεν κ. τ. λ.—ἔτεσι δὲ ὑστερον οὐ πολλοῖς [not long after the conquest of Cy-nuria] Λαβύτας ὁ Ἐχεστράτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν.

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Σόος, ἵδ' οὖ καὶ τοὺς Εἴλωτας ἐποιήσαντο δούλους οἱ Σπαρτιάται καὶ χώραν προσεκτήσαντο πολλὴν Ἀρχάδων ἀποτεμένοι. He proceeds to relate a war with the Clitorians in this reign: λέγεται δὲ τὸν Σόον ἐν χωρίῳ χαλεπῷ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ Κλιτορίων ὄμολογῆσαι τὴν δορίκτητον γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀφήσειν εἰ πίοι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς πλησίου πηγῆς κ. τ. λ.

4. EURYPON or EUBYTION. Plutarch Lycurg. c. 2. remarks that, notwithstanding the eminence of *Sous*, οὐχ ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν οἰκίαν ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευσαν Εύρυτιανίδας· οὗτοι δοκεῖ πρῶτος Εύρυτίαν τὸ ἄγαν μοναρχικὸν ἀνέναι τῆς βασιλείας, δημαγωγῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς πολλοῖς. Pausan. III. 7, 1. Προκλῆς ὁ Ἀριστοδήμου τῷ παιδὶ ὄνομα τίθεται Σόον. Εύρυπάντα δὲ τὸν Σόον φασὶν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀφικέσθαι δίξης ὡς καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτην Εύρυπωντίδας ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, Προκλείδας ἐς ἐκεῖνον καλούμενος. A long war with the Arcadians of Mantinea occurred in his reign: Polyæn. II. 13. Εύρυτίων βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅρων τὴν πρὸς Ἀρχάδας πόλεμον μηκυνόμενον, στάσιν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιῆσαι μηχανάμενος κήρυκα ἐπεμψεν ἀγγέλλοντα, “Λαζ—” κεδαιμονίοις παύονται πολεμοῦντες, ἔαν γε τοὺς “ἐναγεῖς ἐξελάσητε,” τούτους δὲ είναι τοὺς Ἀγιναν γρηκότας. οἱ δὲ τοῦ φόνου τὴν αἵτινας ἔχοντες, προσδοκῶντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου διωχθῆσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμίαν, κ. τ. λ.—οἱ δὲ τὰ τοῦ δῆμου φρονοῦντες ἡττηθέντες, πρὸς μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους καταφυγόντες, τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδέξαντο. οἱ δὲ κατέσχον τῇ στάσει Μαντίνειαν, ἃς τῷ πολέμῳ κρατεῖν οὐδὲ ἐδύναντο. From this narrative it appears that Mantinea was already under a popular government.

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5 LABOTAS. The Argive war is placed in this reign: Pausan. III. 2, 3. Λαχεδαιμονίοις δὲ πρῶτον τότε ἔδοξεν ἄρχασθαι πρὸς Ἀργείους πόλεμον· ἐποιῶντο δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα τὴν τε Κυνουρικὴν ἐλόντων αὐτῶν ἀποτέμνεσθαι τοὺς Ἀργείους, καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους σφῶν ὑπῆκόους ὄντας ἀφίστανται. τότε μὲν δὴ παρὰ οὐδετέρων πολεμησάντων ὅμως μνήμης ἄξιον πραχθῆναι φασιν οὐδέν.

On the error in the text of Herodotus, where the nephew of *Lycurgus* is made the son of *Labotas*, see p. 144. b.

6. DORYSSUS. Pausanias III. 2, 3. differs from Apollodorus in the duration of this and the next reign: τοὺς ἐφεξῆς βασιλεύσαντας τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης Δόρυσσον τὸν Λαβώτα καὶ Ἀγγούλαον Δορύσσου δί' ὀλίγου σφᾶς τὸ χρεῶν ἐτέλαβεν ἀμφοτέρους. Apollodorus followed different authorities, since he assigned (according to Diodorus apud Euseb.) $29+44=73$ years to these two reigns.

7. AGESILAUS. The account of Pausanias is that *Agesilaius* reigned only a short time

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5. PRYTANIS. Pausan. III. 7, 2. Εὔρυπτάντος δὲ οὗτος γίνεται Πρύτανις. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εύρυπτάντος τὸ ἔχθος τε Λαχεδαιμονίοις ἤρξατο τὸ ἐς Ἀργείους, καὶ ἔτι τοῦ ἐγκλήματος τούτου πρότερον [sc. in the reign of *Echestratus*] Κυνουρεῦσιν ἐπολέμησαν. Pausanias had already referred this Argive war to the reign of *Labotas*. These two kings were therefore contemporary. This war with the Argives in the reigns of *Labotas* and *Prytanis*, and the wars with the Arcadians in the preceding reigns of *Agis* and *Soüs* and *Eurypon*, are those to which Aristotle refers: see p. 143. w. and by which the Lacedæmonians were prepared for the discipline of *Lycurgus*: Aristot. Ibid. σχολάσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν παρεῖχον τῷ νομοθέτῃ προωδοπεποιημένους; διὰ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν βίον.

6. EUNOMUS or POLYDECTES. See p. 144. z. The two reigns are thus described in Pausanias III. 7, 2. τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτης γενεὰς Εὐνόμου τε τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου βασιλεύσανταν ἐν εἰρήνῃ διετέλεσεν οὗτα η Σπάρτη. Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 2. ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀγεστεῶς [in the reign of *Eurypon*] τοῦ μὲν δήμου θρασυνομένου, τῶν δὲ ὑστερον βασιλέων τὰ μὲν ἀπεχθανομένων τῷ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς πολοὺς τὰ δὲ πρὸς χάριν ή δί' ἀσθένειαν ὑποφερομένων, ἀνομίᾳ καὶ ἀταξίᾳ κατέσχε τὴν Σπάρτην ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον. ὡρ' ής καὶ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Λυκούργου [sc. *Eunomum*] βασιλεύοντα συνέβη τελευτῆσαι. διερύκων γάρ ἀψιμαχίαν τινὰ μαγειρικῆ κοπίδι πληγεὶς ἀπέβανε, τῷ πρεσβύτερῳ παιδὶ Πολυδέκτῃ καταλιπὼν τὴν βασιλείαν. ἀποθανότος δὲ καὶ τούτου μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἔδει βασιλεύειν, ὡς πάντες φῶντο, τὸν Λυκούργον, κ. τ. λ. Ephorus apud Strab. X. p. 481. Λυκούργον ὄμολογεῖσθαι παρὰ πάντων ἔκτον ἀπὸ Προκλέους γεγονέναι.—ἀδελφὸς ἦν πρεσβύτερος τοῦ Λυκούργου Πολυδέκτης. No distinct acts are ascribed to these two kings. Their reigns are said to have been short and peaceful. That there was a cessation of foreign war between the time of *Prytanis* and the legislation of *Lycurgus* may be collected from σχολάσαντες in Aristotle already quoted.

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(see DORYSSUS), and that the legislation of *Lycurgus* fell within his reign (see p. 143). But here again Apollodorus differed, according to whom *Agesilaüs* reigned 44 years, and died 110 years before Ol. 1; or two years before the birth of *Charilaüs*. Clemens Strom. I. p. 327. A. refers to this reign: 'Απολλόδωρος (φησὶ φέρεσθαι "Ομῆρον") μετὰ ἦτη ἑκατὸν τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας, 'Αγησιλάου τοῦ Δορισταῖου Λαχεδαιμονίων βασιλεύοντος, κ. τ. λ. See p. 146. According to the dates in Eusebius *Agesilaüs* began to reign in the 115th year after the Ionic migration and died in the 159th; which may be reconciled with Clemens. Apollodorus probably placed the birth of *Homer* at 100 years after the Ionic migration (see p. 146), and his ἀκμὴ in the reign of *Agesilaüs*.

8. ARCHELAÜS. Contemporary with *Charilaüs* (see p. 143), with whom he took Εγγύς: see p. 143. v. and F. H. II. p. 405. z. Plutarch *Lycurg.* c. 5. places them together: ὃς που καὶ λέγεται συμβασιλεύοντα τὸν Ἀρχέλαον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαμιάζοντας τὸν νεανίσκον εἰπεῖν, “πῶς δὲ ἀν οὐκ εἴη Χαρίλαος ἀνήρ ἀγαθός, ὃς οὐδὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλεπός ἔστι;” Plutarch however in Mor. p. 55. E. does not name *Archelaüs*: τὸ τοῦ Λάκωνος ἔχειν πρόχειρον, ὃς, ἐπαινουμένου Χαρίλου τοῦ βασιλέως, “πῶς οὔτος,” ἔφη, “χρη—“ στὸς, ὃς οὐδὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς πικρός ἔστι;” and in p. 218. B. he gives the saying to *Archidamidas*: ‘Αρχιδαμίδας πρὸς τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα Χαρίλαον ὅτι πρὸς ἄπαντας ὁμοίως πρᾶος ἦν, “καὶ πῶς τις,” ἔφη, δικαιώς ἀν ἐπαινοῖτο, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς πρᾶος εἴη;” where Wytténbach observes, *Hoc si vere Archidamidæ tribuitur, ponendus sit in aetate Lycurgi.* This is not necessary. *Archidamidas* might have lived after *Hecatæus* (*Ibid.*), and yet have remarked upon *Charilaüs*. The first passage of Plutarch shews that in his opinion *Archelaüs* was the colleague of *Charilaüs*. They are also joined together in the oracle apud *Œnomaum*: Euseb. Præp. V. 32. p. 226. D. διὰ τί δὲ, ὡς σοφάτας (Ἄπολλον), Χαρίλαος καὶ Ἀρχέλαος οἱ

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From the mutilated account in Eusebius it may be suspected that Apollodorus agreed with Simonides, as in the order, so in the number of these reigns. The father of *Charilaüs* has a short reign in Pausanias, but 45 years in Eusebius; and only 75 years remain to complete the period of Apollodorus between the death of *Procles* and accession of *Prytanis*. These might have been distributed between *Soüs* and *Eurypon*.

7. CHARILAÜS. Apollodorus places the beginning of his reign and life 108 years before the olympiad of *Coræbus*. Sosibius gives him 64 years and places his accession only 97 years before that epoch: see F. H. II. p. 409. *Charilaüs* participated in the acts of *Lycurgus*: Plutarch. *Lycurg.* c. 5. μετεῖχε τὰν πραττομένων, φύσει πρᾶος ὢν. The testimonies of Aristotle concerning *Charilaüs* have been given at p. 143. w. For the testimonies to his war with Tegea see F. H. II. p. 417. e. In that war *Charilaüs* was taken prisoner: Pausan. VIII. 5, 6. 48, 3.

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Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς,

εἴ κεν ἐπικτήτου μοίρης λάχος Ἀπόλλων
ἥμισυ δάστυται, τοῦδε λέιν ἔσσεται αὐτοῖς;

perhaps referring to their joint conquest of Ægys.

9. TELECLUS. Pausan. III. 2, 5. 6. Ἀγησιλάου δὲ παῖς ἦγένετο Ἀρχέλαος.—Ἀρχέλαου δὲ ἦν Τήλεκλος. For the acquisitions in his reign see F. H. II. p. 405. z. The war with Amyclæ—ό πρὸς Ἀμυκλαῖς πόλεμος—was noticed by Aristotle ἐν τῇ Λακανῷ πολιτείᾳ: Schol. Pindar. Isthm. VII. 18. *Teleclus* was slain by the Messenians: Ephorus apud Strab. VI. p. 279. ἐπολέμουν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Μεσσηνίοις ἀποκτείνασι τὸν βασιλέα Τήλεκλον εἰς Μεσσήνην ἀφικόμενον ἐπὶ θυσίαν. Pausan. III. 2, 6. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον τούτων [not long after the conquest of Amyclæ] ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων Τήλεκλος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ιερῷ. IV. 4, 2. ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις τοῖς Μεσσηνίας ιερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καλουμένης Διμνάτιδος, μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνοι Δωρίσιοι οἱ τε Μεσσηνίοι καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δῆ φασιν αἱ—τὸν βασιλία σφῶν ἀποκτείναιεν—Τήλεκλον Ἀρχέλαου τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ Δορύσου τοῦ Λαβύτα τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἀγιδος.

The inscription on a shield bearing the name of *Teleclus* and his ancestors up to *Agis*, which Wesseling quotes ad Herodot. VII. 204., is pronounced to be spurious by Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. I. p. 81. 82.

10. ALCAMENES. Pausan. III. 2, 7. Τηλέκλου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ἀλκαμένης ἦσχεν ὁ Τηλέκλου τὴν ἀρχήν. In his reign Helos was finally subdued: see F. H. II. p. 405. z. According to Pausanias IV. 5, 3. *Alcamenes* commanded in the first expedition of the Messenian war: ἔξοδον νύκταρ ἐποιοῦντο ἐπὶ Ἀμφειαν, Ἀλκαμένην τὸν Τηλέκλου τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνα ἀποδεῖχαντες. But before the fifth year he was dead: IV. 7. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετὰ τῆς Ἀμφείας τὴν ἄλωσιν—τοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρέτασσεν ὁ Εύφαντος—ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὕστερον—ἡγοῦντο οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀκρότεροι Θεόπομπός τε ὁ Νικάνδρος καὶ Πολύδωρος δ' Ἀλκαμένους· Ἀλκαμένης δὲ σύχετι περὶ. According to this account the earliest date of his death was B. C.

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8. NICANDER. Pausan. III. 7, 4. μετὰ δὲ Χάριλλον τελευτήσαντα Νίκανδρος ὁ Χαρίλλου διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν· καὶ τὰ Μεσσηνίων ἐς Τήλεκλον τὸν τῆς ἑτέρας βασιλέα οικίας ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τῆς Διμνάδος συμβάντα ἐπὶ Νικάνδρου γίνεται βασιλεύος. ἐσέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὁ Νικάνδρος στρατιᾶ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε τῆς χώρας. Three apophthegms of Nicander are in Plutarch Mor. p. 230. B. the first of which refers to the Argives.

Nicander has 39 years in Sosibius, 38 in Apollodorus and in Suidas v. Λυκοῦργος.

9. THEOPOMPUS. The first Messenian war began in the reigns of *Alcamenes* and *Theopompus*: Pausan. IV. 4, 3. βασιλεύοντος ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ Ἀλκαμένους τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἑτέρας Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εἰνόμου [see p. 144. z] τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εύρυπτῶντος. Apollodorus gives to *Theopompus* 47 years, which are placed at B. C. 785—739, since his 10th year is current in July B. C. 776. Sosibius places his accession 15 years lower, at B. C. 770: F. H. II. p. 409. The date of Apollodorus is refuted by the incidents of the Messenian war. *Theopompus* survived the conclusion of that war upon the testimony of Tyrtæus:

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742. In Apollodorus he has 38 years, and the 10th is current in July B. C. 776. The last year therefore falls upon B. C. 748, and Apollodorus places his reign at least six years too high. If *Alcamenes* reigned 38 years, they are placed by the date of the Messenian war at about B. C. 779—742. In Eusebius *Alcamenes* has 37 years: and Eusebius or Diodorus by an error in the numbers (as already observed p. 332) placed his death yet 28 years higher, at B. C. 776, and 33 years before the beginning of the war in which he bore a part. See p. 145. f.

Wyttensbach animadv. ad Plutarch. tom. I. p. 1160. repeats the date of Larcher for *Alcamenes*: *Cujus obitus incidit in Olympiadum initium A. C. 776 juxta rationes Larcheri et Meursii*. But in that very passage of Plutarch p. 216. F. is a plain allusion to the Messenian war, which commenced under the auspices of *Alcamenes* in B. C. 743.

11. POLYDORUS. According to Pausanias already quoted he succeeded *Alcamenes* between B. C. 743 and 739. That he was contemporary with *Theopompus* is attested by Plutarch *Lycurg.* c. 6, and that he survived the foundation of Crotona B. C. 710 is related by Pausanias III. 3, 1. See F. H. II. p. 410. u. Pausanias III. 3, 2. mentions his death: διαπεπολεμημένου δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμου, —ἔχοντος δὲ ἡδη Πολυδώρου λαμπρὸν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὄνομα, Πολέμαρχος—φονεύει τὸν Πολύδωρον.

12. EURYCRATES. Pausan. III. 3, 3. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Εύρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου βασιλεύοντος Μεσσήνιοι τε ἡγείχοντο ὑπῆκοοι Λακεδαιμονίων ὄντες.

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see the Tables B. C. 723: and probably lived till B. C. 718: Ibid. B. C. 718. If, then, he reigned 47 years, they would commence in B. C. 765, and the date of Sosibius is nearer the truth. *Theopompus* however might begin to reign in B. C. 770, where Sosibius places him, six years after the Olympiad of *Coræbus*; and might reign 52 years, till about B. C. 718.

Theopompus instituted the Ephori according to the testimonies in F. H. II. p. 405. a. The date in Eusebius, *Anno 1259 Ol. 5. 4* [B. C. 757]. *Primus Lacedæmone fit Ephorus*, may fall upon the 14th year of *Theopompus*. Herodotus I. 65 (who is followed by Satyrus apud Laert. I. 68) ascribes the institution to *Lycurgus*: τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐναρπτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συστίτια, πρός τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας, ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος. And Xenophon Lac. Pol. 8, 3. Stobæus Serm. 44, 37. Plato Epist. VIII. p. 854. Λυκοῦργος—δείσας περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως ἄμα καὶ γένους φάγματον ἐπήνεγκε τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐφόρων δασμὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς σωτήγιον. This difference may be reconciled, if we suppose the Ephors to have existed in the time of *Lycurgus* but to have received their powers in the time of *Theopompus*. That *Theopompus* was the founder of their political importance is determined by the superior authority of Aristotle.

A saying of *Theopompus* marking his moderation is recorded by Plutarch Pol. Praec. p. 816. E.

10. ZEUXIDAMUS. Grandson of *Theopompus*: Pausan. III. 7, 5. Ἀρχίδαμον Θεοπόμπου ζῶντος ἦτι ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεῶν· οὐ μὴν ἀπαις ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, Ζευξίδαμον δὲ ἀπολιπὼν οἰών. IV. 15, 1. Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Θεοπόμπου προσπέθανε τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ἐς Ζευξίδαμον οἴδοῦν ὅντα ἡ Θεοπόμπου περιῆλθεν ἀρχῆν. He might succeed his grandfather about B. C. 718 (see the Tables, 718. 2) a few years before the death of *Polydorus*. He was therefore contemporary partly with *Polydorus* and partly with *Euryocrates*.

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13. ANAXANDER. Pausan. IV. 15, 1. ὅστε-
ρον τρίτη γενεᾷ τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τόγδε [the
second war: see p. 251. b] ἐπολέμησαν ἀποδεί-
κυσί τε τοῦ χρόνου τὸ συνεχὲς βασιλεύοντας τηνι-
κῶντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ Ἀναξανδρὸν Εύρυκράτους τοῦ
Πολυδάρου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἑτέρας Ἀναξίδαμον
Ζευξιδάμου τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Θεοπόμπου. Ac-
cording to Pausanias IV. 16, 5. *Anaxander* commands against *Aristomenes*: conf. III.
14, 4. and still directed affairs in the last year
of the war: Idem IV. 22, 3. Probably Pau-
sanias had no other authority for this than
his own interpretation of *Tyrtæus*: see p. 252.
which was, however, the right interpretation.

14. EURYCRATES II. Pausan. III. 3, 5.
'Αναξανδρὸν δὲ νιὸς Εύρυκράτης γίνεται, Εύρυκρά-
τους δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου Λέων. ἐπὶ τούτων βασιλεύοντων
Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσέπταιον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τεγεάτας
πολέμῳ τὰ πλείονα. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξανδρίδου τοῦ Λέον-
τος ἐπικρατέστεροι Τεγεατῶν γίγνονται τῷ πολέμῳ.

15. LEON. Contemporary with *Agesicles*,
and in the generation preceding *Cræsus*:
Herodot. I. 65.

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11. ANAXIDAMUS. Pausan. III. 7, 5.
Ζευξιδάμου δὲ Ἀναξίδαμος ὁ παῖς ἐκδέχεται τὴν
ἀρχὴν. ἐπὶ τούτου Μεσσήνιοι φεύγουσιν ἐκ Πελο-
πονήσου πολέμῳ τὸ δεύτερον κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ Σπαρ-
τιατῶν. He is accordingly contemporary with
Anaxander, and survives B. C. 668.

12. ARCHIDAMUS. Pausan. III. 7, 6. 'Αν-
αξιδάμου δὲ νιὸς ἐγένετο Ἀρχιδάμος, Ἀρχιδάμου
δὲ Ἀγασικλῆς· καὶ σφισιν ὑπῆρξεν ἀμφοτέροις τὸν
βίον διατελέσαι πάντα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. That this was
not true of *Agesicles* appears from Herodot.
I. 65. and from Pausanias himself III. 3, 5.

13. AGESICLES. Herodot. I. 65. ἐπὶ Λέον-
τος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς
ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχέοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς
Τεγέητας μούνους προσέπταιον.

ANAXANDRIDES and ARISTON probably began to reign about B. C. 560^h. Their prede-
cessors *Leon* and *Agesicles* may accordingly be referred to about B. C. 590 or 600. Accord-
ing to the dates of Pausanias for the first Messenian war the five reigns from *Polydorus* to
Leon inclusive occupied about 180 years, or 36 years to each; the five contemporary reigns
from *Theopompus* to *Agesicles* 210 years, or 42 years to each reign: a proportion exceeding
the usual amount, as already observedⁱ. But as the date of Pausanias for the first Messenian
war is confirmed by the time of *Polychares*^k, the reigns of this period seem to belong to those
cases in which an average proportion is not to be applied. The average proportion is obtained
when the longer reigns of some are compensated by the shorter reigns of others. But this
compensation only happens in long tracts of time, comprehending all the vicissitudes of tur-
bulent and quiet periods, or of longer and shorter lives, such as will be found in a long series
of reigns. An average will be true of twenty or thirty successive reigns, and yet may not be
true of five^l. But it will be said that in the preceding times the Spartan reigns exceed the

^h See F. H. II. p. 207.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 206.

^k See the Tables B. C. 764.

^l See the Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 87. Five
kings of France of the House of *Bourbon* reigned
A. D. 1589—1792, 204 years; giving an average
of 50½ years to each. Six kings of England

A. D. 1199—1399 occupy 200 years, or 33½
years to each reign; being exactly equal to ge-
nerations. An average proportion is still more
inapplicable to any one particular reign; and an
average obtained from the collective amount of
20 or 30 reigns may not exhibit the actual
amount of a single reign in the series.

average proportion. From the Return to *Alcamedes* inclusive 10 reigns of the *Agidae* occupy by the reduced date of Callimachus 307 years, giving $30\frac{1}{2}$ years to each; and 8 reigns to *Nicander* inclusive in the line of the *Proclidæ* have 278 years, or $34\frac{3}{4}$ to each. The whole series of 18 reigns to the death of *Leonidas* B. C. 480 gives in 568 years $31\frac{1}{2}$, and of 13 reigns to the death of *Agesicles* cir. B. C. 560 gives in 488 years $37\frac{1}{2}$ to each. We may answer, that an average rule which is founded on the successions in elective governments, as the Roman or German emperors, and especially on elective under peculiar circumstances, as the popes of Rome, is not to be applied to hereditary successions; and that even hereditary reigns, where no cases of disputed succession occur, are not to be measured by a standard obtained from cases of disturbed succession. In applying, then, an average standard^m, the particular circumstances of the history are to be considered; and in these Spartan reigns from *Aristodemus* to the Persian wars we may admit the argument of Halesⁿ, that, there being one minority in the *Agidae* and two minorities^o in the *Proclidæ*, the reigns may be taken as equal to generations.

VII.

GREEK POETS.

THE early epic poetry of the Greeks may be distributed into three classes; in the first we may place the *Uμνοι* or *τελεσται*, in the second the *Epic cycle*, and in the third the works ascribed to *Hesiod*, together with those poems which, although not included in the Epic cycle, yet described the same subjects.

^m Newton had assumed the mean length of reigns to be 19 years. Hales vol. I. p. 304. gives a list of ten cases from which he obtains $22\frac{1}{2}$ years as the average standard. The first three, however, of the cases adduced are taken from periods of fabulous history; his 9th is taken from the German emperors, who are elective.

These being rejected, and the inquiry being limited to known times and hereditary successions, a larger average may be obtained.

In the following Table the first three examples are taken from Hales; the fifth, from Blair and Du Fresnoy:

	Reigns.	Years.	To each.	
1. Kings of France A. D. 987—1792	32	806	25	
2. —— Spain A. D. 1027—1788	32	761	24	
3. —— Scotland A. D. 938—1625	33	687	21	
4. —— England A. D. 1066—1819	32	754	$23\frac{1}{2}$	
5. —— Portugal A. D. 1089—1577	17	489	$28\frac{3}{4}$	
6. <i>Agidae</i> from B. C. 560 to B. C. 265	11	295	27	
7. <i>Proclidæ</i> B. C. 560—240	12	320	$26\frac{2}{3}$	
Mean length of reigns in hereditary successions ...	169	4112	$24\frac{1}{2}$	

ⁿ Hales vol. I. p. 30. But when he adds that we are warranted in considering these 17 generations as equivalent to 19, he assumes more than we can readily admit.

^o Perhaps three minorities; for it is possible that *Zeuxidamus* grandson of *Theopompus* was also a minor at his accession.

Of the early composers of ὕμνοις or their works nothing satisfactory can now be known. They were referred, however, to the earliest times. *Olen* was the most ancient composer of hymns^a. The poet *Linus* also preceded *Orpheus*. *Orpheus* himself was an Argonaut. *Musæus* was his contemporary; but of *Orpheus*, *Linus*, and *Musæus*, no genuine works remained. The poems which were circulated under their names were spurious compositions, the productions of aftertimes^b. *Pamphos* was accounted earlier than *Ho-*

^a *Olen* is thus mentioned by Pausanias IX. 27, 2. Λύκιος δὲ Ὄλην, ὃς καὶ τὰς ἔμνους τοὺς ἀρχαιότατους ἐπείσεις Ἐλάσσιν, ὅπος ἡ Ὄλην δὲ Εἰδειθνίας ἔμνη [Idem I. 18, 5. θύνοι τε Εἰδειθνία Δῆλιοι καὶ ἔμνους ἔδουσιν Ὄλην] μητέρα Ἔρωτος τὴν Εἰδειθνάν φησι εἶναι. Ὄλην δὲ ὑστερὸν Πάμφος τε ἔπη καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἐποίησαν. X. 5, 4. Βοιώ δὲ ἐπίχειρα γυνὴ τοιήσασα ἔμνους Δελφοῖς ἔφη κατασκευάσασθαι τὸ μαντεῖον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς ἀρκομένους ἐξ Ὑπερβόρεων τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ὄληρα· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μαντεύεσσαθαι τρόπον καὶ φασὶ πρᾶτος τὸ ἔβαμέτρον. πετοίκη δὲ ἡ Βοιώ τιμάδε·

ἔνθα τοι εὐμηστον χρηστήριον ἐκτελέσαντο
ταῖδες· Ὑπερβόρεον Παγασᾶς καὶ δίος Ἀγνεῖς.
ἐπαριθμοῦσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ὑπερβόρεων ἐπὶ τελευτῇ
τοῦ ἔμνου τὸν Ὄλην ἀνομάσειν.

'Ὀλην δὲ γένετο πρῶτος Φοῖβοιο προφάτας,
πρῶτος δὲ ἀρχαιοῖς ἔτεν τετάνατ' ἀνδάν.
Idem V. 7, 4. πρῶτος ἐν ἔμνῳ τῷ ἐξ Ἀχαιῶν ἐποίησεν
'Ὀληροῦ Λύκιος, ἀρκούσθαι τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ἐς Δῆλον ἐν τῶν
Ὑπερβόρεων τούτων. on what follows conf. Siebel.
ad loc. Bekker. Pausan. tom. I. p. 307. Pausan. II. 13, 3. 'Ὀλην δέ ἐν Ἡρας ἐστιν ἔμνῳ πεποιημένῳ τραφῆναι τὴν Ἡραν ὑπὸ Ὀρφῶν, εἶναι δέ οἱ παῖδες
'Ἄρρη τε καὶ Ἡβῆν. His hymns were ancient in the time of *Herodotus*: Herodot. IV. 35. φασὶ τὴν Ἀργητη τε καὶ τὴν Ὀπίν εἴσας παρθένους ἐξ Ὑπερβόρεων—ἀπικέσθαι δὲ Δῆλον κ. τ. λ.—καὶ γέρη ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπανομάζούσας τὰ ὄνματα ἐν τῷ ἔμνῳ τὸν σφι 'Ὀληροῦ Δύλιος ἐποίησε· παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαδότας ησάντας τε καὶ Ἰαπεῖς ἔμνειν 'Ὀπίν τε καὶ 'Ἄρρην—οὗτος δὴ δὲ Ὄληρος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἔμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Δυλίκης ἀλλὸν τοὺς ἀειδομένους δὲ Δῆλοφ. Fabricius B. G. tom. I. p. 134, who gives these passages, adds Suidas: 'Ὀληροῦ Δυμαῖος ἡ Ὑπερβόρεος ἡ Δύλιος, ἐποίησε· μᾶλλον δὲ Δύλιος ἀπὸ Ξάθουν, ὡς δηλοῦ Καλλίμαχος [in Del. 304], καὶ δὲ Πολιύστωρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δυλίκας. Πολιύστωρ he explains to mean *Alexander Ephesius*. Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor wrote τερὶ Δυλίκας, and this may be added to the fragments in F. H. III. p. 539. But *Alexander Ephesius* was a different person: Ibid. p. 540.

^b Three of the name of *Linus* are described by Eudocia and Eustathius. Eudocia p. 277. Eustathius ad Iliad. σ'. p. 1163, 54. and the Scholiast on Homer II. σ'. 570. draw from the same sources and concur in the same account: λίνος ἔλος φθῆς κατὰ Ἀριστοταρχον, ἥ ἔμνοις ὁς καὶ δι ταῖς καὶ δι διδύμαρμβος [Athen. XIV. p. 619. b. Ἀριστοταρχῆς δὲ ἦ Ἀττικᾶς φησι λέξεις——“λίνος καὶ αἴλι-

νος οὐ μόνον ἐν πένθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' εὐτυχεῖ μολπῇ κατὰ τὸν Ἐδριπίδην”]. ὀνόμαστα δὲ λίνος τὸ τοιοῦτον φδικὸν εἶδος, ἢ ὃς μετὰ λίνου ἡτοι χορδῆς φδόμενος, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ λίνου ἀνδρὸς ἥρωος, φασὶ γάρ οἱ παλαιοὶ ποιημάτιον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Λίνῳ εἶναι ὁ σφαῖρα μὲν καλεῖται εἰς Ὀρφέα δὲ ἀναφέρεται *Eustath.* Λίνος Οὐρανίας νίδος, φθῆς τοῦς εὑρετῆς· ὃν ἀνεῖλεν Ἀπόλλων ἐπεὶ τὸν λίνον καταλύσας χορδαῖς ἐνέτειν ὄργανον.—Φιλόχορός φησιν [ἢ κατὰ λίνον ιστορία παρὰ Φιλοχόρῳ ἐν τῷ ίδιῳ καὶ παρὰ Μελανιππίδῃ *Schol.*] ὃντὸς Ἀπόλλωνος ἀναρεθῆναι διότι πρῶτος τὸν λίνον καταλύσας χορδῇ ἐχρήσατο εἰς μαντικῆς ὄργανον *Eudoc.* *Eustath.* φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Θύβαις ταφῆναι καὶ τιμηθῆναι θρηνώδεσιν φδαῖς, ἃς λινθάδις ἐκάλεσαν, ἐστὶ δὲ μέλος θρηνητικὸν ὃ λίνος μετὰ λοχνοφωνίας φδόμενος *Schol.* ἐπάρθη δὲ ἐν Θύβαις καὶ ἐπιμάτῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν θρηνώδεσιν ἀπαρχαῖς· εἰς ὃν καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστι τοιοῦτον·

Ἄλιν, πάντας θεῖστι τετιμένε, τοὶ γάρ ἔδωκαν
ἀθάνατοι πρώτῳ μέλος ἀνθρώπους ἀείδειν
ἐν τοῦ δεκτερῷ· μοῦσαι δέ σε θρήνειν αὐταῖ
μυρόμεναι μολπῆσιν ἐπεὶ λίπες ἥλιου αὐγάς.
καὶ 'Ησίοδος·

Οὐρανίη δὲ ἄρ' ἔτικτε λίνον πολυήρατον νιόν·
ὅν δὴ θοῖς βροτοὶ εἰσιν ἀοιδοὶ καὶ κιθαρισταῖ
πάτερες μὲν θρηνῶνται ἐιλαστίναις τε χοροῖς τε.
ἀρχόμενοι δὲ λίνον καὶ λιγνοτες καλέουσιν.

οἱ μέτι τὸν Ἡρακλέα διδάξας μαντικὸς λίνος [μαντικὴν *Schol.*] ἔτερος παρὰ τούτον ἐστιν *Eudoc.* *Eustath.* *Schol.* Τhe Scholiast adds, ἀνθρώπους φωναῖς λιγνοτες δεῖσται Φοῖβος δέ σε κότῳ ἀναιρεῖ. which might supply another line in the epigram:

ἐν φωναῖς λιγνοτεστι· κότῳ δέ σε Φοῖβος ἀναιρεῖ.
and a third fragment, which, as Heyne Hom. tom. VII. p. 803. remarks, is of a later date:

κρύπτα τὸν θεὸν ἄλινα λίνον Μετῶν θεράποτα,
τὸν πολυθρήνητον λίνον Αἴλινον· ὃ δὲ πατρρά
Φοῖβοις βέλεις γῆ κατέχει φθίμενον.

Eustathius proceeds to give what Eudocia a century before him had collected from the same sources: ὁ Θεόκριτος, μέμηται, ὁ καὶ ιστορήσας [XXIV. 103] ἔτι τὸν Ἡρακλέα γράμματα “Λίνος ἔξεδιδάξεν “Τίος Ἀπόλλωνος.” φασὶ δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ ὃτι λίνῳ ἀπὸ χορδῆς τῶν παλαιῶν χρωμένων πρὸς τὴν κιθάραν, ὑστερον μεινάντος τοῦ ὄνματος, ἡ χορδὴ λίνος καλεῖται *Eudoc.* *Eustath.* ἄλλοι δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν λίνον οὕτω συγτομώτερον φράζουσιν ὄγροικος γεωνίας ὁ λίνος φθῆς τοῦς εὑρετῆς, Οὐρανίας νίδος· ὃν ἀνεῖλεν Ἀπόλλων ἐπεὶ τὸ λίνον καταλύσας χορδαῖς ἐνέτειν ὄργανον *Eustath.* Ἡρδοτος δὲ λέγει ὃτι παρὰ Αἴγυπτοις λίνος τις ἀιδεῖται· καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐκεῖνος φησι τὸν λίνον ὄκθεν ἔλαβε τὸ ὄνομα. λέγει δὲ

καὶ ὅτι κατὰ Αἰγυπτίους βασιλέως παῖς ἐκεῖνος μανογενῆς ἦν· ἀποθανὼν δὲ ἄρωρος θρήνος ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίων ἐτιμήθη, καὶ ἀσιδὴ αὐτῇ καὶ μόνῃ σφίσιν ἔγένετο [sc. Herodot. II. 79]. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀναφένεται ὅτι κυρίως αἴλινος ἐπὶ τῷ τοινύτῳ Λίνῳ αἰλαγμός, εἰ καὶ ἄλλος διφορέται τῇ σηματιᾳ κατὰ τὸν Ἀθῆνας εἰσόντα ὡς ἐν γάμοις μὲν φῶν κ. τ. λ. [sc. XIV. p. 619. b].—ἡ δὲ ἱστορία καὶ τρεῖς παραδίδουσι Λίνους, τὸν τῆς Καλλιόπης, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Χαλκιόπης, καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον Eudoc. *Eustath.* The preceptor of *Hercules* is mentioned by Diod. III. 66. from Dionysius: φησὶ τοινυ παρ' Ἐλλησι πρῶτοι εὑρετὴν γενέσθαι Λίνον ρυμάνων καὶ μέλους ἐπὶ δὲ, Κάδμου κορίσαντος ἐκ Φωνίκης τὰ καλούμενα γράμματα, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλητικὴν μεταβεῖναι διάλεκτον κ. τ. λ.—τὸ δὲ Λίνον ἐπὶ ποιητὴν καὶ μελῳδίην θαυμασθέντα μαρτυρᾶσι σχεῖν πολλοὺς, ἐπιφανεστάτους δὲ τρεῖς, Ἡρακλέα, Θάμυρις, καὶ Ὀρφέα· τεύτων δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἡρακλέα—ὑπὸ τοῦ Λίνου πληγαῖς ἐπιτιμηθέντοι διορυσθῆναι καὶ τῇ κιβώρῳ τὸν διδάσκαλον πατάξαντα ἀποκτεῖναι. *Aelian* V. H. III. 32. τὸν Ἡρακλέα δὲ Λίνος ἐπὶ παῖδα ὃντα κιθαρίζειν ἐπαΐσθενε κ. τ. λ.—δὲ ἀγαγακτήσας δὲ Ἡρακλῆς—ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν. *Clemens Strom.* I. p. 323. B. εἰ περὶ Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Λίνον τὸν Ἡρακλίους διδάσκαλον. where he places them in the generation after *Acrisius*. *Apollod.* I. 3, 2. Καλλιόπης καὶ Οἰάγρου, κατ' ἐπίκλησιν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος, Λίνος, ὁν Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινε. *Idem* II. 4, 9. Ὀδιάκθη Ἡρακλῆς κιθαρῳδεῖν ὑπὸ Λίνους ὥτος δὲ ἡν ἀδελφὸς Ὀρφέων, ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Θήβας καὶ Θηβαῖς γενόμενος ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τῇ κιβώρῳ πληγεὶς ἀπέβανεν. *Alcidamas Ulyssē* p. 186, 31. μωσικὸν δὲ Λίνος δὲ Καλλιόπης, ὁν Ἡρακλῆς φανέται. where two MSS. apud Bekker. have Λίνος, confirming Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 443. who restores Λίνος for Τένεος. *Eusebius Chron.* II. places *Orpheus* and *Linus* together 85 years before the fall of Troy: *Anno 749 Orpheus Thrax cognoscetur, cuius discipulus Musaeus Eumolpi erat. Anno 750 Linus magister Herculis cognoscetur.* In *Theodore Serm.* II. p. 741. *Linus* is later: Ὁρφεὺς γενεῇ μᾶζη πρεσβύτερος τῶν Τρωικῶν· Λίνος δὲ καὶ Μουσᾶς ἀμφὶ τὰ Τρωικὰ ἐγένεσθη, καὶ Θάμυρις μετὰ τούτων, καὶ Φιλάρμων ὠσαστατος. *Suidas v. Λίνος* and *Eudocia p. 282. Λίνος Χαλκιδεὺς, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Τερψιχόρης* εἰ δὲ, Ἀφιμάρους καὶ Οὐρανίας. εἰ δὲ, Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Οὐρανίας. λέγεται δὲ πρῶτος ὥτος ἀπὸ Φωνίκης γράμματα εἰς Ἑλλητας ἀγαγεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέους διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων, καὶ τῆς λυρικῆς μοίσης πρῶτος γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνων. Λίνος ἔτερος, Θηβαῖος, νεώτερος [νεώτερος ποιητὴς *Eudoc.*]. *Heracrides* apud *Plutarch. Mus.* p. 1132. A. mentions *Linus*: Ἡρακλεῖδης—τὴν κιθαρῳδίαν καὶ τὴν κιθαρῳδικὴν πόλισιν πρῶτος φησὶν Ἀμφίονα ἐπινόσσου—κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἥλικαν καὶ Λίνος τὸν ἐξ Εὐβοίας θρήνους πεποιηκέναι λέγει. *Tacitus Ann. XI. 14. Qui-dam Cecropem Atheniensem vel Linum Thebanum et temporibus Trojanis Palamedem Argivum memorant sedecim literarum formas—repperisse.* Laërt. proem. 3. παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναῖος γέγονε Μου-

σαῖος παρὰ δὲ Θηβαῖος Λίνος, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ειμάλτου παιδία φασο—τὸ δὲ Λίνον παιδία εἶναι Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Μούσης Οὐρανίας—τὸν δὲ Λίνον τελευτῆται ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοξεύεντα ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος. *Pausanias* also distinguishes three *Linī*: II. 19, 7. τάφοι δὲ εἰσι, δὲ μὲν Λίνον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ψαμάθης τῆς Κροτώπου, τὸν δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λίνον τοῦ ποιησάντος τὰ ἔπη. *Idem* I. 43, 7. ἐπὶ Κροτώπου λέγουσιν ἐν "Ἄργει βασιλεύοντος Ψαμάθην τὴν Κροτώπου τεκεῖν παιδία ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος κ. τ. λ. This son of Psamathe would be seven generations before *Orpheus* and *Hercules*. He describes another *Linus* IX. 29, 3. λέγεται δὲ ὡς δὲ Λίνος ὥτος παῖς μὲν Οὐρανίας εἴναι καὶ Ἀφιμάρου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, μεγίστην δὲ τοῦ τε δέρ' αὐτῶν καὶ δοῖς πρότερον ἐρέντο λάβοι δίξαν ἐπὶ μουσικήν, καὶ ὡς Ἀπόλλων ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν ἔξισον μενον κατὰ τὴν φῶνην. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Λίνου τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τένος διῆλθεν ἄρα καὶ ἄχρι τῆς βαρβάρου πάσης, ὡς καὶ Αἰγυπτίους φόμα γενέσθαι Λίνον—Παμφύλος δὲ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖος τὸν ἵματα ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους, ὥτος ἀκμάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷ Λίνῳ τοῦ τένοντος Οιτόλινος ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν. And a third the preceptor of *Hercules*: *Ibid.* Θηβαῖος δὲ λέγουσι παρὰ σφίσι ταφῆναι τὸ Λίνον. —λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιδέ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων, ὡς τοῦ Λίνου τοῦτο γένοιτο ὑπερον ἔτερος Λίνος καλούμενος Ἰσμηνίου, καὶ ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ παῖς ὣν ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν διδάσκαλον μουσικῆς ὄντα. ἐπη δὲ ὅπε δὲ Ἀφιμάρου Λίνος ὥτε δ τούτων γενέμενος ὑπερον ἔτοισταν ἢ καὶ ποιηθέντα ἐς τοὺς ἐπειτα οὐκ ἥλθε. *Conon Narr.* 19. relates the death of *Linus* son of *Psamathe*, also told in *Statius Theb.* I. 589. and referred to by *Ovid Ibis* 482. *Quique Crotopiadēn diripiuerē Linon.* conf. *Ibin* 575—578. But Conon ascribes to this *Linus* what *Pausanias* attributes to another: ὥτως ἡ ἐκτρεπῆς δὲ ἐπὶ Λίνῳ θρῆνος ὡς δέ τέκενται καὶ τοῖς ἐπειτα ποιηταῖς παντὸς παρενθήκη Λίνος ὅδεται, μῆρά τε ἀνίμασιν ἀργεῖσι οὐτὶ ἀράσται Λίνος συναντερέφη, καὶ θυσίαν ἀγούσι καὶ ἐργὴν Ἀργίδα [ἥμέρας Ἀργίδας] *Aelian.* H. A. XII. 34], κτείνοντες ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἥμέρᾳ καὶ κυνῶν ὄντων ἀνέβρωσι. And the *Scholiast* on *Iliad.* σ'. 570. λίνος δὲ ὑπὸ καλὸν ἀειδεῖ: ἀστὶ τοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ Λίνῳ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος παιδὶ φῶν ὄντι νητιῷ καὶ ὑπὸ κυνῶν διασπασθέντι πρότην φασθεῖσαν.

We may distinguish at least three *Linī*:

1. *Linus Psamathe et Apollinis*; who belongs to the tenth generation before the Trojan war: Pausan., Conon, Statius, Ovid. celebrated in the λίνος: Conon. Schol. *Iliad.* σ'.

2. *Linus Uraniæ*. slain by *Apollo* in *Euboea*: Laërt. buried at Thebes: Pausan. Eudoc. Eustath. Schol. Hom. celebrated in the λίνος: Hesioid. Pausan.

3. *Linus Calliope et Eägri vel Apollinis*: Apollod. *Ismenii*: Pausan. *Apollinis*: Theocrit. The preceptor of *Hercules*, by whom he was slain. Tacitus and Dionysius apud Diod. seem to consider *Linus II.* and *Linus III.* as the same person. Menagius ad Laërt. procem. 3. confounds all the three *Lini*. Heyne ad Apol-

lod. p. 328. *Linum Orphei fratrem ediderat Apollod.* *Debuit tamen is qui Herculem erudit esse senior alter ut bene Thebani contendebant apud Pausan.* But the preceptor of *Hercules* was not later than *Orpheus*; and Pausanias and the Thebans only distinguished him from the son of *Urania*. Siebelis ad Pausan. IX. 29. p. 93. confounds this third *Linus* with the first: *Pausanias de Linis duobus:—posterior Ismenii, seu ex vulgari fama Apollinis et Psamathes, apud Apollod. Callipes, filius, ab Hercule interfectus esse dicitur.* But Pausanias describes three *Linii*. Fabricius B. G. tom. I. p. 110. after Suidas takes the son of *Urania*, the son of *Psamathe*, and the preceptor of *Hercules*, for the same person, and distinguishes the son of *Ismenius*, who was in reality the preceptor of *Hercules*. Hauptmann, who has written upon this subject, as I learn from Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 111., questions the account of Pausanias, according to Harles p. 112. r. *Linum Ismenii filium a Lino Apollinis filio male distingui a Pausania animadvertisit Hauptmannus.* But Pausanias rightly (with a view to the mythological account) distinguishes him from the son of *Amphimarus*. He mentions no *Linus* son of *Apollo* except the son of *Psamathe*, who perished in his infancy.

The works which bore the name of *Linus* were ascribed to the second *Linus*, son of *Urania*, by Hesiod apud Eustath. He is noticed again in Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 281. A. 'Ησίδος τὸν κιθαριστὴν Λίνον παντοίας σοφίας δεδηκότα εἰπάν. Heraclides apud Plutarch. and Laertius also refer them to the son of *Urania*. Sextus Empiricus p. 259. mentions among those who preceded Homer *Linus* τε καὶ Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσῶν. Celsus apud Origen. I. 16. affirms *Linus* καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Ὀρφέα—εἰς βίβλους κατατεῖσθαι τὰ ἑαυτῶν δύγματα. but Pausanias already quoted IX. 29. denies that any works of *Linus* existed, and consequently rejected these works as spurious. The poet-musician is called the son of *Apollo* by Virgil Eclog. IV. 57. and perhaps by Hyginus fab. 161. *Apollinis filius Linus ex Urania musa*; but he is taken for the son of *Psamathe* by Servius ad Virgil. l. c. and by Propertius II. 13, 8. *Inachio notior arte Lino*; which is contrary to the fables already noticed concerning *Psamathe*. Nonnus Dionys. XLI. p. 707. calls the poet *Linus Φοβήτιος Ἀρκάς ἀλήτης*: and, as *Linus* appears among the sons of *Lycaon* (see above p. 89), it seems probable that some legends reckoned this to be the poet. The other varieties in Suidas and Eustathius appear to refer themselves to the three *Linii* above mentioned. *Λίνος Χαλκιδεὺς Ἀπόλλωνς καὶ Τερψιχόρης* is *Linus III.* *Λίνος Καλλιστῆς* and *Linus ex Urania Musa* in Hygin. fab. 161. is *Linus II.* *Λίνος Νάρκισσος* is probably *Linus I.*

In the preceding testimonies where the accent *Λίνος* occurs it has been given, since the remark of Servius ad Virgil. l. c. shews that this accent was added. But that this was the wrong accent is evident from Homer, Hesiod, and Nonnus.

Orpheus is mentioned by Aristophanes Ran. 1032. in B. C. 405. He is then mentioned by Isocrates Busir. p. 223. 229. and by Plato Leg. III. p. 677. where he is named as of high antiquity: χίλια ἄρε' ὁ γέγονεν ἡ δις τισαῖτα ἔτη τὰ μὲν Δαιδάλῳ καταφανῆ, τὰ δὲ Ὁρφεῖ, τὰ δὲ Παλαιμῆσε, τὰ δὲ περὶ μουσικῶν Μαρσύν καὶ Ὄλύμπῳ. Ibid. VIII. p. 829. μῆδ ἀν ἥδισαν ἡ τὸν Θαμύρου τε καὶ Ὁρφέων ὑμῶν. Ion. p. 533. b. δότις περὶ μὲν Ὄλύμπου δεινός ἐστιν ἔξηγεισθαι ἡ περὶ Θαμύρου ἡ περὶ Ὁρφέως ἡ περὶ Φημίου τοῦ Ἰθακησίου φανερός. Protag. p. 315. a. κηλῶν ἀσπερ Ὁρφεύς. p. 316. d. πρόσχημα ποιεῖσθαι —τοῖς μὲν τοῖσιν, οἷον Ὁμηρόν τε καὶ Ἡσίδον καὶ Σιμωνίδην, τοῖς δὲ τελεταῖς τε καὶ χρησμῷδις, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τε Ὁρφέα καὶ Μουσῶν. He is mentioned again with Thamyris Rep. X. p. 620. Plato Cratyl. p. 402. b., after quoting Homer and Hesiod, adds, λέγει δέ που καὶ Ὁρφεὺς ὅτι

Ὀκεανὸς πρώτος καλλιέργος ἤρξε γάμειο,
ὅς ῥα κιστηρίτη ὁμοιότορα Τηθύν ὄπιεν.

But all the works ascribed to *Orpheus* were rejected by Aristotle as spurious: Cic. N. D. I. 38. *Orpheum poëtam docet Aristoteles nunquam fuisse, et hoc Orphicum carmen Pythagorei ferunt cuiusdam fuisse Cercopis.* The forgery was imputed by some to *Onomacritus*: Clemens Strom. I. p. 332. D. 'Ονομάκριτος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ τὰ εἰς Ὁρφέα φέρουμενα ποιήματα λέγεται εἶναι. Sextus Empir. p. 135. 'Ονομάκριτος ἐν τοῖς Ὁρφικοῖς. If they were forged by a Pythagorean, they were probably composed after the time of *Onomacritus*; for *Onomacritus* was contemporary with Pythagoras himself. Herodorus imagined two *Orphei* before the Trojan war. Others increased the number: see the passages in Lobeck Aglaopham, p. 355—357. But, as he justly remarks, *Hi Bisaltii et Odrysii Orphei inventi sunt ad componenda veterum scriptorum dissidia, quorum alii Orpheum Aristaei aequalem faciunt, alii Argonautis aggregant.*

Musaeus is the teacher of *Orpheus*: Clemens Strom. I. p. 332. D. 'Ορφεὺς ὁ συμπλεύσας Ἡρακλεῖ, Μουσῶν μαθητής, or the disciple: Syncell. p. 156. D. 'Ορφεὺς Θράξ ἐγνωρίζετο. τούτον μαθητής Μουσῶν ὁ Εὐρώπης πιστός. Pausan. X. 7, 1. 'Ορφέα σεμνολογίῃ τῇ ἐκ τελεταῖς καὶ ἐπὸν φρονήματος τοῦ ἄλλου καὶ Μουσῶν τῇ ἐς πάντα μιμήσει τοῦ Ὁρφέως. Suidas: Μουσῶν—ἐποτοίς, μαθητής Ὁρφέως, μᾶλλον δὲ πρεσβύτερος. Diod. IV. 25. Μουσῶν τοῦ Ὁρφέως νισσός. His works are mentioned with those of *Orpheus* by Aristophanes Ran. 1033. but the works ascribed to him were forged, or at least interpolated, by *Onomacritus*: Herodot. VII. 6. Πεισιστρατίδεων εἰ

mer^c. *Olympus* was referred to the age of *Orpheus*; but the works ascribed to him belonged to a later *Olympus*, whose time may be determined with better certainty, and who may be placed about 50 years after the Olympiad of *Coræbus*^d.

ἀναθεβάκτες ἐς Σοῦσα—ἔχοντες Ὀνομάκριτον [B.C. 485] ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον χρησμολόγου τε καὶ διαδέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίων.—ἔξηλασθε γάρ ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστρατίδεως ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνών, ἵνα αὐτοφόρρη φύλος ἦτο Δάσου τοῦ Ἐρμονός ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαῖαν χρηστούς—διὸ ἔξηλαστε μιν ὁ Ἰππάρχος, πρότερον χρεόμενος ταμάλιστα. *Onomacritus* was banished before B.C. 514, when *Hipparchus* died. But Clemens Strom. I. p. 332. D. places him too high: 'Ονομάκριτος κατὰ τὴν τῶν Πεισιστρατίδων ἀρχὴν περὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. Although we restore the correct date πεντηκοστὴν πέμπτην ὀλυμπιάδα, yet this will still be too early for the time of *Onomacritus* who was living in B.C. 485. Pausanias I. 22, 7. mentions *Onomacritus*: ἦν δὲ ἔτη μὲν ἐπελεῖσμαν κ. τ. λ. See the testimony quoted in the Tables B.C. 566. 3. Conf. IV. 1, 4. ἥμνος Μουσαίων Λυκομίδαις ποιῆσις ἐς Δήμητρα. The *Λυκομίδαι* were an old Athenian family: Plutarch. Themist. c. 1. ἐτι τοῦ Λυκομίδῶν γένους μετεῖχε δῆλον ἐστι κ. τ. λ. Hesych. *Λυκομίδαι*: γένος θεαγενῆς. They also sang the hymns ascribed to *Orpheus*: Pausan. IX. 30, 6.

It is not clear that *Linus* as a person was known to *Homer*, who mentions λίνων. It also seems probable that the author of the Hesiodean verses knew nothing of *Linus* son of *Psamathe*, since he makes the son of *Urania* the subject of the mournful song; but those lines indicate an early belief in the existence of a poet of the name of *Linus*. The allusions of *Aristophanes* and the forgeries of *Onomacritus* shew that *Orpheus* and *Museus* were believed to be ancient poets in the age of *Hipparchus*, and that this was still believed in the time of the Peloponnesian war.

Pamphos is mentioned with *Orpheus* and *Museus* by Philostratus Heroic. p. 693=98. (ί "Ομηρος") Ὁρφεός ἐν τολλοῖς τῶν κατὰ τὴν θεολογίαν ὑπερῆρη, Μουσαίων δὲ ἐν φύλαις χρησμῶν, καὶ μην καὶ Παμφῷ, σοφῶς μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντος δτι Ζεὺς, εἰν τὸ ζωογονῖν, καὶ δι' εὐ ἀντίσταται τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα, εὐηθέστερον δὲ χρησαμένου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ καταθεβλημένα ἔτη ἐς τὸν Δία φάσατος· ἐστι γάρ τὰ τῶν Παμφῷ ἔτη

Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε θεῶν, εἶλυμένε κόπερν
μηδείη τε καὶ ἰσπείη καὶ ἡμιονεῖη·
τὸν "Ομηρον ὁ Πρωτοτίθεν, φησιν ἐπάξιον τοῦ Διὸς ἔσαι
ἥμανον

Ζεῦ κύδιστε κ. τ. λ. [Il. β'. 412].

These lines were ascribed to *Orpheus* by others: see Boissonade ad Philostrat. p. 469. Lobeck Aglaopham. p. 745. *Pamphos* and *Orpheus* are

joined together by Pausanias IX. 27, 2. σφίσιν ἀμφοτέρους πεπομένα ἔστιν δις Ἱεράται, ἵνα ἐτι τοῖς δρωμένοις Λυκομίδαις [see note b] καὶ ταῦτα ἔδωσιν. As Philostratus believed the reputed works of *Orpheus* and *Museus* to be genuine, he is no good authority for the genuineness of *Pamphos*. Other hymns, however, of *Pamphos* are quoted by Pausanias: VII. 21, 3. Πάμφως, ἢς Ἀθηναῖος τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους ἥμνους ἐποίησεν [see IX. 29, 3. quoted p. 342], εἴναι φησι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα

ἴτινα τε δεσμῆρα νένν τ' θυκρηδέμιναν.
IX. 35, 1. Πάμφως μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ὁν ἴσης ἦσεν δις Χάριτας—Ομηρος δὲ (δημητρίευσε γάρ Χάριτας καὶ εἰτος) VIII. 35, 7. δοκεῖν δέ μοι, καὶ Πάμφως μαθὼν τι παρὰ Ἀρκάδων πρῶτος Ἀρτεμιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσιν ἀνθίσας Καλλιστην. These passages mark the opinion of his antiquity. But he was considered later than *Olen*: see p. 341. a. and yet older than *Narcissus*: Pausan. IX. 31, 6. Πάμφως γεγονὼς πολλοῖς πρότερον ἐπεσιν ἡ Νάρκισσος ὁ Θεσπιεὺς Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρας φησιν ἀρτασθίναι ταίζουσαν καὶ ἀνθιστούσαν κ. τ. λ. This hymn to *Ceres* is quoted again I. 39, 1. ἐποίησεν Πάμφως ἐπι τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι καθῆσας Δήμητρα μετὰ τὴν ἀρταγὴν τῆς παιδός κ. τ. λ. and III. 38, 3. —αἱ θυγατέρες αἱ Κελεοῦς καλοῦσι δὲ σφᾶς Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ομηρος [conf. Fac. ad loc.] Διογένειαν κ. τ. λ.

Two *Olympi* are distinguished by Plutarch Mus. p. 1133. 1134: Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῇ σιναγογῇ τῶν περὶ Φρυγίας [add this to the fragments in F. H. III. p. 539. 13] κρούματα "Ολυμπου ἔφη πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας κομίσαι—Ταχὺν δὲ πρῶτον αὐλῆσαι, εἴτα τὸν τούτου νόμον Μαρσίαν, εἴτα "Ολυμπου.—λέγεται τὸν προειρημένον "Ολυμπου αὐλῆσαι ὅπτα τῶν ἡ Φρυγίας τοῖησαι νόμον αὐλητικὸν εἰς "Απόλλωνα τὸν καλούμενον Πολυκέφαλον. εἴναι δὲ τὸν "Ολυμπου τοῦτον φασι ἔνα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου "Ολυμπου τοῦ Μαρσίου πεποικότες [l. cum Wytt. τοῦ πεποικότος] εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς νόμους. εἴδος γάρ [sc. Olympus Γ]—ταῦς νόμους τοὺς ἄρματικοὺς ἔξηνεγκει εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἵς νῦν χρῶνται οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐν ταῖς ἕρταις τῶν θεῶν. ἀλλα δὲ Κράτητος εἴναι φασι τὸν πολυκέφαλον νόμον, γεγονένου μαθητοῦ "Ολυμπου. δὲ Πρατίνας "Ολυμπου φησὶν εἴναι τοῦ πιντέρου τὸν νόμον τοῦτον. τὸν δὲ καλούμενον ἄρματον νόμον λέγεται τοῖησαι δὲ πρώτος "Ολυμπου δ Μαρσίου μαθητής.—ὅτι δ' ἐστὶν "Ολύμπου ὁ ἄρματιος νόμος ἐν τῇς Γλαύκου ἀναγραφῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν μάθοι ἀν τις· καὶ ἐτι γνωτη ὅτι Στηγεόρος δ Ἰμεραῖος—ἐμμηνόστοτο "Ολυμπου κ. τ. λ. Thaleetas also imitated *Olympus*: p. 1134. E. Ibid. "Ολυμπου δὲ, ὡς Ἀριστόζενος φησιν, ὑπολαμβάνεται ὑπὸ τῶν μουσικῶν τοῦ ἐναρμανίου γένους εὑρετής γεγενήσθαι.—φαίνεται δ' "Ολυμπου αὐλῆσαι μουσικὴν τῷ ἀγέντον τις καὶ ἀγρούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν εἰσαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀρχηγὸς

The *Epic cycle* described by Proclus and referred to by other grammarians commenced at the *Theogony*, proceeded through the heroic times, describing the actions of *Hercules* and

γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ καλῆς μουσικῆς. p. 1136. C. "Ολυμπον πρῶτων Ἀριστόκενος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ μουσικῆς [F. H. III. p. 473. f] ἐν τῷ Πίθαινι φησιν ἐπικύδειον αὐλῆσαι Λύδιστι. He is named with *Terpander* p. 1137. B. οὐδὲ δὲ ἄγνων οἱ περὶ Ὁλυμπον καὶ Τέρπανδρον καὶ οἱ ἀκαλούθησαντες τῇ τούτων προσιρέσει περιεῖλον τὴν πολυχορδίαν τε καὶ τοικιλίαν. μαρτυρεῖ γοῦν τὰ Ὁλύμπου τε καὶ Τερπάνδρου τοιμάτα. The power of his melody is mentioned by Aristotle Rep. VIII. 5. 5.—τῶν Ὁλυμπον μελῶν ταῦτα γάρ ἐμολογουμένις τοιεὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικάς. which is ascribed to the first *Olympus* by Plato Sympos. p. 215. b. ἡ Ὁλυμπος ζῆτε, Μαρσύεν δέγω τούτου διδάξαντες. Leg. III. p. 677. e. τὰ περὶ μουσικὴν Μαρσύη καὶ Ὁλύμπῳ. He is quoted by Aristophanes Equit. 9. Ὁλύμπου νόμον. where the Schoiliast (repeated by Suidas v. ξυνανίαν τεθήσαμεν) refers it to the disciple of *Marsyas*: ὃ δὲ Ὁλυμπος μουσικὸς ἦν, Μαρσύην μαθητής. And by the author of the Minos p. 318. b. Μαρσύας καὶ τὰ παιδικὰ αὐτοῦ Ὁλυμπος ὁ Φρύξ—τούτων δὲ καὶ τὰ αἰλῆματα διεύτατά ἔστι κ. τ. λ. Suidas: Ὁλυμπος Μαίαν, Μυσός, αὐλῆτής καὶ τοιητής μελῶν καὶ ἐλεγείων, ἡγεμὼν τε γενόμενος τῆς κρονικῆς μουσικῆς καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν αὐλῶν, μαθητής καὶ ἐράμενος Μαρσύεω—ἀκοντοῦ καὶ παιδὸς Τάγυνδος γέγονε δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὁ Ὁλυμπος. Philostratus Vit. Sophist. II. p. 574. Μαρσύας ἦρα Ὁλύμπου καὶ Ὁλυμπος τοῦ αὐλεῖν. Lucian. tom. IV. p. 138. οὐδὲ εἰ Μαρσύας ἡ Ὁλυμπος γενίσθεις μέλοιμι λαυδάνων. tom. VIII. p. 6. οὐδὲ γάρ τοις Μαρσύοις ἡ Ὁλύμπου κτητάμενος (αὐλῆς) αὐλῆστις ἀν μὴ μαθάν. Clemens Strom. I. p. 306. D. Φρύγες γάρ ηστην Ὁλυμπίες τε καὶ Μαρσύας. But p. 307. C. he seems to describe the same person: Ὁλυμπος ὁ Μυσός τὴν Λειανὰ δρυμοὺς ἐφιλοτέχνησεν. Dio Or. I. p. 44. οὐδὲ Μαρσύας αὐτὸς ἡ Ὁλυμπος. On *Marsyas* and *Olympus* conf. Burman. ad Ovid. Met. VI. 400. Perizon. ad Ἀelian. V. H. XIII. 21. Another *Olympus* is mentioned Suid. "Ολυμπος; Φρύξ γενέτερος, αὐλῆτής, γεγονὸς ἐπὶ Μίδων τῶν Γορδίων. and a third, "Ολυμπος ὁ τοὺς νόμους τῆς κιθαρεῖας ἐκθεῖς καὶ διδάξας. Eustathius ad Iliad. a'. p. 27. ult. names *Olympus* without referring to *Marsyas*: ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐλῆτῆς ὀνομαζόμενος Ὁλυμπος, οὐ μέμνηται δὲ κιθαρίς [sc. Equit. 9].

The first *Olympus* is placed by Hyginus fab. 273. with *Orpheus* and *Linus* in the second generation before the Trojan war, in the time of *Acastus* son of *Pelias*, who celebrated games at which vicit *Olympus* *Marsyas* discipulus tibiis, *Orpheus* Εαγρι filius cithara, *Linus* *Apollinis* filius cantu, *Eumolpus* *Neptuni* filius ad *Olympi* tibias voce. The Parian Marble No. 10. 14. throws them back to a higher point, placing

Hyagnis 297 and *Orpheus* 190 years before the Trojan era. But the testimonies which Plutarch has produced make it clear that the minstrel whose compositions charmed in the time of *Aristophanes* and *Plato* and *Aristotle* was a younger *Olympus*, who flourished in the reign of *Midas*. And the time of *Midas* is determined by Eusebius. The mythological *Midas* preceded the time of *Marsyas*, since he is placed by Eusebius Chron. II. 128 years before the Trojan era: Anno 707 [697 Hieron.] *Midas in Phrygia regnavit*. or was contemporary: Justin. XI. 7. *Post Gordium filius Mida regnavit, qui ab Orpheo sacrorum solemnibus initiatuſ Phrygiam religionibus implevit*. Clem. Al. Protr. p. 10. B. ὁ Φρύξ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Μίδας ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Ὁδρίσου μαθών. Conon Narr. 1. *Ορφέως κατὰ Πιέριαν τὸ ὄρος ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος*. Hyginus fab. 191. *Midas rex Mygdonius filius matris deae—eo tempore quo Apollo cum Marsya vel Pane fistula certavit: quod cum Timolus victoriam Apollini daret, Midas dixit Marsya potius dandam, &c.* The younger *Olympus* therefore belonged to the time of a later *Midas*, whose reign is fixed by Eusebius Chron. II. Anno 1278 Ol. 10. 3 [B. C. 738]. In *Phrygia regnat Midas. Anno 1321 Ol. 21. 2* [B. C. 695]. *Midas Phrygia rex taurino sanguine epoto mortuus est.* In Hieronymus annis 1280—1320 B. C. 736—696. Perhaps to this *Midas* Hellanicus referred the time of *Terpander*, which Clemens seems to understand of the earlier *Midas*: see the Tables B. C. 676. The dates of Eusebius are confirmed by Strabo I. p. 61. οἱ τε Κιμμέριοι—πόλλακις ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ Παρθαγόνας ποτὲ δὲ καὶ Φρύγας ἐμβαλότες· ἥνικα Μίδας αἴμα τι ταύρου πίνεται φασὶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ χρεῶν. Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 79. thinks that Strabo contradicts the date of Eusebius: *Si qua fides Straboni, male hic assignatur mors Midæ, quem Strabo dicat tunc hoc contigisse quem Cimmerii Asiam inundarent anno 939. Sane Mida vetustior est Ol. 1^a annis plus quam 200, aequalis Homero, quod quidem epigramma illud ostendit, χαλκῆ παρθένος, εἰρί κ. τ. λ.* Hoc enim epigramma epitaphio ejus Homerūs—condidit. Scaliger is followed by Menag. ad Laert. I. 90. and by Maio ad Euseb. p. 324. *Strabo multo ante contigisse eam rem innuit, nempe sub Cimmeriorum incursionem anno 939.* But the Cimmerians frequently invaded Asia within a period of 260 years: see the Tables B. C. 635. 617. and especially within the years B. C. 784—635. a period containing the whole reign of *Midas*. And Strabo does not limit their

Theseus, the Theban and Trojan wars, the fortunes of the Grecian chiefs after the fall of Troy, and concluded with the return of *Ulysses* to Ithaca and the adventures of his son *Telagonus*^e. The poets by whom this series of actions was described were called the cyclic poets, and their works the cyclic poems^f. All the works, however, in which these subjects were

incursions to a single point. He affirms πολλάκις ἐπίγραμον. The date, then, of Eusebius for the death of *Midas* B. C. 696 is perfectly consistent with Strabo. Eustathius indeed ad *Odyss.* λ'. p. 1671, 20, observes, ἔθνος Σκυθικόν—οὐτεπ ἀπόμοιρα λέγεται ποτε μικρόν τι πρὸ Ομύρου, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐκ τῶν Κυμαίων βοστέρων ὄρηθεῖσα (Τρῆρες δέ, φασιν, ἐκλοῦντο) πολλὴν τῆς Ἀστας καταδραμεῖν καὶ τὰς Σάρδεις ἔλειν, καὶ τῶν Μαγνήτων δὲ πολλοὺς ἀνελεῖν τῶν κατὰ τὸν Μαιάνδρον· ἐμβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ Φρύγας· δὲ καὶ Μίδας λέγεται αἷμα τάφρου πιὼν, ὃς Θειοστάκης ὑστερος [Plutarch. Flaminin. c. 20. Themist. c. 31. Aristoph. Equit. 84], εἰς τὰ χρειάν ἀπελθεῖν. But Eustathius has blended together two distinct passages of Strabo, namely I. p. 6. quoted in the Tables B. C. 635, and the present passage. The other argument of Scaliger is founded on the life of *Homer* ascribed to *Herodotus* c. 11. But those verses are ascribed to *Cleobulus* of *Lindus* by Laërt. I. 90, who adds, οὐ γὰρ ἔναι 'Ομύρου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρόχοτος (φασι) τὸν Μίδαν, thus confirming the date of Eusebius for *Midas*. *Herodotus* I. 14. mentions *Midas* who made offerings at Delphi before *Gyges*: ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναβίματα, μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίεων Φρυγίης βασιλῆα· ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης κ. τ. λ. rightly referred to the second *Midas* by Wesseling and Larcher ad loc. for in the time of the first *Midas* Delphi probably had not received offerings. But the time marked by Eusebius is consistent; for *Gyges* began to reign according to these dates in the 23rd year of *Midas*. A third *Midas* occurs in *Herodot.* I. 35. 45. who lived two generations before *Cræsus*, since *Adrastus* was "Ἄδραστος ὁ Γορδίεων τοῦ Μίδεων, τοῦ βασιλήτου γένεος. If this *Midas* was king of Phrygia (which *Herodotus* does not affirm), he might begin to reign about B. C. 600, nearly a century after the death of *Midas II.* a period too late for the time of the minstrel *Olympus*, who must accordingly be referred to the reign of *Midas II.*, and his ἀκμὴ may be placed within B. C. 738—700; about 50 or 60 years before the time of *Terpander*. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 365. makes them contemporary; for which there is no authority, since this is not said in Plutarch p. 1137. B. already quoted. On the contrary, *Thaletas* who preceded *Terpander* imitated *Olympus*.

^e See Casaubon ad *Athen.* VII. p. 277. d. in Schweighæuser. tom. IX. p. 21. The account

of Proclus apud Photium Cod. 239. p. 378. Gaisford. is this: Ιαλαμβάνει περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐπικοῦ κύκλου, ὃς ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς μιθολογιμένης μίκης, ἐξ ἣς αὐτῷ καὶ τρεῖς παῖδας γεννῦσιν ἐκανταχειρεῖς καὶ τρεῖς ἔτερους ἀποτίκτους: Κύκλωπας. διεξέρχεται δὲ περὶ θεού ταῦτα τοῖς "Ελλήσις μιθογούμενα καὶ εἰς τοὺς τι καὶ πρὸς ιστορίαν ἔχαλαζίζεται. καὶ περιστοῦτα δὲ ἐπικοῦ κύκλος ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν συμπληρύμενος, μέχρι τῆς ἀποβάσεως 'Οδυσσέως τῆς εἰς Ίθάκην· ἐν δὲ τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς Τηλεγόνου ἀγνοοῦντος ὃς πατὴρ εἴη κτείνεται. λέγει δὲ ὃς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασύζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὃς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων. λέγει καὶ τὰ ὄντα καὶ τὰς πατρίδας τῶν πραγματευταμένων τὸν ἐπικὸν κύκλον. The last eight poems in the series are named in the fragments apud Gaisford. p. 471—489. ἐπιβάλλει [sc. Proclus] τούτοις τὰ λεγομένα Κύπερια ἐν βιβλίοις φέρμενα ἑνδεκα—ἐπιβάλλει δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις 'Ιλιάδα 'Ομήρου μεβ' ἦν ἀστίν Αἰθιοπίδας βιβλία εἱ 'Αρκτίου Μιλησίου —ἔξης δὲ ἐστίν 'Ιλιάδος μικρᾶς βιβλία τέσσαρα Λέσχεων Μιτιληναίου—ἔπειτα δὲ τούτοις 'Ιλιου πέρσιδος βιβλία β' 'Αρκτίου Μιλησίου—συνάπτει δὲ τούτοις τὰ τῶν Νέστων βιβλία εἱ Αἰγαίου Τροιζηνίου—μετὰ ταῦτα ἔστιν 'Ομήρου 'Οδύσσεια. ἔπειτα Τηλεγονίας βιβλία δύο Εὐγάμμωνος Κυρηναίου.

^f The poets are cyclic: Etymol. Νεκάδες: παρὰ τοῖς κυκλοῖς αἱ ψυχαὶ νεκάδες λέγεται. Schol. Hom. II. γ'. 242. τ'. 326. ψ'. 346. 660. ἡ ιστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλοῖς. II. ψ'. 346. 'Ομύρος μὲν ὁπλῶς κ. τ. λ. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀρπιλίας αὐτὸν [sc. Adrastus equum] γενεαλογοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἐρινός. Schol. Odyss. λ'. 547. ἡ ιστορία ἐκ τῶν κυκλῶν. Hor. A. P. 136. scriptor cyclicus oīm "Fortunam Priami" &c. The poems are cyclic: Schol. Odyss. β'. 120. Μυκήνη Ινάρχου θυγάτηρ καὶ Μελίας τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ· ἡς καὶ Ἀρέστορος Ἀργος, ὃς ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ φέρεται. From Pausan. II. 16, 3. we learn that this was in the Ἡοῖαι μεγάλαι: whence it seems that this poem was received into the κύκλος. Schol. Odyss. δ'. 285. ὁ Ἀντικλος ἐκ τῶν κυκλῶν. Schol. Soph. CEd. C. 1375. Athen. XI. p. 465. f. τὴν κυκλικὴν Θηβαΐδα. The whole body of poetry was called κύκλος: Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 1053. τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν κυκλῶν ἀφείλκυται. sc. καὶ κε γηνὴ φέροι ὄχθος, ἐπει τεν ἀντρὸν ἀναβεῖν, from the *Ilias parva* of Lesches. Proclus in vita Homeri: οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὰ κύκλου ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς αὐτόν. Schol. Eur. Or. 1376. καθάπερ ἐν κύκλῳ λέγει. where the *Ilias parva* is intended: see the Tables B. C. 765.

treated were not included in the epic cycle. But, although all were not included, the epic cycle differed from the greater part of the poems in the third class only in name. In that cycle, which was probably formed by the Alexandrian critics⁵, it was proposed to exhibit a

⁵ The formation of the epic cycle must be referred to a much earlier period if the κύκλος was described under that name by *Dionysius of Miletus*. But the literary history of that *Dionysius*, or rather of three *Dionysii* connected with this subject, requires to be carefully considered. According to Suidas *Dionysius of Milesus*, who flourished in B. C. 520, and *Dionysius of Mytilenae* called *Scytobrachion*, who lived about B. C. 100, treated similar subjects of the mythological period. According to Athenaeus, *Dionysius of Samos* composed a κύκλος. Diodorus refers to *Dionysius*, without naming which, for the history of *Bacchus*, the *Amazons*, the *Argonauts*, and the Trojan war. The Scholiast upon Apollonius on the affairs of the Argonauts names the *Milesian* six times and the *Mytilenae* twice. The passages of Suidas and of Diodorus have been given in F. H. II. p. 371. III. p. 559. and need not be repeated here. But many eminent critics who have examined these passages have arrived at very opposite conclusions upon them. Jonsius Script. Hist. Phil. p. 251. suspects that the *Dionysius* of Diodorus may be *Scytobrachion*: *Huc forte resperxit Diodorus*. Wesseling on the contrary ad Diod. tom. II. p. 537, pronounces that Diodorus referred to the ancient *Milesian Dionysius*, and that his κύκλος ιστορικὸς contained the particulars described by Diodorus. He considers Diod. IV. 41. and Apollodorus I. 9, 19. to be drawn from the *Milesian*: tom. III. p. 495. *Puto Diodorum vestigium Dionysii Milesii, quo de III. 66., inhæsisse, Herculi Argonautarum principatum contribuentis in Apollod.* I. 8 [I. 9], 19. Again at IV. 48. for Ἰφτόν he reads Ἰφν, and observes, *mea correctionis fidem præstabit Dionysius Milesius in Schol. Apollon. IV. 223.* *Hæc conjecturam affirman et suspicionem in quam ingressus sum de Dionysio Diodori duce ratam habent.* At IV. 49. Βύζαντος he finds another coincidence: *Id ad hunc locum opportunum est, Dionysium Milesium auctorem esse Byzantii Jasonis et Medeæ nuptias fuisse sociatas in Schol. Apollon. IV. 1154.* Heyne ad Apollod. p. 980. pronounces that Apollod. I. 9, 19. refers to the *Milesian*; that the *Milesian* is quoted by Athenaeus under the name of the *Samian*; that he composed a κύκλος μυθικός, and that this is the work which Diodorus quotes. Wesseling and Heyne have been followed in II. p. 371. and III. p. 559. and many others after their opinion (as Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 378. qq) have held that *Dionysius the Milesian*, *Dionysius the Sa-*

mian, and *Dionysius* quoted by Diodorus, were the same person. Mr. Bernhardy ad *Dionys. Perieg.* p. 490. 491. considers the *Milesian* and the *Samian* to be the same person, but contends that the accounts of Diodorus are derived from the *Mytilenæan*: *Quis est quin, etiam Suida collato, Dionysium agnoscat Mytilenæum, cui et studia hujuscemodi convenerint et argutula doctæ Alexandriæ subtilitas et industria, Milesium vero ab isto literarum instituto penitus abhorruisse intelligat?* And he concludes that Apollodorus also quoted *Scytobrachion*: *Quæ si vere pronuntiavimus, tum multi loci medicinam expectant, ut Scholiorum in Apollonium, tum Scytobrachion Apollodori tempora excedit.* Mr. Lobeck Aglaophamus p. 990. concurs in the opinion that Diodorus drew from the *Mytilenæan*. He argues with much force that the strain of interpretation applied to ancient fables in Diod. III. 65—69. is such as could not have been written before the time of Euhemerus, and that these interpretations consequently proceeded from the later *Dionysius*; that Diodorus IV. 47—τὸν δὲ παδαγωγὸν ὄντα μάζευσεν Κρίον—agrees with Schol. Apollon. IV. 177. quoting Διονύσιος ὁ Μιτυληναῖος. It must be observed, however, that this passage is three times quoted in Schol. Apollon., namely I. 256. II. 1144. and IV. 119. without the addition of Μιτυληναῖος; and that such an interpretation as this of Κρίος was sometimes adopted by early writers appears from Plato *Phædro* p. 229. c. d. referred to by Lobeck himself. Mr. Lobeck observes that the question is further involved by the mention of another *Dionysius*: *quod Dionysius Olynthius de Homeri etate disputasse dicitur Tatiano c. 48.*

The arguments of Bernhardy and Lobeck have made it most probable that Diodorus in III. 65—67. follows the *Mytilenæan*. Apollodorus I. 9, 19. supplies no internal evidence to determine from which *Dionysius* he is quoting: Διονύσιος μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἡγεμόνα φησὶ τῶν Ἀργονατῶν γενέσθαι. But the later *Dionysius* was not below his time. He who could quote *Castor* (F. H. III. p. 546) might quote *Scytobrachion*, who probably preceded *Castor*. The Scholiast upon Apollonius might draw from both *Dionysii*, and then the two passages in which Μιτυληναῖος occurs will require no correction. Of *Dionysius Olynthius* it must be remarked that he lived before *Ephorus*: Tatian. p. 106. περὶ Ὁμέρου—προπείνησαν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι κ. τ. λ.—Ἡρόδοτός τε ὁ Ἀλικαρναστεῖς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ὀλύμβιος μετ' ἑκείνους Ἐφερός. The

connected series. When two or more poems were found upon the same argument, only one would be received. The compilers of the collection, when a choice was offered, would select that which was most convenient for their purpose. Hence Proclus observes that the poems of this collection were not chosen for their poetical merit, but for their fitness in supplying the connexion. The works, then, which were omitted were not of less authority than the others. The *Theogony* of *Hesiod* was not inferior to the poem of that title which was received into the cycle. The *'Ηράκλεια* of *Cinæthon* and the *'Ηράκλεια* of *Pisander* were of equal value in the eyes of the ancient critics as records of the acts of *Hercules*. The selection of one would be no disparagement to the other. But when this epic cycle was once formed, it would naturally happen that the works contained in it would be more generally read than the others; and the cyclic poems would be preserved while others had perished. Hence the whole collection survived till the time of *Proclus*, and was consequently extant at least as late as A.D. 450, when *Proclus* was forty years of age.

The works included in the cycle were not arranged with reference to the order of time in which they were composed, but solely with reference to the order of events. Before, however, we consider the poets themselves in their chronological order, it will be advantageous to survey the principal ancient poems the titles of which remain; placing them in the order pre-

testimonies to the author of the κύκλος; are these: Schol. Eur. Phœn. 1116. Διωνίσιος ἐν τῷ πρότυ τῶν κύκλων βύρσαι αὐτὸν [sc. Argum. πανόπτην] ἡμφίεσθαι φησὶ καὶ κύκλῳ τὸ σῶμα ὄνος ἀμματόσθαι. Schol. Pindar. Isthm. IV. 109. περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ (τῶν 'Ηρακλέους; ἐκ Μεγάρας ταῖς) διαλλέπτοντι. Διωνίσιος μὲν ἐν πρότυ κύκλων Θηρίαχος καὶ Δημόκωντα. Clemens Al. Protrept. p. 30. D. τολλοὶ δὲ ἀντάχα τοι θαυμάστεις εἰ μέβονται τὸ Παλλάδιον τὸ διοτετές καλούμενον, ὃ Διορῆδης καὶ 'Οδυσσεὺς ιστοροῦνται μὲν ὑφελέσθαι ἀπὸ 'Ιλίου, παρακαταβόθαι δὲ Δημοφῶντι, ἐκ τοῦ Πέλοπος δοτῶν κατεσκευάσθαι—καὶ δὴ τὸν ιστοροῦντα Διωνίσιον ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ μέρει τοῦ κύκλου ταριστόμην. Athen. XI. p. 477. d. Διωνίσιος ὁ Σάρμος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ 'Ομηρικὸν κιστύνιον κυμβίον ἔφη, γράφων ὅτις “Καὶ αὐτὸν 'Οδυσσεὺς ὅπον ταῖτα ποιῶντα τελγράτας τοῦ σίνου κυμβίον δίδωσι πειν.” p. 481. e. Διωνίσιος ὁ Σάρμος ἐν ἔκτῳ περὶ τοῦ κύκλου—φησὶν ὁς 'Οδυσσεὺς πληρώσας κυμβίον ἀκράτου ὥρεξε τῷ Κύκλωντι. Tzetzes ad Hesiод. Opp. p. 15. τὸν τολλαῖον δὲ 'Ομηρον Διωνίσιος δικυκλογράφος φησὶν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους ὑπάρχειν τῶν Θηβαϊκῶν στρατειῶν καὶ τῆς 'Ιλίου ἀλλόστοις. Idem Chil. XII. 184. ὃ κατὰ Διωνίσιον ἄνδρα τὸν κυκλογράφον ἐπὶ τοῦ δύο στρατειῶν λεγόμενος ὑπάρχειν Θηβαϊκῆς Ἐλλήνων τε τῆς διὰ τὴν Ἐλένην. Διόδωρος τε σύντροχα λέγει Διωνίσῳ. Schol. Eur. Or. 988. λόχευμα: ἀκολουθεῖν δοκεῖ τῷ τὴν Ἀλκμασινδᾶ πεπονιστὶ εἰ; τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄρνα, ὡς καὶ Διωνίσιος δικυκλογράφος φησι. There can be no doubt that all these passages refer to the same *Dionysius*. But the last establishes that the κυκλογράφος was not the Milesian. For as he remarked upon the *Orestes* of Euripides, he must have written after B. C. 408; more than a century below the first notice of the early historian *Dionysius of Miletus*. And that early historian

wrote in Ionic; but there are no vestiges of this dialect in the short sentence quoted by Athenaeus. It follows then that the Samian *Dionysius* author of the κύκλος was a different person from the Milesian; and yet distinct from *Scyto-brachion*, who is mentioned by Athenaeus on another occasion XIII. p. 515. d. We may conjecture that the κυκλογράφος flourished in the times of the Alexandrian critics, and that after they had formed the epic cycle he described the arguments in a work in prose. In the first book he related the tale of *Io*; in the fifth he had arrived at the Trojan war, and in the sixth at the adventures of *Ulysses*. It is not unlikely that κύκλος ιστορικὸς ἐν βιβλίοις ἐπτὰ was this very work of the κυκλογράφος, ascribed to the Milesian by a mistake of Suidas.

According to Salmasius Exerc. Plin. p. 597. A. B. 602. B. 603. E. Aristotle referred to the epic cycle by the name of κύκλος. Sophist. Elench. tom. I. p. 292. A.=p. 171. a. Bekk.=tom. III. p. 558 Buhle: ὅτι ἡ 'Ομηρον πόντοις σχῆμα διὰ τοῦ κύκλου. But the term κύκλος is here used by Aristotle in another sense, not in the technical sense which it afterwards acquired; and it will not justify Salmasius in substituting Ειμέλον for 'Ομηρον. In the expression quoted above from Proclus, οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὸν κύκλον ἀναφέρονται εἰς 'Ομηρον, Proclus merely describes by a term familiar in his own time the 'Ιλιάς μικρά, Θηβαΐς, Κτενία, and other poems, which some of the ancients attributed to Homer; but it does not follow that these were known to the ancients by the appellation of κύκλος.

scribed by *Proclus*. The following catalogue contains nearly all the titles of the cyclic poems; but as it cannot now be known in every case, when more than one upon the same subject occurs, which was received and which omitted, there are some in this list which did not belong to the cycle.

§. 1. Θεογονία. The cyclic Θεογονία was distinguished from that of *Hesiod*^h.

§. 2. Τιτανομαχία. Eusebius quoted in note^h. Athen. VII. p. 277. d. ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν ποιήσας, εἴτ' Εὔμηλός ἐστιν ὁ Κορίνθιος ἡ Ἀρκτῖνος ἡ ὅστις δῆποτε χαίρει ὄνομαζόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ οὕτως εἰρηκεν·

ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ τλετοὶ χρυσώπιδες ἰχθύες ἔλλοι
νήχοντες ταΐζουσι δι' ὥδας ἀμφρόσιο.

ἔχαιρε δὲ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς τῷ ἐπικῷ κύκλῳ, ὡς καὶ ὅλα δράματα ποιῆσαι κατακολουθῶν τῇ ἐν τούτῳ μιθοποιίᾳⁱ.

§. 3. Γιγαντομαχία. Euseb. l. c. Schol. Apollon. I. 554. ὁ τὴν Γιγαντομαχίαν ποιήσας φησὶν ὅτι ὁ Κρόνος μεταμορφωθεὶς εἰς ἵππον ἐμίγη Φιλύρᾳ τῇ Ὄχεανοῦ· διόπερ καὶ ἱπποκένταυρος ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χείρων.

These three titles are arranged with certainty. In the next fourteen poems the order is not so evident. Some of them describe contemporary actions; others embrace long periods of time.

§. 4. Ναυπάκτικά. So named from the author, as the Κύπρια were named from the author^k.

The Ἡοῖαι μεγάλαι, which were on the same subject as the Ναυπάκτια, will be considered below, among the poems attributed to *Hesiod*.

§. 5. Φορωνίς^l.

^h Philo Byblius apud Euseb. Præp. I. 10. p. 39. D. ἔνθεν Ἱσίδος οἱ τε κυκλοὶ περιηχμένοι: θεογονίας καὶ γιγαντομαχίας καὶ Τιτανομαχίας ἔτλασαν ίδιας; καὶ ἑκτοράς, οἱ συμπεριφερόμενοι ἔκεινησαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

ⁱ Schol. Apollon. I. 1165. Εὔμηλος ἐν τῇ Τιτανομαχίᾳ τὸν Αἰγαίον Γῆν; καὶ Πόντου φησὶ ταῖδα, κατοκύντα δὲ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τοῖς Τιτᾶσι συμμαχεῖν. To the Τιτανομαχία we may probably refer the line in Athen. I. p. 22. c. where the same doubt of Atheneus occurs as to the author: Εὔμηλος ὁ Κορίνθιος ἡ Ἀρκτῖνος [conf. Schweigh. ad loc.] τὸν Δλαρχούμενόν τον παρέγει λέγων

μέστουσιν δὲ ὀργήστε πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

^k Pausan. X. 38. 6. τὰ δὲ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια ἀνομάζουσαν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀνδρὶ ἐσταισθνοὶ οἱ πόλεις Μιλησίη. Χάρων δὲ ὁ Πύθεων φησὶν αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι Ναυπάκτιον Καρκίνον. ἐπόμενα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ δόξῃ· τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἔχει ἀντεστον ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου πεποιημένος ἐς γνωῖκας τεθῆναι σφισιν ὄνομα Ναυπάκτια; Schol. Apollon. II. 299. τοῦτο δέ φησι καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ τὰ Ναυπάκτικά (sic) ποιήσας. Perhaps the Milesian to whom some attributed this poem was called *Neoptolemus*. Pausan. IV. 2, 1. πυθίσθαι θελήσας οἵτινες ταῖδες Πολυκάρον ἐγένοτο ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ἐπελεχάμψη τάς τε Ἡοίας καλονυμένας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὺς ὀπόσσα. Κνωίθων καὶ

"Αισις ἐγενεαλόγησαν. II. 3, 7. ἔπη δὲ ἔστιν ἐν Ἑλλησι: Ναυπάκτια ὄνομαζόμενα· πεποίηται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰάσονα ἐξ Ἰωλοῦ μετὰ τὸν Πελίου θάνατος ἐς Κόρκυραν μετοιήσαι κ. τ. λ. Apollod. III. 10, 3. (εἶρον δὲ ἀναστῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ) Ἰππόλυτον, ὃς δὲ τὰ Ναυπάκτικὰ συγγράψας λέγει. Herodian. περὶ μον. λέξ. p. 15. παρὰ τῷ τὰ Ναυπάκτικὰ ποιήσαντι:

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ηνοῦσθαι στασῆς εὐρυτόρῳ
οἰκία γαιετάσκε πολύβρην, ποιλυβοῶτης.

Schol. Apollon. III. 515. cod. Par. ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος τρεῖς μόνους λέγει ὑποστῆναι ζεῦκται τοὺς βόες, ὁ δὲ τὰ Ναυπάκτια ποιήσας πάντας ἀριθμεῖ τοὺς—ἀριστεῖς. 523. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ναυπάκτιοις "Ιδμων ἀναστὰς Ἰάσονα κεκλεῖς ὑποστῆναι τὸν δόλον. IV. 59. παρὰ τῷ τὰ Ναυπάκτικά πεποιηκότι οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ίδιαν προαιρέσιν ἔκεινσα η Μήδεια, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἔστιαν καλονυμένη κ. τ. λ. IV. 86. ὁ δὲ τὰ Ναυπάκτικά πεποιηκός—

δὴ τότε ἀρ Αἰγήτη πόθον ἔμβαλε δι' Ἀφροδίτην
Εύρυλύτης φιλότητη μιγγίμεναι, ἢς ἀλόχοιο,
κηδομένη φρεσὶν ἥσιν, ὅπας μετ' αἰελοῖς Ἰήσων
ιοστήσῃ οἰκόνδε σὺν ἀγχεμάχοις ἐτάροισιν.

ὁ δὲ "Ιδμων συῆκε τὸ γεγονός καὶ φησί·
φευγέμεναι μεγάρου θύην διὰ νόκτα μέλαιναν.
τὴν δὲ Μήδειαν τὴν ποδοφοίλαν ἀκούσασαν ἀναστᾶσαν
ἐξορμῆσαι.

^l Schol. Apollon. I. 1129. ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα συνθεὶς,
γράφων [γράφει cod. Par.] οὗτος·

- §. 6. Δαναΐς ^{m.}
 §. 7. Κορινθιακά. See the Tables B. C. 744.
 §. 8. Ἀλκμαιωνίς ^{n.}
 §. 9. Αἰγίμιος ^{o.}
 §. 10. Ἡράκλεια *Cinæthonis*. See the Tables B. C. 765.
 §. 11. Ἡράκλεια *Pisandri*. See the Tables B. C. 647.
 §. 12. Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις ^{p.}

—ένθα γόντες

Ίδαιοις Φρύγες ἄνδρες δρέστεροι οἰκί¹ ἔνθαι,
 Κέλμις Δαμανιανεύς τε μέγας καὶ ὑπέρβιος² Ἀκμῶν,
 εὐπάλαιμοι θεράποντες δρέις³ Ἀδρόστεις·
 οἱ πρότοι τέχην πολυμητίος⁴ Ἡφαίστου
 ἐνρῷ ἐν οὐραίσι οὐπάται, ιόντα σιδηρος,
 ἐξ πῦρ τ' ἡγεκαν καὶ ἀριτρεπὲς ἔργον ἔδειξαν.

Strabo X. p. 472. ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα στέψας [γράφας Casaubonus aliique] αὐλητὰς καὶ Φρύγας τὸν Κορηταῖς λέγει. Clemens Strom. I. p. 321. A. ὁ τῆς Φορωνίδος ποιητής εἶναι αὐτὸν [sc. *Phoroneum*] ἐφη πατέρα θητῶν ἀνθράπων. Idem p. 349. A. γράφει γοῦν ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα ποιήσας
 Καλλιθέη κλειδοῦχος Ὀλυμπιαδός βασιλείης,
 "Ηρης Ἀργείης, ἡ στέμματι καὶ θυσάνοις:
 πρώτη κόσμησεν περὶ κίλανα μακρὸν ἀνάστησης.
 ἢν Harpocr. αὐτόχθονες:—ὅ δὲ Πίλαρος καὶ ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα πεποιηκός φασιν Ἐριχθόνιον ἐκ Γῆς καὶ Ἡφαίστου φαῆται. Clem. Al. Strom. IV. p. 522. C. λέγει ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τῶν Δαναῶν θυγατέρων ὅδε:
 καὶ τότε⁵ ἀρ ὥπλίζοντο θῶς Δαναοῖς θύγατρες
 πρόσθεν ἐύρρεος ποταμοῖς Νείλου ἀνάκτος,
 καὶ τὰ ἔης.

■ Apollod. I. 8, 5. Τυδεὺς—ἔφυγαδειθη, κτείνα—
 ὃς ὁ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα [Ἀλκμαιωνίδα Bentl. ad Mill. p. 17] γεγράφος τοὺς Μέλανος παῖδας, ἐπιβουλεύοντας Οἰνεῖ, Φηρέα, Εὐρύαλον, κ. τ. λ. Strabo X. p. 452. ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα γράφας Ἰκαρίον τοῦ Πηγελάπης πατρὸς νείς γενέσθαι δύο, Ἀλυζέα καὶ Λευκάδιον⁶ δινοστεύσας δέ ἐν τῇ Ἀκαρνανίᾳ τούτους μετὰ τῶν πατρές. Schol. Eur. Or. 988. ἀκολουθεῖν δοκεῖ τῇ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα πεποιηκότι— ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα γράφας τὸν πομένα προσαγαγόντα τὸ ποίμνιον τῷ Ἀτρεῖ ἀνταποκαλεῖ. Athen. XI. p. 460. b. ὁ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα δὲ ποιήσας φησιν:

—νέκους δὲ χαμαιστράτους ἐπὶ θινὸς
 εὐρείης στιβάδος πρέσθηκ⁷ αὐτοῖσι θάλειαν
 δαιτα ποτήριά τε, στεφάνους τ' ἐπὶ κρασὶν ἔθκεν.
 Schol. Eur. Androm. 678. καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα πεποιηκὼς φησὶ περὶ τοῦ Φόκεων:
 ἔνθα μὲν ἀντίθεος Τελαμὸν τροχοειδὲς δίσκῳ
 πλῆκε κάρη, Πηλεὺς δὲ θῶς ἀνὰ χείρα τανύστας
 ἀξιην εὐχαλκον ἐπεπλήγει μετὰ νῦτα.
 ○ Athen. XI. p. 503. d. καὶ ὁ τὸν Αἴγιμον δὲ ποιήσας, εἴθ⁸ Ἡσίοδος ἐστιν ἡ Κέρκωφ ὁ Μιλήσιος,
 ἔνθα πότε⁹ ἔσται ἐμὲν ψυκτήριον, ὥρχημε λαῶν.

Schol. Eur. Phœn. 1116. ὁ δὲ τὸν Αἴγιμον ποιήσας φησι:

καὶ εἰ ἐπίσκοπον¹⁰ Ἄργον ἴει κρατερὸν τε μέγαν τε,
 τέτρασιν ὄφθαλμοσιν δράμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
 ἀκάματον δέ οἱ ἄρσε θεὰ μένος, οὐδέ οἱ ὑπονος
 πίπτεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροις, φιλακὴ θέξεν ἔμπεδον αὐτὸν.

Schol. Apollon. III. 587. ὁ τὸν Αἴγιμον ποιήσας διὰ

τὸ δέρας τὸν Φρίξον αὐθαιρέτας φησὶ προσδεχθῆναι. IV.

816. ὁ τὸν Αἴγιμον ποιήσας ἐν δευτέρῳ φησὶν ὅτι ἡ Θέτις

εἰς λέβητα θάτος ζέντα εὑνέβαλε τοὺς ἐκ Πηλέων γενομένους αὐτῇ παῖδας, βουλομένη εἰδέναι εἰ θυητοὶ εἰσιν.

Steph. Byz. Ἀβάντις, ἡ Εὔβοια. ὡς Ἡσίοδος ἐν Αἴγι^{**}

δευτέρῳ [ἐν Αἴγιμοιο δευτέρῳ Jac. Gronovius] περὶ

Ίοῦς:

— μῆσφ ἐν Ἀβάντιδι δίη,
 τὴν πρὶν Ἀβάντιδα κικλησκον θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔοντες,
 τὴν τότε¹¹ ἐπώνυμον Εὔβοιαν θόδος ὀνόμαστε Ζεύς.

On the argument of the Αἴγιμος see Groddeck quoted by Harles ad Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 592. If this poem included the return of the *Heraclidae* into Peloponnesus, as Groddeck supposes, it could scarcely have been a cyclic poem, since the κύκλος terminated at the death of *Ulysses* about 60 years before.

■ Strabo IX. p. 438. ζητοῦσι μάλιστα τίς ἦν ἡ ἵππος Ἡρακλέων ἀλέσια, καὶ περὶ τίνος συνέγραψεν ὁ ποιήσας τὴν Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσιν. Generally ascribed to *Ceophylus*: Strabo XIV. p. 638. Σάμιος δὲ¹² η¹³ καὶ Κρεώφυλος, ὃν φασι δεξιάμενον ξενίᾳ ποτὲ "Ομηρος λαβεῖν δᾶσαι τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ τοιήματος ὁ καλεῖσθαι Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσιν. Καλλίμαχος δὲ τοιόντινον ἐμφανίει— ὃς ἐκεῖνος μὲν ποιήσαντος λεγομένου δὲ "Ομηρος διὰ τὴν λεγομένην ξενίαν, "Τοῦ Σαμίου πόνος εἴμι"— [Epigr. 6]. See Eustathius ad Il. 8. p. 330. Sextus Empir. p. 225. quoted by Tzschutk. ad Strab. l. c. Fabricius B. G. tom. I. p. 18. Clem. Al. Strom. VI. p. 628. B. Πανάσιος δὲ Ἀλικαρνασσεῖνς (ὑφελόμενος) παρὰ Κλεοφύλου (sic) τοῦ Σαμίου τὴν Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσιν. Proclus in Vit. Hom. p. 466. λέγοντις "Ομηρος εἰς "Ιον πλεύσαντα διατρίψαι μὲν παρὰ Κρεώφυλος, γράψαντα δὲ Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσιν τούτῳ χαρίσασθαι, ητις νῦν ὡς Κρεώφυλον περιφέρεται. Hence Schol. Soph. Trach. 266. διαφανεῖται ὁ τὸν Εὐρυτιδῶν ἀριθμός. "Ἡσίοδος μὲν γάρ δὲ φησὶ— παῖδας— Κρεώφυλος δὲ β'. Plato Rep. X. p. 600. ὁ Κρεώφυλος ὁ τοῦ Ὁμηρος ἐταῖρος. Explained by Photius lex. Κρεώφυλος. πολιτείας ί. — τούτον τινες καὶ διδάσκαλον Ὁμηρον λέ-

- §. 13. Μινυάς ^{q.}
- §. 14. Ἀτθίς. That the 'Ατθίς of *Hegesinus* was not in the cycle is probable, because it had perished before the time of Pausanias^r. But the cyclic 'Ατθίς, if there was a poem of the name in the collection, survived till the time of Proclus, who observes of the cyclic poems, ὡς τοῦ ἑπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διατάχεται.
- §. 15. Θησητής. Aristot. Poët. c. 8. ὅσοι τῶν ποιητῶν Ἡρακλῆδα καὶ Θησηῖδα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήματα πεποιήκασιν. Græfenham ad loc. *Intelliguntur poëtæ cyclici, qui ex Schlegelii divisione medium epicī carminis ævum reperantur*^s.
- §. 16. Ἀμαζόνια. Mentioned among the poems ascribed to *Homer* by Suidas "Ομηρος, p. 682.
- §. 17. Ἀργοναυτικά. Although no testimony remains to any early poem bearing this title, yet we may infer that such a poem once existed from *Herodorus*, who lived before Aristotle, and composed an 'Αργοναυτικὰ (F. H. III. p. 560. k), which was doubtless a narrative in prose of what had been related in verse by some early epic poet^t.

γονεῖς γεγονέναι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ πώμα Οἰχαλίας ἀλω-
σις. ἄρχαιος μὲν εὖ ἔστι, νεώτερος δὲ ίκανὸς Ὁμήρος.
Schol. Platon. p. 421. Bekk. Κρεώρυλας Χῖος, ἐπο-
τιούς, τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν ιστόρησαν γαμβρὸν Ὁμήρου ἐπὶ θυ-
γατρί, καὶ διτὶ ἀποδεξάμενος Ὁμηρον ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ
πώμα τῆς Ἰλιάδος, a mistake of the writer for Οἰ-
χαλίας ἀλωσεως. With reference to this poem *Creophylus* is mentioned Schol. Eur. Med. 276. Δί-
δυμος—παρατίθεται τὰ Κρεψφύλου ἔχοντα σύτως τὴν γὰρ
Μήδειαν λέγει διατριβούσαν ἐν Κορίνθῳ κ. τ. λ. Pau-
san. IV. 2, 2. de *Echalia*: τῷ Εἰβοτέων λέγει Κρεψ-
φύλος ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ πεποίκην [Ἡρακλέα πεποίκην Bentl. Porson. ἐν Οἰχαλίᾳ πεποίκη Menag. ad Laert.] ὁμολογοῦντα. Siebelis ad loc. and Fabricius B. G. tom. I. p. 17. retain 'Ηρακλείᾳ. Whatever was the reading, the Οἰχαλίας ἀλωσις was the poem intended by Pausanias. The fables concerning *Creophylus* as connected with *Homer* in these passages, and in Heraclid. Polit. p. 206. Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 4. are examined by Heyne ad Hom. II. *a'*. tom. VIII. p. 807.

Since this poem was still extant in the age of *Proclus A. D. 450*, this is one argument that it was included in the epic cycle.

^q Pausan. IV. 33, 7. Πρόδικος Φοκαῖς (εἰ δὴ τού-
των τὰ δὲ τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπη) προσκείσθαι φησι Θαμύριδι
ἐν "Αἴδου δίκην. X. 28, 4. ἡ Μινυάς τε καλούμενη καὶ
οἱ Νέστοι (μηνὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῦταις καὶ "Αἴδου καὶ τῶν ἑκέ-
δειμάτων ἔστιν) ἵσσοις οἰδέναι Εὐρύνοντα δάμανα. IX.
5, 4. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν "Αἴδου δίκηη δίδωσιν Ἀμφίον
—κατὰ δὲ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἔστι ποιήσεως Μι-
νυάδος, ἔχει δὲ ἐς Ἀμφίονα κοινός καὶ ἐς τὸν Θράκα Θά-
μυριν. X. 31, 2. de *Meleagri morte*: αἱ Ἡοῖαι τε
καλούμεναι καὶ ἡ Μινυάς ὁμολογηκασιν ἀλλόγλαις. X.
28, 1. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Μινυάδι ἐς Θησία ἔχοντα καὶ
Πειρίθου,

ἔνθ' ἤτοι νέα μὲν γεννάμβατον, ἦν δὲ γεραιός

ταρθμένες ἥρη Χάρων, οὐκ ἔλλαβον ἔσδοθεν ὄρμου.

^r Pausan. IX. 29, 1. Ἡγησίους ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι.

"Ασκρη δὲ αὖτε παρέλεκτο Ποσειδάνων ἐνοστίχθων,
ἡ δῆ οἱ τέκε παιδα περιτλομένων ἐνιστοῦν
Οἰσκλαν, ὃς πρώτος μετ' Ἀλαές ἔκτισε παιδῶν
"Ασκρην, ηθὲ 'Ελικάνον ἔχει τοῦτα πιδακόνεντα.

ταύτην τοῦ 'Ηγησίου τὴν ποίησιν οὐκ ἐπελεξάμην, ἀλλὰ
πρότερον ἄρα ἐκτελεστῖα ἦν πρὶν ἡ ἐμὴ γενέσθαις· Κάλ-
λιππος δὲ Κορύθιος ἐν τῇ ἐς 'Ορχομενίου συγγραφῇ μάρ-
τυρα ποιεῖται τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ 'Ηγησίου τὰ ἔπη.

^s Another Θησητής is quoted Schol. Pindar. Ol. III. 52. Θήλειαν δὲ ἔπει καὶ χρυσόκερων ἔλαφον [sc. Pindarus] ἀπὸ Ιστρίας, ὃ γὰρ Θησηῖδα γράψας ποιά-
την αὐτὴν λέγει καὶ Πεισανδρος ὁ Καμειρεὺς καὶ Φερεκύ-
δης. This Θησητής was probably not a cyclic poem,
but the Θησητής of *Diphilus*, who composed choli-
ambic verses, and was therefore later than *Hipponeas* and *Ananias*, by one of whom that metre
was invented: Hephaest. p. 30. Schol. Pindar. Ol. XI. 83. ὃς φησι Δίφιλος ὁ τὴν Θησηῖδα ποίησας ἐν
τινὶ λαμβεῖψι σύτῳ.

τρέψας δὲ πόλους ὡς δὲ Μαρτινεὺς Σῆμας,
ὅς πρώτος ἄρματ' ἤλασεν παρ' Ἀλφειῷ.

Plutarch Thes. c. 28. may quote the cyclic Θη-
σητής: ἦν γὰρ ὁ τῆς Θησηῖδος ποιητὴς Ἀμαζόνων ἐπανά-
στασιος γέγραψε, κ. τ. λ.

^t To the fragments of *Herodorus* upon *Her-
cules* add the following: Proclus ad *Hesiod.*
Opp. 41. Ἡρόδωρος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τοῦ καθ' Ἡρακλέα
λόγῳ. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 306. A. quoted by
Heinsius ad loc. Ἡρόδωρος τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάντιν καὶ
φυσικὸν γενέμενον ιστορεῖ παρὰ "Ἄτλαντος τοῦ βαρβάρου
τοῦ Φρυγὸς διαδέχεσθαι τοὺς τοῦ κόσμου κίνας αινιττο-
μένου τοῦ μόνου τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπιστήμην μαθήσει δια-
δέχεσθαι. Plutarch. Thes. c. 29. Ἡρόδωρος μὲν οὐδε-
νὸς οὔεται τὸν Θησέα μετασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνοις Λαπίθαις
τῆς κενταυρομαχίας, c. 30. Ἡρόδωρος δὲ φησί—τοῦ πο-
λέμου σινεστάτος ἥδη τὸν Θησέα βοηθοῦντα τοῖς Λαπίθαις
παραγενέσθαι, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ὅφει γνωρίσαι τὸν Ἡρ-
ακλέα, κ. τ. λ.

§. 18. Εύρωπιαν. This and the next three poems we may place in successive order. They relate to *Cadmus*, *Oedipus*, and the Theban wars.

§. 19. Οἰδίποδιαν.

§. 20. Θηβαῖς. The first line is given by the author of the contest of *Homer* and *Hesiod* p. 492 (quoted by Bentley ad Mill. p. 62). ὁ δὲ "Ομηρος ἀποτυχὼν τῆς νίκης περιερχόμενος ἐλεγε τὰ ποιήματα, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Θηβαῖδα, ἐπη ἐπτά, ης ἡ ἀρχῆ,

"Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεά, πολυδίψιον, ἔνθα ἄνακτες—

εἴτα Ἐπιγόνους, ἐπη ἐπτά, ἦν η ἀρχή,
τὸν αὖτ' ὑποτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχόμειθα, μιῆσαι—"

§. 21. Ἐπίγονοι. In the judgment of Pausanias the best of the epic poems next to the Iliad and Odyssey. The first line is preserved in the contest of *Homer* and *Hesiod* (see §. 20), which marks this poem as the sequel of the preceding γ.

On *Europa* the sister of *Cadmus*: Pausan. IX. 5, 4. ὁ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐξ Εὐρώπην ποιήσας ascribed by some to *Eumeius*: Schol. Iliad. ζ. 131. τῆς Ιστορίας [sc. de *Lycurgo et Baccho*] πολλοὶ ἐμνήσθησαν προγονούμενος δὲ ὁ τὴν Εὐρώπην πεποικός Εὔμηλος. See Eusebius quoted in the Tables B. C. 761. Clemens Strom. I. p. 349. A. names this poem: ὁ τὴν Εὐρώπην ποιήσας ιστορεῖ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀγαλμα 'Απόλλωνος κίνα εἶναι διὰ τῶν δε

ὅφρα θεῷ δεκάτη ἀκροβύνια τε κρεμάσαιμεν
σταθμῶν ἐκ ζαθέων καὶ κίνους ίψηλοιο.

* Schol. Eur. Phœn. 1760. οἱ τὴν Οἰδίποδαν γράφοντες:

ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι καλλιστόν τε καὶ ἴμερόστατον ἄλλων
παιᾶν φίλον Κρείοντος ἀμύμονος Αἴμονα διὸν.

Pausan. IX. 5, 5. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας ἡ Οἰδίποδος ὄνομάζειν: [sc. de *Oedipi liberis*]. Perhaps this poem was followed by Herodorus in his Οἰδίποδία or Οἰδίποντος.

The imprecations of *Oedipus* on his sons are described: Schol. Soph. OED. C. 1375. ταῦτα ὁ τὴν κυκλικὴν Θηβαῖδαν ποιῆσας ιστορεῖ ὡτας·
ἰσχὺον ὃς ἐνήσει, χαμαὶ βάλει ἐπε τε μῆθον·
ἢ μοι ἔγει, παιδες μὲν διεδίστοτες ἐπεμψάν.
εἴκτο Δῖτι Βασιλῆῃ καὶ ἄλλοι ἀθανάτοις·

χεροῖν ὅπ' ἀλλήλων καταβίμεναι "Αἴδοις εἰσω.
τὰ δὲ πατροῦσις τῷ ἐποιοῦ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν τοῖς 'Ἐπτά
ἔτι Θῆβαις'. Other imprecations on a similar occasion are in Athenaeus XI. p. 465. f. ὁ Οἰδίποδος δι' ἐκπάματα τοῖς ιδίοις κατηράτατο, ὃς ὁ τὴν κυκλικὴν Θηβαῖδαν πεποικός φησιν, οἵτις αὐτῷ παρέθηκαν ἐκπάματα ὁ
ἀπηγορεύει, λέγων οὕτως·

αὐτάρ ὁ διογενῆς ἥρως Ξενθὸς Πολυνείκης
πρῶτα μὲν Οἰδίποδη καὶ λὴν παρέθηκε τράπεζαν
ἀργυρέουν Κάδμιοι θεάφρονες· αὐτάρ ἐπειτα
χρύσεον ἐμπλησσεν καλὸν δέπτας ηδέος οἴγου.
αὐτάρ ἔγι ὡς φράσθη παρακέιμενα πατρὸς ἐδο
τιμήσεται γέρα, μέγα οἱ κακὸν ἐμπτεσε θυμῷ,
αἷνα δὲ παισιν ἔστι μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπαράς
ἀργαλέας ἥρατο· θεὸν δὲ οὐ λάθαν· 'Ερινύ·
ὣς οὖν οἱ πατροῖς ἐνησίη φιλότητος
δάσσουντ', ἀμφοτέροισι δὲ οὐ πόλεμοι τε μάχαι τε.

Eustathius ad Odyss. λ'. p. 1684. refers to both these passages:—πατρὸς ἀράς· ὃν αἴτιον κατά τινας, διτι παρέβητο ἐκεῖνοι τῷ πατρὶ ἐκπάματα ὅπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπηγορεύει· ήσαν δὲ ἐκεῖνα, κατὰ τὸν πεποικότα τὴν κυκλικὴν Θηβαῖδα, "πατρὸς ἐδο τιμήσεται γέρα," τούτεστι τοῦ Λαίου.—ἄλλοι δὲ γε βραχάτων τινῶν χάριν τὸν Οἰδίποδον καταράσσασθαι τοῖς τέκνοις ιστόρησαν. Schellenberg ad Antimachi Fragm. p. 79. aptly compares Plato Leg. XI. p. 931. Οἰδίποδος ἀπικασθεὶς ἐπείχατο τοῖς αὐτοῖς τέκνοις. He distinguishes Ibid. p. 23. the other fragments of this Cyclic *Thebais* from the *Thebais* of Antimachus: Apollod. I. 8, 4. ἔγημεν Οἰνέας Περίβοιαν—ταύτην δὲ μὲν γράψας τὴν Θηβαῖδα πολεμησίοις· Όλένον λέγει λαβεῖν Οἰνέα γέρας. 'Ησιόδος δὲ ἐξ 'Ολένου τῆς 'Αχαΐας κ. τ. λ. Pausan. VIII. 25, 5. who quotes, ἐπάγοται δὲ ἐξ 'Ιλιάδος ἔτη καὶ ἐ Θηβαῖδος μαρτυρίας—ἐν μὲν Ίλιάδι κ. τ. λ.—ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θηβαῖδος ἀς "Ἀδραστος; ἐφενγετε ἐκ Θηβαῖν
εἵματα λυγρὰ φέρων σὺν Ἀρλοι κιανοχαττῳ,

and then produces 'Αγιμάχος as a distinct authority. Idem IX. 18, 4. τά γε ἐν Θηβαῖδοι ἔτη τὰ
ἐξ τὴν Παρθενοπάσιν τελευτὴν Περικλέμενον τὸν ἀνελόντα
φησὶν εἶναι. Schol. Iliad. ψ'. 346. 'Αρίστα· ὅρ' εἰ
[ἔρ'] of Schellenberg p. 68. φ ἐποχούμενον. Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 1304, 56] μόνος δὲ "Ἀδραστος; ἐκ τοῦ Θη-
βαικοῦ τολέμον διεώθη, τὸν ἄλλον ἀπολομένων ἡ ιστορία
παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς, doubtless in this poem. We
may add Schol. Pind. Ol. VI. 26. ποθέν (the lamentation of *Adrastus*): δὲ 'Ασκληπιάδης φησὶ ταῦτα
εἰλέφεναι ἐκ τῆς κυκλικῆς Θηβαῖδος.

The line referred to by Aristophanes Pac. 1269. is ascribed by the Scholiast ad loc. to *Antimachus*, by an error which is refuted by the time of *Antimachus*, as Schellenberg ad Fragn. p. 90. remarks. The *Eἰρήνη* was exhibited B. C. 421: see F. H. III. p. 597. *Antimachus* was scarcely known till B. C. 405. Aristophanes therefore quotes the early cyclic poem the *Ἐπίγονοι*, and confirms the author of the *Certamen*, who has the same line. This poem was sometimes called the *Θηβαῖς*; which might produce the mistake of the Scholiast, confounding it with

§. 22. τὰ Κύπρια². This and the remaining seven poems were on the tale of Troy. They were all in the cycle, and their order is fixed by Proclus.

§. 23. Ἰλιάς.

the Θηβαῖς of *Antimachus*. The Ἔτιγονοι were attributed to Homer before the time of Herodotus: Herodot. IV. 32. 'Ησωδήρ μέν ἔστι περὶ Ἱπερθρέων εἰρημένα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὁμηρός ἐν Ἔπειγονοι, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἔντι γε "Ομῆρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπαις ἑστοῦσε. A passage justly vindicated by Schweigaeuser against the suspicion of Wolf. Hence the author of the *Certamen*, and Tzetzes quoted by Bentley ad Mill. p. 54=63 τῷ Ἔπειγονοι μάχην τε γράφει καὶ Θηβαῖδα. This poem is quoted Schol. Apollon. I. 308. εἰ τὸν Θηβαῖδα γεγραφότες [συγγράψαντες Cod. Par.] φασίν ἔτι ἵνα τὸν Ἔπειγονοι ἀκριβίνεις ἀνετέθη Μαρτὸν—εἰς Δελφοὺς τεμφθίσσα. Schellenberg p. 23. suspects that both *Antimachus* and the author of the cyclic Θηβαῖς may be meant: *Utrumque poëtam aut philes intelligas*. But εἰ γεγράφτες will rather mean the authors of the two poems, the Θηβαῖς and the Ἔτιγονοι, which are here considered as one: Pausan. IX. 9. 3. ἑπούθη δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τῶν [the war of the ἔπαινοι] καὶ ἐπὶ Θηβαῖς [Θηβαῖς Hemsterh.]. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῦτα Καλαῖνος, ἀφικόμενος αὐτῷ ἐς μῆματα; ἔφησεν Ὁμηρος τὸν ποιῆσαντα εἶναι Καλαῖνος δὲ πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἔξισι λόγου κατὰ ταῦτα ἔγραψα. Εγὼ δὲ τὸν ποιῆσαν ταῦτη μετά γε Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ δις Ὀδυσσέας ἔταν μάλιστα. For ΚΑΛΑΪΝΟΣ Sylburgius, Kuhn, Salmas., and Burman all concur in ΚΑΛΑΪΝΟΣ. Ruhnkenius reads Καλλίμαχος. Pausanias however has in view the Ἔτιγονοι, a poem ascribed by early authorities to Homer, and relating the war of the ἔπαινοι. This poem was therefore sometimes called the Θηβαῖς, like the preceding.

² The general plan of this poem is noticed by Aristotle Poët. c. 23. εἰ δὲ ἄλλοι περὶ ἔνα ποιῶσι καὶ περὶ ἔνα χρίνον, καὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν πολύμερην, ὅν δὲ τὰ Κύπρια ποίησας καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδας τοιγαροῦν ἐκ μὲν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας μία τραγῳδία ποιεῖται ἐκατέρας η δύο μίναι, ἐκ δὲ Κυπρίων πολλαί, καὶ ἐκ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος πλέον ἑταῖ. Proclus preserves the argument, given apud Gaisford. p. 471—476. repeated by Græfēn. ad Aristot. Poët. p. 175. where notes are added containing references to many of the fragments of this poem. The fragments themselves shall be here inserted, when they appear to illustrate the argument: τὰ λεγόμενα Κύπρια ἐν βιβλίοις φερόμενα ἔδεκα.—Ζεὺς βούλευεται μετὰ τῆς Θέμιδος περὶ τῶν Τρώικῶν πολέμου [Schol. II. a. δ. ἡ Ιστορία παρὰ Στασίνη τῇ τὰ Κύπρια πεποικθεῖ, εἰπόντι οὕτως]:

ἢν δέ μηρα φῦλα κατὰ χθόνα *

τλαζόμενα * * * βαθυστέρων πλάτους αἴησον·

Ζεὺς δὲ ίδοις ἐλέσσε, καὶ ἐν τυκναῖς πραπέδεσσι

σύνθετο κονφίσας ἀνθρώπων ταυβώτορα γαῖαν

βιτίσας πολέμου μεγάλην ἦριν Ἰλιακοῖς,

ὅφρα κεκώστειν θανάτῳ βάρος· εἰ δὲ τροχή
ἡρωες κτείνοντο—

Hence Euripides Or. 1656]. παραγενομένη δὲ Ἡρις εὐνοχουμένων τῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς Πηλέων γάμοις [Schol. II. π. 140. κατὰ τὸν Πηλέων καὶ Θέτιδος γάμον οἱ θεοὶ συναχθέντες εἰς τὸ Πηλέων ἐπ' εὐνοχίᾳ ἐκόμιζον Πηλεῖ δῶρα κ. τ. λ. ἡ Ιστορία παρὰ τῷ τὰ Κύπρια ποιῆσαντι νεῖκος περὶ κάλλους ἐνίστητον Ἀθηναῖ, Ἡραῖ, καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ· αἱ τρὶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ἰδῃ κατὰ Διὸς προσταγὴν ὑφ' Ἐρμοῦ πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἀγοντας· καὶ προκλίνει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐπαρθεῖς τοῖς Ἐλένης γάμοις Ἀλέξανδρος. [Athen. VIII. p. 334. c. ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιῆσας ἐπη, εἴτε Κύπριος τίς ἔστιν, ἡ Στασίνης, ἡ δοτις δή ποτε χαίρει ὄνομαδόμενος, τὸν Νέμεσιν ποιεῖ διωκομένην ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ εἰς ἱχθὺν μεταμφορούμενην διὰ τούτων·

τοῖς δὲ μέτα τριτάτην Ἐλένην τέκε, θαῦμα βροτοῖσι· τὴν ποτε καλλίκομος Νέμεσις φιλότητι μιγεῖσα Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλῆῃ τέκε κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης· φεύγε γάρ οὐδὲ ἔθελεν μιχθήμεναι ἐν φιλότητι πατρὶ Διὶ Κρονίων· ἐτείρετο γάρ φρένας αἰδοῖ· καὶ Νέμεσις κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ ἀτρύγετον μέλαν ὅδωρ φεύγε, Ζεὺς δὲ διώκει λαβεῖς δὲ λιλαστο θυμῷ· ἄλλοτε μὲν κατὰ κύμα πολυφλοίσθιοι θαλάσσης ἱχθυῖ εἰδομένη πόντον πολὺν ἐξορθίνειν, ἄλλοτε δὲ Ὄκεανον ποταμὸν καὶ πείρατα γαῖης, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἥπειρον πολυβούλακα· γύρηστο δὲ αἰεὶ θηρὶ δὲ ἥπειρος αἰνὰ τρέφει, ὅφρα φίγοι νιν.]

ἔπειτα δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ὑποθεμένης καυπηγεῖται· καὶ Ἐλένη περὶ τὸν μελλόντων αὐτοῖς προθεσπίζει· καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη Λινέαν συμπλεῖν αὐτῷ κελεύει· καὶ Κασσάνδρα περὶ τὸν μελλόντων προδηλοῖ· ἐπιβίας δὲ τῇ Δακεδαιμονίᾳ Ἀλέξανδρος ξενίζεται παρὰ τοὺς Τυνδαρίδαις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς Σπάρτην παρὰ Μενέλαῳ· καὶ Ἐλένη παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν δίδωσι δῶρα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Μενέλαος εἰς Κρήτην ἐκπλεῖ, κελεύσας τὴν Ἐλένην τοῖς ξένοις τὰ ἐπιτίθεα παρέχειν ἔνως ἀνταπλαγῶσιν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη συνάγει τὴν Ἐλένην τῇ Ἀλέξανδρῳ· καὶ μετὰ τὴν μίξιν τὰ πλεῖστα κτήματα ἐνθέμεναι γυκτὸς ἀποτέλεσσι. χειμῶνα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφίστηται Ἡραί· καὶ προσενεγκεῖς Σιδῶνι δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν [Herodotus II. 117. had not this passage before him: ἐν τοσὶ Κυπρίοισι εἴργηται δὲ τριταῖς ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο δὲ τὸ Ἰλιον ἀγαν τὴν Ἐλένην, εἰσαΐτε τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσσην λείγη. whence Eustathius ad II. 5. p. 643, 2. δὲ τὰ Κύπρια ποιῆσας λέγει δὲ τριταῖς ἐκ Σπάρτης κ. τ. λ. This part of the poem, then, stood differently in the time of Herodotus]: καὶ ἀποτλείσας εἰς Ἰλιον γάμους τῆς Ἐλένης ἐπετέλεσεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Κάστωρ μετὰ Πολιδεύκειν τὰς Ἰδας καὶ Λυγκέως βοῦς ὑφαιρούμενοι ἐφοράθησαν. [Schol. Pindar. Nem. X. 114. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 511. Idem Chil. II. 710. παρατίθεται τὸν τὰ Κύπρια γράψαντα ὡτὸν λέγοντα [Στασίνης δὲ τὰ Κύπρια πεποικής Tzetz.].]

—αἷς δὲ Λυγκεῖς

Τηῦγετον προσέβανε τοσὶν ταχέσσι πεποιθός
ἀκρίτατον δ' ἀναβὰς διδέρκετο ῥῆγον ἄπασαν
Ταυταίδου Πέλοπος, τάχα δ' εἰσιδε κύδιμος ἡρως
δεινοῖς ὄρθραιμοῖς ἔνι δρός ἄμφω καλῆς,
Κάστορά δ' ἰππόδαμον καὶ δεθλοφόρον Πολυδένκεα..

ιέκε δ' ἄρ' * * *

καὶ Κάστωρ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ "Ιδα ἀναρρέτας Λυγκεῖς δὲ καὶ
Ίδας ὑπὸ Πολυδένκους, καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπερήμερον νέμει
τὴν ἀθανασίαν [Clem. Cohort. p. 19. A. ὁ τὰ Κυ-
πριακὰ ποιήματα γράψας]

Κάστωρ μὲν θνήτος, θανάτου δὲ οἱ αἰστα πέπρωται·
αὐτὰρ δ' γ' ἀθάνατος Πολυδένκης, ὃς τοις "Αρης".
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἱρις ἀναγέλλει τῷ Μενέλᾳρ τὰ γεγο-
νότα κατὰ τὸν οἶκον, ὃ δὲ παραγενόμενος περὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἰλίου
[f. ἐπ' "Ιλίος"] στρατεύεται βουλεύεται μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ·
καὶ πρὸς Νέστορα παραγένεται Μενέλαος· Νέστωρ δὲ ἐν
παρεκβάσεις διηρέται αὐτῷ ὃς Ἐπιτεῖς φεύρας τὴν Λυ-
κούργον [I. Νυκτέας. see above p. 29. q] θυγατέρα
ἔξεπορθθη, καὶ τὰ περὶ Οἰδίπους καὶ τὴν Ἡρακλέους μα-
νίαν, καὶ τὰ περὶ Θησέα καὶ Ἀριάδην. [Athen. II.
p. 35. c. repeated by Suid. οὗτος.]

Οἰνόν τοι, Μενέλαος, θεοὶ ποιήσαν ἄριστος

θνήτος ἀνθρώποισι ἀποσκεδάσαι μελεδῶνας.

ὁ τῶν Κυπρίων τοῦτο φησι ποιήτης, θτις ἀν εἴη. Suidas:
ὁ Κύπριος ποιητής φησι· "Οἴον—" [ἔπειτα τοὺς ἡγεμο-
νας ἀθρίζουσις ἐκελθόντες τὴν "Ελλάδα" καὶ μανεσθαι
προστομσάμενος τὸν "Οδυσσέα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θέλειν συστρα-
τεύεταις ἐφόρασαν, Παλαμῆδους ὑποθεμένου, τὸν ίσον Τη-
λέμαχον ἐπὶ κόλασιν ἔχαρτάσαντες, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
συνέθάντες εἰς Αδήδα θύσιοι· καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν δράκοντα
καὶ τὸν στροβύδον γενόμενα δείκνυται· καὶ Κάλχας περὶ
τῶν ἀποθησμένων προλέγει αὐτοῖς· ἔπειτα ἀναχθέντες
Τευθραντὶς προσίσχουσι, καὶ ταῦτη ὡς "Ιλιον ἐπόρθουν".
Τήλεφος δὲ ἐκ βοηθείας Θέρασανδρὸν τε τὸν Πολυνείκους
κτείνει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως τιτρώσκεται. ἀποτλέσσοις
δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Μυσίας χειμῶν ἐπιπλέκεται, καὶ διασκεδά-
νυται. Ἀχιλλέος Σκύρῳ προσάχων γαμεῖ τὴν Λυκομή-
δην θυγατέρα Δηδάμειαν· ἔπειτα Τήλεφος κατὰ μαντείαν
παραγενόμενος εἰς "Αργος" ἔσται Ἀχιλλέος, ὃς ἡγεμόνα γε-
νησόμενος τοῦ ἐπ' "Ιλίον" πλοῦ. καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἡθροισμένον
τοῦ στόλου ἐν Αἰγαίῳ, Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπὶ θύραιν [f. ἐπὶ θύρᾳ]
βαλὼν ἔλαφον ὑπερβάλλειν ἔφορε καὶ τὴν "Αρτεμίν" μηνί-
σσα δὲ ἡ θεὸς ἐτέσχεν αὐτὸν τοῦ πλοῦ, χειμῶνας ἐπι-
τέμπτουσα. Κάλχαντος δὲ εἰπόντος τὴν τῆς θεοῦ μῆνιν καὶ
Ἴφιγένειαν κελεύσαντος θύειν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὃς ἐπὶ γάμον
αὐτὴν Ἀχιλλεῖ μεταπεμφάμενοι θύειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν [Schol.
Soph. El. 157. δ τὰ Κύπρια (ποιήσας) διαφόρους φησὶν
"Ἴφιγένειαν καὶ Ἰφιάνασσαν"]· "Ἀρτεμίς δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχαρτά-
σσαντες εἰς Ταύρους μετακομίζει καὶ ἀθάνατον ποιεῖ, ἔλαιφον
δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς κόρης παρίστηται τῷ θωμᾷ. ἔπειτα καταπλεύ-
σιν εἰς Τένεδον καὶ εἰσχωμένων αὐτὸν Φιλοκτήτης ὑφ'
ὑδρο πληρεῖς διὰ τὴν δυσσομάτων ἐν Δῆμῳ κατελήφθη,
καὶ Ἀχιλλέος ἐμήνυσε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Τενέδῳ—συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο
ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ κληθῆναι. Hence Sophocles derived the
Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος: conf. Plutarch. Mor. p. 74. A].
ἔπειτα ἀποβαίνοντας αὐτοῖς εἰς "Ιλίον" εἴργουσιν εἰς Τρῷας,

καὶ θνήσκει Πρατείλαος ὑφ' Ἐκταρος [Pausan. IV. 2,
5. δ τὰ ἔπει τοιήσας τὰ Κύπρια Πρατείλαον φητὸν, ὃς
ὅτε κατὰ τὴν Τρράδα ἔσχον "Ἐλληνες ἀποβῆναι πρᾶτος
ἐπόλμησε, Πρωτειλάου τούτου τὴν γυναικα Πολυδώρων
μὲν τὸ ὄνμα θυγατέρα δὲ Μελεάργου φησὶν εἶναι τοῦ
Οινέως": ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλέος αὐτοῖς τρέπεται ἀνελὺν Κύκνον
τὸν Ποτείδαιον· καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀναιροῦνται, καὶ διαπρε-
βενονται πρὸς τεὺς τεὺς Τρῷας τὴν Ἐλένην καὶ τὰ κτήματα
ἀπαιτοῦντες· ὃς δὲ οὐχ ὑπῆκουσαν ἐκεῖνοι, ἐνταῦθα δὴ
τειχομαχοῦσιν. ἔπειτα τὴν χώραν ἐπεκελθόντες πορθῦσι
καὶ τὰς περιόδους πόλεις· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀχιλλέος
Ἐλένην ἐπιθυμεῖ θεδασθαι, καὶ συνῆγαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ
αὐτὸν Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Θέτις. εἴτα ἀπονοστεῖν ὀρμημένους
τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς Ἀχιλλέος κατέχει· κάπειτα ἀπελάνει τὰς
Αἰλεούς βάσεις [Pausan. X. 26, 1. Λέσχεως καὶ τὰ ἔπη
τὰ Κύπρια διδάσσουν Εὐρυδίκην γυναικα Αἰνείᾳ], καὶ Λύρη-
σιν καὶ Πήδαστον πορθεῖ [Schol. II. ε'. 57. τὴν Πήδασον
οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων ποιηταὶ &c. as the place in which
Briseis was captured] καὶ συχνὰς τῶν περιοιδῶν πό-
λεων, καὶ Τρῷαν φονεῖς· Λυκάονά τε Πάτροκλος εἰς
Δῆμον ἄγων ἀπεμπόλῃ· καὶ ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων Ἀχιλλέος
μὲν Βρισηΐδα γέρας λαμβάνει Χρυσηΐδα δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων.
ἔπειτα δέ τοις Παλαμῆδον θάνατος [Pausan. X. 31, 1.
Διομῆδην δὲ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι καὶ Ὁδοσέα ἀπεικά-
μενος ἐν ἔπειτα οἴδα τοὺς Κυπρίους], καὶ Διὸς θουλὴ ὅπως
ἐπικυφίσιον τοὺς Τρῷας, Ἀχιλλέα τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς Ἐλ-
ληρικῆς ἀποτήσας· καὶ κατάλογος τῶν τοῖς Τρῷοι συμ-
μαχούσαντων. This poem is quoted on the daughters
of Anius Tzetzes. ad Lycophron. 570. μέμνηται
τούτων καὶ ὁ τὰ Κυπριακὰ συγγραφάμενος. Stob. Serm.
31, 12. Στασίν.

Ζῆνα δὲ τὸν ἔξαντα, καὶ ὃς τὰδε πάντας ἐφύτευεν,
οὐκ ἔθειεν εἰτεῖν· ἵνα γάρ δέος, ἔνθα καὶ αἰδῆς.

Plato Euthyphr. p. 12. a. λέγω γάρ δὴ τὸ ἔνταῦθον
ἡ ποιητὴς ἔτοιμεν διοικέσαι· "Ζῆνα δὲ τὸν θέρξαντα"—
Clem. Strom. VI. p. 625. C. Στασίν τοιήσαντος
νήπιος, δὲ πατέρα πτείνων ταῖδας καταλείπει.

Aristot. Rhet. II. 21, 11. ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναιρεῖν τὸν ἔχοντα
τὰ τέκνα καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα· "νήπιος δὲ—κτείνας—
καταλείποι." Athenaeus XV. p. 682. e. preserves
some lines from the last book of the poem: ἀιδὼν
δὲ στεφανωτικὸν μέμνηται δὲ μὲν τὰ Κύπρια ἔπει τοι-
κών, "Ηγησίας, η Στασίν· Δημοδάμας γάρ δὲ Αλικαρνα-
σσεῖς η Μιλήσιος εἰς τῷ περὶ Αλικαρνασσοῦ Κύπρια, Αλι-
καρνασσέως δὲ αὐτὸν εἴσαλ φησὶ ποιήματα· δέγεις δὲ ὁ ὄν-
της διττὸς δι ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ οὐτωτός:

εἴματα μὲν χροῖς τότε οἱ Χάριτές τε καὶ Ὄραι
ποιήσαν καὶ ἔβαλαν εἰς ἄνθετον εἰαρινῦσιν,
οἰα φοροῦς· Όραι, ἔν τε κρόκῳ ἐνθ' ὑακίνθη,
ἔν τε ἴψι φαλεβούτι φόδου τ' ἐνὶ ἄνθει καλῇ,
ηδεῖ, νεκταρέφ, ἐν τῷ ἀμφιστάσαις καλύκεσσιν
ἄνθεις ναρκίσσους καλλιρρόου· οἵ Ἀφροδίτη
ώραις παντοῖας τεθυμένα εἴματα ἔστοι.

οὖτος δι ποιητὴς καὶ τὴν τῶν στεφάνων χρῆσιν εἰδὸς φαί-
νεται δι ὄντες·

ἡ δὲ σὺν ἀμφιστάσαι φιλομείδης Ἀφροδίτη
πλεξαμένη στεφάνους εὐόδεας, ἄνθεα γαίης,
ἄν κεφαλαισιν ἔθεντο θεαὶ λιπαροκρήδεμναι,

§. 24. Αἰθιοπίς^a. See the Tables B. C. 775.

§. 25. Ἰλιάς μικρά. The author of the Life of Homer c. 16. gives the beginning: ("Ομηρος)
διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ Θεστορίδῃ ποιεῖ Ἰλιάδα τὴν ἐλάστω, ἡς ἡ ἀρχή·

"Ιλιον ἀείδω καὶ Δαρδανίην ἔπιτολον,
ἥς πέρι πολλὰ πάθον Δαναοὶ, θεράποντες" Ἀρηος^b.

Νύμφαι καὶ Χάριτες, ὅμα δὲ χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη,
καλὸν ἀείδενται κατ' ὄρος πολυπίδακος Ἰδης.

This last passage may be referred to the first book, and to the judgment of Paris in the beginning of the poem. This poem was early ascribed to Homer: Herodot. II. 117. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεις καὶ τόδε τὸ χωρίον [Il. ζ. 289—292] οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δηλοῦ ὅτι οὐκ Ὁμηρος τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεια ἔστι, ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός κ. τ. λ. Proclus apud Photium p. 378. Gaisford. λέγει δὲ [sc. Proclus] καὶ περὶ τινῶν Κύπρων ποιημάτων καὶ ὃς εἰ μὲν ταῦτα εἰς Στασῖν ἀναφέρουνται Κύπριοι, οἱ δὲ Ἡγησίας τὸν Σαλαμίναν αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ὁμηρος δύονται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρὸς Στασίν. Tzetzes Chil. XIII. 637. (Ὅμηρος) Θυγάτηρ Ἀρσιφόνη δὲ, ἣν ἔγημε Στασίν, Στασῖν δὲ τὰ Κύπρια συγγράμματα ποιήσας, "Ἀπέρ οἱ πλείους λέγουσιν Ὁμηρος τεφικέναι, Εἰς πρώκα δὲ σὺν χρήμασι δοθῆναι τῇ Στασίν. See on this poem Perizon. ad Aelian. V. H. IX. 15. Hemst. ad Polluc. X. 85.

A Proclus p. 478. gives the argument: "Αμαζὼν Πενθεσίλεια παραγίνεται Τρωὶ συμμαχήσοντα, Ἄρεως μὲν θυγάτηρ Θράσσα δὲ τὸ γένος, καὶ κτείνει αὐτὴν ἀριστείσαντας Ἀχιλλεῖς οἱ δὲ Τρωῖς αὐτὴν θάψαντο. καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖς Θερόπιτην ἀταρεῖ λοιδορεῖσι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ διενισθεῖσι τὸν δὲ τῇ Πενθεσίλειᾳ λεγόμενον ἔρωτα. καὶ ἐκ τούτων στάσις γίγνεται τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς περὶ τοῦ Θερόπιτου φίνου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀχιλλεῖς εἰς Λέσβον πλεῖ, καὶ θύτας Ἀτόλλων καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦ καθαίρεται τοῦ φίνου ἢπ' Ὁδυσσέν. Μέμνον δὲ ὁ Ήνος οὐδὲ ἔχων ἡφαιστότευκτον πανοπλίαν παραγίνεται τοῖς Τρωῖς βοηθήσαντας καὶ θέτις τῷ παιδὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μέμνονος πρόλεγει· καὶ συμβολῆς γενούμενης Ἀτίλοχος ἐπὶ Μέμνονος ἀνατρέπεται. ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεῖς Μέμνονα κτείνει, καὶ ταύτη μὲν Ἡνος, παρὰ Διὸς αἰτηταμένην, ἀθανασίαν δίδωσι. τρεφάμενος δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖς τοὺς Τρωῖς καὶ εἰς τὴν (πύλην) εἰσκεσάντων Πάριδος ἀνατρέπεται καὶ Ἀτόλλωνος· καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πτώματος γενούμενης Ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης Αἴας ἀνελέμενος ἐπὶ τὰς καῦς κομίζει, Ὁδυσσέας ἀπομαχομένους τοῖς Τρωτίν. ἔπειτα Ἀτίλοχον τὸ θάττουσι καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως προτίθενται· καὶ θέτις ἀφικούμενη σὸν Μούσας καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ὥρην τὸν παιδᾶ· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἡ θέτις ἀναπάσσαστα τὸ παιδᾶ εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν ἥσον διακομίζει, οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸν τάφον χόσαντες ἀγύνα τιθέασι· καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀχιλλέων ἐπιλογῶν Ὅδυσσει καὶ Αἴαντι στάσις ἀπινέτει. That this poem included the death of Ajax appears from Schol. Pindar. Isthm. IV. 58. δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γράφων περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον φησὶ τὸν Αἴαντα ἀνατέλειν.

b The argument is in Proclus p. 481. ἡ τῶν

οὐλῶν κρίσις γίνεται, καὶ Ὁδυσσεὺς κατὰ βούλησιν Ἀθηνᾶς λαμβάνει. [Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 1053. διεφέροντο περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων ὃ τε Αἴας καὶ ὃ Ὁδυσσεὺς, ὃς φησιν δὲ τὸν μικρὸν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκάς τὸν Νέστορα δὲ συμβουλεύεται τοῦ "Ἐλλησις πέμψαι τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη τῶν Τρώων, ἀπακοντήσοντας περὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῶν προειρημένων ἡρώων" τοὺς δὲ πεμφθέντας ἀκοῦσαι παρθένων διαφερομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλας· ὃν τὴν μὲν λέγειν ἂν Αἴας πολὺ κρείττων ἐστὶ τοῦ Ὁδυσσείου, διερχμένην οὕτως·

Αἴας μὲν γάρ ἔσειρ καὶ ἔκφερε δηϊοτῆτος
ἥρων Πηλεύδην, οὐδὲ ὑπελε δῖος Ὁδυσσεύς.
τὴν δὲ ἔτεραν ἀπειπεῖν Ἀθηνᾶς προνοίᾳ·
πῶς ἐπεφωνήσω; πῶς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἔειπες
ψεύδος; —]

Αἴας δὲ ἐμρικανῆς γενούμενος τὴν τε λείαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ἔστων ἀναιρεῖ. μετὰ ταῦτα Ὁδυσσεὺς λαχῆσσας "Ἐλενον λαμβάνει, καὶ, χρήσαντος περὶ τῆς ἀλάσσεως τούτου, Διομῆδης ἐκ Λήμνου Φιλοκτήτην ἀνάγει. Ιαθεὶς δὲ οὗτος ὑπὸ Μαχάδονος, καὶ μονυμαχήσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κτείνει· καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπὸ Μενελάου κατακινθέτα ἀνέλθοντο θάκτουσιν οἱ Τρῷες. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δηϊφορος "Ἐλένην γαμεῖ" καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος Ὁδυσσεύς ἐκ Σκύρου ἀγαγάντων τὰ ὄπλα δίδωσι τὰ τοῦ πατρός" [Schol. Il. τ'. 326. Eu-stath. ad Il. p. 1187, 16. δ τὴν μικρὸν Ἰλιάδα γράφας φησὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐκ Τηλέφου τοῦ Μυσοῦ ἀναζηγυνάτω προσομοιώθηνται· ἐκεῖ· γράφει γάρ εἴτω·

Πηλεύδην δὲ Ἀχιλλῆς φέρε Σκύροδε θύελλα
ἔνθ' οὐ γ' ἐς ἀργαλέον λιμέν' ἵκετο νυκτὸς ἐκείνης.

Schol. Pindar. Nem. VI. 85. μετάγοντι τὴν ἴστορίαν [sc. de Achillis hasta] ἀπὸ τῆς Λέσχου μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος, λέγοντος οὕτως·

—— ἀμφὶ δὲ πόρκης

χρύσεος ἀστράπτει, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δίκρος ἄρδεις·]
καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτῷ φαντάζεται. Εὐρύπιλος δὲ ὁ Τηλέφου ἐπίκιουρος τοῖς Τρωσὶ παραγίνεται [Pausan. III. 26, 7. Μαχάδαν δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρυπιλού τοῦ Τηλέφου τελευτῆσαι φησιν δὲ τὴν ποιῆσας τὸν μικρὸν Ἰλιάδα], καὶ ἀριστείσαντα αὐτὸν ἀποκτένει Νεοπτόλεμος. καὶ οἱ Τρῷες τολιορκοῦνται, καὶ Ἐπειός κατ' Ἀθηνᾶς προσάρπειν τὸν δούρειον ἵππον κατασκευάζει. Ὁδυσσεύς δὲ αἰκισάμενος ἀστῦν τοῦ πατέρος εἰς Ἰλιον παραγίνεται, καὶ ἀναγνωρισθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἐλένης περὶ τῆς ἀλάσσεως τῆς πόλεως συνίθεται· κτείνεις τε τινὰς τῶν Τρώων ἐπὶ ταῖς καῦς ἀφικεῖται· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα σὺν Διομῆδης τὸ Παλλαδίον ἐκκομίζει ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰλίου [Hesych. Διομῆδης ἀνάγκη:—δὲ τὴν μικρὸν Ἰλιάδα (γράφας) φησὶν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Παλλαδίου κλοπῆς γενέσθαι]. ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν δούρειον ἵππον τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐμβιβάσαντες τάς τε σκηνὰς καταφλέξαντες εἰς λειποὺ τῶν Ἐλλήνων εἰς Τενέδον ἀνάγονται· οἱ δὲ Τρῷες τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπηλλάχθαις τῶν τε δούρειον ἵππον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσδέχονται, διελάγετες

καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Φωκαῖδα, ἣν φασιν οἱ Φωκαῖς "Ομηρον παρ' αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι. Of the subject of the Φωκαῖς (on which poem see Wess. ad loc. Harles ad Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 385) we have no information.

§. 26. Ἰλίου πέρσις^c. This poem of Arctinus was a century older than the Ἰλιάς μικρὰ of Lesches: see the Tables B. C. 775. 657.

μέρος τι τῶν τείχους, καὶ εἰωχοῦνται ὡς νεκυκότες τοὺς Ἐλληρας. That this poem proceeded further and included the capture of the city, appears from Aristotle Poët. c. 23. ἐν τῇς μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδας πλέον ἀκτῷ (τραγῳδίαι), οἷον, "Οπλον κρίσις, Φιλοκτήτης, Νεοπτόλεμος, Εύρυπνος, Πτωχεία, Δάκαναι, Ἰλίου πέρσις, καὶ Ἀπότλους καὶ Σίνων καὶ Τρωάδες. The first four may be traced in Proclus: conf. Græfenh. ad Aristot. Poët. p. 179. 180. The Ἰλίου πέρσις, the Ἀπότλους, and the Τρωάδες describe the capture and its consequences; which were therefore contained in the Ἰλιάς μικρά: conf. Hermann. et Græfenh. p. 181. 182. In the latter part of the poem was contained the meeting of Menelaus and Helen: Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 155. ἐν Μενέλαιος: τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Δέσχης ὁ Λέσβιος ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ Ἰλιάδῃ. the fatal night of the capture: see above p. 127. d. also referred to by Eudocia v. Αἴσχυλος p. 31. αὐτὸς ὁ Σίνων, ὡς ἡν αὐτῷ συντεθειμένον φρυκτὸν ὑποδείξας τοὺς Ἐλληρας, ὡς Δέσχης φησὶν, ἥντικα "Νῦξ μὲν ἔην" κ. τ. λ. προσκαλεῖται αὐτὸς. And the description of the captives: Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 1263. Δέσχης ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδαν τετοικεὶς Ἀνδρομάχην καὶ Αἰνείαν αἰχμαλώτους φησὶ δοδοῦντας τῷ Ἀχιλλέως οὐδὲ Νεοπτόλεμον καὶ ἀπαχθῆναι σὸν αὐτῷ εἰς Φαρσαλαῖς τὴν Ἀχιλλέως πατρίδα. φησὶ γάρ οὐτωστός:

αὐτάρ Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαθύμονος φαεδίμος οὐδὲ
Ἐκτερέν ἄλοχον κάταγε κοίλας ἐπὶ τῆς
παίδα δὲ ἐλὸν ἐκ κόλπου ἐνπλακάμοις τιθῆνται
ἡμές ποδὸς τεταγούν ἀπὸ πύργου· τὸν δὲ πεσόντα
ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταῖη.
ἐκ δὲ ἔλετ' Ἀνδρομάχην ἥντανεν παράκοιτιν
Ἐκτορος, ἦν τέ οἱ αὐτῷ ἀριστῆς Παναχαιῶν
δῶκαν ἔχειν, ἐπίπρον ἀμειβόμενοι γέρας ἀνδρὶ·
αὐτὸς τὸ Ἀγγήσασαν εὐτὸν γάρον ἐπεδάμαντο
Αἰνεῖαν ἐν μητρὶν ἐβῆσσοτο ποντοπόρουν
ἐκ πάτων Δαναῶν γέρας ἀγέμενον ἔχοντος ἄλλων.

Pausanias X. 25, 2. agrees with this fragment concerning Astyanax: τούτῳ Λέσχεων ριψθέται: ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου συμβηναι λέγει τὸν τελευτὴν, οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ δόγματος γε τὸν Ἀθλητὸν φησὶ τοῦ Αἴγειου. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Διοκομῆδης παρὰ τὸν Μέγυντα [sc. τὸν Μέγυντα] ἦν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐμαχέσαντα οἱ Τρόες ὑπὸ Ἀθμήτου φησὶ τοῦ Αἴγειου. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Διοκομῆδης παρὰ τὸν Μέγυντα ὁ Κρέοντος ἔχων τραῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ. Λέσχεως οὖτος φησὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἀγγήνορος τριψθῆναι.—Λέσχεως δὲ ἐξ τὴν Αἴθραν ἐποίησεν, ἥντικα ἥλσκετο Ἰλιων, ὑπεκελθοῦσαν δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον

αὐτὴν ἀφίκεσθαι τὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν γρυποῦσθαι τὸν Θησέας, καὶ ὡς παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος αἰτήσαι Δημοφῶν αὐτὴν ὁ δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔθελεν χαρίζεσθαι, τινῆσιν δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἔφη τῷν Ἑλένην πεῖσται ἀποστέλλειν: δὲ αὐτῷ κύρικος ἔθωκεν Ἑλένη τὴν χάριν. It is rightly judged by Heyne ad Virg. Aen. II. Hermann and Græfenham ad Aristot. Poët. c. 23. Siebelis ad Pausan. X. 25, 3. that the Ἰλίου πέρσις in this passage is a part of the Ἰλιάς μικρά. or rather that Pausanias gives this name to the latter part of that poem. Græfenham ad Aristot. p. 181. *Id conclido, facile potuisse fieri ut hæc pars excerpta mox pro singulari carmine haberetur.* It would rather seem that Pausanias merely called this part of the poem Ἰλίου πέρσις; as he had just before called a part of the Odyssey Μέλανθονδεῖ λαδορά, and as particular parts of the Iliad and Odyssey were named from their subjects: conf. Äelian. V. H. XIII. 14. Four lines of the Ἰλιάς μικρά are preserved Schol. Eur. Or. 1376. collato Schol. Eur. Troad. 822. e Cod. Vat. See the Tables B. C. 765. From the last testimony it appears that this poem (which was given, as we have seen, by some accounts to Homer) was also ascribed to Cinethon and to Diodorus of Erythræ.

ἀπτελον, ἦν Κρονίδης ἔπορεν, ὡς παιδὸς ἄπονα,
χροσείας φύλακοις ἀγαναῖσιν κομισταν,
βότρων θ, οὐδὲ "Ηφαιστος ἐπασκήσας Διτὶ πατρὶ^d
δῶχ, δὲ Δαιμόδοντι πόρεν Γανυμήδεος ἄντι.

The first line marks the use of the digamma in this poem.

c Proclus p. 483. preserves the argument: τὰ περὶ τὸν ἴστον οἱ Τρόες ὑπέττεις ἔχοντες περιστάντες βαυλεύονται ὃ τι χρὴ τοιεῖν καὶ τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖ καὶ δικρηνίσαι αὐτὸν, τοῖς δὲ καταφλέγειν, οἱ δὲ ιερὸν αὐτὸν ἔφρασαν δεῦ τῷ Ἀθηνῷ ἀνατεθῆναι· καὶ τέλος νικῆ ἡ τοιτον γράμμη. τραπέντες δὲ εἰς εὐφροσύνην εἰωχοῦνται, ὡς ἀπηλλαγμένοις τοῦ τολμούν. ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ δύο δράκοντες ἐπιφανάντες τὸν Λαοκόντα καὶ τὸν ἔπειρον τῶν παιδῶν διαφθοροῦσιν· δεῦ δὲ τῷ τέρατι δισφορήσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνεῖαν ὑπεξῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἰδην, καὶ Σίνων τοὺς πυρσούς ἀντισχεῖ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, πρότερον εἰσελγυθός προποίηται· οἱ δὲ ἐκ Τενέων προπλεύσαντες καὶ οἱ ἐκ δουρείου ἵππους ἐπιπλέποντος τοῖς πολεμοῖς, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνοντο. καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἀποκτείνει Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐρετού βωμὸν καταφυγόντα· Μενέλαιος δὲ ἀνευράν Ἑλένην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῖς κατάγει, Δημόθοις φονεύσας. Κασσάνδραν δὲ Αἴας Ὀΐλεως πρὸς βίλαν ἀποστὸν συνεφέλκεται τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔβαν· ἐψ' ὃ παροξυνθέτες οἱ Ἐλ-

§. 27. Νόστοι. When the Νόστοι without the author's name are quoted, the cyclic poem of *Augias*, described by Proclus, may be understood: Elmsley ad Eur. Med. p. 67. *Poëmatum e quibus constabat cyclus epicus unum Νόστους appellatum esse nemo nescit. Argumentum ejus ex Procli Chrestomathia sumptum—iterum edidit Gaisfordius. Libri fuerunt quinque, auctore Proclo, ab Augia Træzenio scripti. Pau-*
cissimi hodie extant versus^d.

ληρες καταλεῦσαι βούλονται τὸν Αἴαντα. ὁ δὲ ἐτί τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς βωμὸν καταφένει καὶ διασπάται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου κυδίουν. ἔπειτα ἀποτέλουσιν οἱ Ἐλληρες, καὶ φθορὰν αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μηχανᾶται καὶ Ὁδοσοίς Ἀστυάνακτα ἀνελάτος Νεοπόλεμος· Ἀδρομάχην γέρας λαμβάνει, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λάφυρα διανέμονται. Δημοφῶν τε καὶ Ἀκάμας Αἴθραν εἰρύντες ἄργους· μεβ' ἔσιτον. ἔπειτα ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν Πολυζένην σφαγαζούσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον. Heyne suspected that this last sentence was not a part of the preceding subject, and that it belonged to the other Ἰλίου πέρσις written by *Lesches*. But the different circumstances (which have been partly noticed by Hermann) shew that Heyne was mistaken. *Astyanax* is here slain by *Ulysses*; in *Lesches* by *Neoptolemus*. Here *Demopho* and *Acamas* carry away *Aethra*; in *Lesches* she is placed at the disposal of *Helen*. This is therefore a part of the argument of *Arctinus*. *Lesches* in the conclusion of the *Ilias parva* treated the same subject as had been before treated by *Arctinus* in the Ἰλίου πέρσις; but he handled it in a different manner, both in these points and in another also noticed by Hermann; that in *Arctinus* (whom Virgil follows II. 512) *Priam* is slain by *Neoptolemus* at the altar of *Jupiter*, but in *Lesches* he falls at the gate of his own palace. A fragment of *Arctinus* is quoted Schol. Il. l. 515. on *Podalirius* and *Machaon*: τότοις οὐκε καὶ Ἀρκτίνῳς ἐν Ἰλίου περθῆσις νομίζειν, ἐν οἷς φησίν.

αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν ἔδωκε πατήρ * ἐνοσήγαος
πατίν * * *

ἀμφοτέραις, ἔπειτον δὲ ἐτέρου κυδίου ἔθηκε·
τῷ μὲν κουφοτέρας χείρας πέρεν, ἐκ τε βέλεμα
σαρκὸς ἐλεῖ τῷξει τε καὶ ἐλκεα πάντ' ἀκέσσαθαι·
τῷ δὲ ἄρδεικριβέα πάντα ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔθηκε,
ἄσκοτα το γνῶναι καὶ ἀναλθέα ίάσσασθαι·
δε τα καὶ Αἴαντος πρώτος μάθε χωρένοιο
ζημιατά τ' ἀστράπτεντα βαρυμόνιν τε νόμημα.

As the ὅπλων κρίσις and the death of *Ajax* were treated in the Αἴτιοι, it seems probable that the Scholiast has quoted *Arctinus* from the wrong poem, and that these lines belonged to the Αἴτιοι. *Arctinus* described the Palladium, quoted by Dionysius Ant. I. p. 172. Καλλιστρατός τε ὁ περὶ Σαμοθράκης συτακάμενος ιστοριαν, καὶ Σάτυρος ὁ τοὺς ἀρχαλοὺς μίθους συναγαγών, καὶ ἄλλοι συχροί, παλαιώτατος δὲ ἦν ἡμές ἴσμεν, τοιητὴς Ἀρκτίνῳς λέγοντι γεννᾶ δέ·

Χρύση τὴν Πάλαυτος θυγατέρα γημαμένην Δαρδάνῳ κ. τ. λ. p. 174. Ἀρκτίνος δέ φησιν ὑπὸ Διὸς δοθῆναι Δαρδάνῳ Παλλάδιον ἔν, καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐν Ἰδίῳ ἔνις ἡ τόλις ἥλισκετο, κεκρυμμένον ἐν ἀβάτῳ^e εἰκόνα δὲ ἐκείνου κατεσκευασμένην, μηδὲ ἐν τῷ ἀρχετίπῳ διάφορον, ἀπάτης τῶν ἐπιβουλεύεντας ἔγκα, ἐν φανερῷ τεθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας λαβεῖν. from which nothing more can be inferred than that *Arctinus* in the beginning of the Ἰλίου πέρσις related the capture of the *Palladium* by *Diomed* and *Ulysses*. See Lobeck Aglaopham. p. 1204. 1205.

^d The argument is in Proclus p. 485. Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀγαμέμνωνα καὶ Μενέλαον εἰς ἔριν καθίστησι περὶ τοῦ ἔκπλου. Ἀγαμέμνων μὲν ὅν τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔκιασθόμενος χόλος ἔτιμένει, Διομῆδης δὲ καὶ Νέστωρ ἀναχθέντες εἰς τὴν οἰκελαν διασώζονται· μεβ' οὖς ἐκπλεύστας ὁ Μενέλαος μετὰ πέτραν νεῦν ἐν τῷ πελάγει. οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάλχαντα καὶ Λεοτέα καὶ Πολυπότιν τεξῇ πορευθέντες εἰς Κολοφῶνα Τειρεσίαν ἀπάνθιτα τελευτήσαντα θάττουσι. τὸν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἀποτλεόντων, Ἀχιλλέων εἰδώλον ἐπιφανὲν πειράται διακαλένει πρόλεγον τὰ ἀποθησόμενα. εἰτ' ὁ περὶ τὰς Καփηρίδας πέτρας δηλοῦται χειμών [Apollod. II. 1, 4. Ναύπλιος—ἔγγημεν, ὃς δ τοὺς νόστους γράψας, Φιλίππαν], καὶ ἡ Αἴαντος φθορὰ τοῦ Λοκροῦ. Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ, Θείδος ἵτοβερμένης, τεξῇ ποιεῖται τὴν πορείαν· καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Θράκην Ὁδοστέα καταλαμβάνει ἐν Μαρανεΐ· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνει τῆς ὕδου, καὶ τελευτήσαντα Φοίνικα θάπτει, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Μολοσσοὺς ἀφικόμενος ἀναγνωρίζεται Πηλεῖ. ** Ἀγαμέμνονος ὑπὸ Αγύλουσιν καὶ Κλιταιμήστρας ἀναπεθέντος, ὑπὲρ Ὁρέστου καὶ Πυλάδου τιμωρία, καὶ Μενελάου εἰς τὴν οἰκελαν ἀνακομιδῇ.

Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 1318. et Arg. Eur. Med. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Αἴσαντος ὁ τοὺς νόστους ποιήσας φησὶν οὕτως·

αὐτίκα δὲ Αἴσαντα θῆκε φίλον κόρον ἡβάσαντα
γῆρας ἀποκύνατο εἰδύνησι πραΐδεσσι,
φάρμακα παλλ' ἔψυντες τε χρυσεῖσι λέβησι.

In v. 2. θύλητο Schol. Aristoph. whence Elmsley inserting the digamma reads ἀποκύνατα θύλητοι. which would indicate the antiquity of this poem. Pausan. X. 28, 4. εἰ νόστων μνήμην γὰρ ἐν τούτοις καὶ "Αἴδους καὶ τῶν ἑκῆ δειμάτων ιστίν— In Schol. Eur. Phœn. 1123 (1116). ed. Beck. δὲ τὸν νόστον ποιήσας φησί— But Matthiæ observes, Junt. Basil. δὲ τὸν * ποιήσας Defectum supplet Aug. αἴρει. Taur. αἴρει. The lines that follow accordingly belong to the Αἴγιλιος. See §. 9. p. 350. o.

§. 28. Ὀδύσσεια^c.§. 29. Τηλεγονία. A sequel to the Odyssey^f.

In this catalogue, which, including the *Φωκαῖς* mentioned in §. 25., exhibits the titles of thirty epic poems, the most ancient composition is undoubtedly the Iliad. The next in antiquity is the Odyssey. Of all the other works of which the time is ascertained the earliest are the *Αἴθιοπις* and the *Ιλίου πέρσις*, the author of which flourished in B. C. 775^g; the latest was the *Teleogonia*, which may be placed at B. C. 566^h. The rest are either poems by unknown authors, or ascribed to poets of uncertain date. The poets whose time is uncertain are considered belowⁱ. They may be placed within the limits here named, B. C. 775—566. But some of the poems which were composed by unknown authors were probably of early date, for a reason which is given below; and may be assigned a place in the very beginning of this period, next in time to the Odyssey or the works of *Hesiod*.

Although the authors of these works lived some ages after the heroic times, yet they drew from the compositions of poets older than themselves, and poets who were acquainted with many of the facts which they described. By far the greater part of the subjects here named lies within the compass of the heroic age, ascending about three generations above the Trojan war and proceeding downwards to the second generation after it. But from the pictures of heroic manners given to us in the Iliad and Odyssey, we cannot doubt that contemporary bards celebrated the actions of the heroes with whom they lived^j. Those poets with respect

^c Casaubon ad *Athen.* apud Schw. tom. IX. p. 24. Salmasius Plin. Exercit. p. 602. A. and others, who had not seen the fragments of Proclus, supposed that *Homer* was not included among the cyclic poets. They might have suspected, however, that in a collection, which contained the adventures of *Ulysses* and his return to Ithaca, the *Odyssey* would not have been omitted. The fragments of Proclus now place this matter beyond a doubt; and his account is confirmed by Schol. Odyss. §. 25. ἐπηρόη: ή κυκλική “ἐπηροή.” π. 195. θέλγει: ή κυκλική “θέλγει.” Boeckh ad loc. apud Buttmann. p. 471. ή κυκλική *videatur esse editio quæ in Cyclo h. e. cum poëtis cyclicis ceteris circumferebatur*. When Proclus observes that the cyclic poems were not selected on account of their poetical merit, he does not mean that they had no poetical merit, but only that they were selected for another reason.

^f Proclus p. 488. οἱ μῆντορες ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων θάπτωται· καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς θύεις Νύμφαις εἰς Ἡλιν ἀποπλεῖ ἐπισκεψόμενος τὰ βουκόλια, καὶ ξενίζεται παρὰ Πολυζένῃ δᾶρό τε λαμβάνει κρατῆρα. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ περὶ Τροφόνιον καὶ Ἀγαμῆδην καὶ Αἴγαναν ἔπειτα εἰς Ἰθάκην καταπλεύσας τὰς ἵπδας Τειρεσίου ἥψεις τελεῖ θυσίας. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εἰς Θεσπρωτῶνς ἀφίκεται [see the Tables B. C. 566] καὶ γαμεῖ Καλλιδίκην βασιλίδα τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν. ἔπειτα πόλεμος συνίσταται τοῖς Θεσπρωτοῖς τρόδις Βρύγας, Ὀδυσσέως ἡγουμένου ἐπταῦθα “Ἄρης τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα τρέπεται, καὶ αὐτῷ εἰς μά-

χρι Ἀθηρᾶς καθίσταται” τούτους μὲν Ἀπόλλων διαλέπει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Καλλιδίκης τελευτὴν τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν διαδέχεται Πολυπούλης δὲ Ὁδυσσέως νύός, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Ἰθάκην ἀφίκεται· καὶ τούτῳ Τηλέγονος, ἐπὶ ζήτησι τοῦ πατρὸς πλέων, ἀποβάς εἰς τὴν Ἰθάκην τέκνει τὴν νῆσον ἐκβοσθήσας δὲ Ὁδυσσέως ἵπδα τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνακρείται κατ’ ἄγνωσταν. Τηλέγονος δὲ ἐπιγρῦθει τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τὸ τε τοῦ πατρὸς σῶμα καὶ τὸν Τηλέμαχον καὶ τὴν Πηλείσπην πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καθίστησιν η δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀθανάτους τοιεῖ, καὶ συνοκεντὶ τὴν μὲν Πηλειόπην Τηλέγονος Κίρκην δὲ Τηλέμαχον.

^g See the Tables.

^h See the Tables. That later poets were not admitted into the κύκλος appears from Clemens Al. Strom. I. p. 333. C. μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πάντας παλαιοῖς τοὺς τοῦ κύκλου παιητὰς τιθέασιν.

ⁱ See No. 9. *Creophylus*.

^j For the office and importance of the ἀιδόνες see the description of Demodocus Odyss. VIII. XIII. Phemius Odyss. I. XVII. XXII. Achilles himself Iliad. IX. 186. the ἀιδόνες of Argos Odyss. III. 267. with the just remarks of Mitford vol. I. p. 172. Add to these Odyss. XVII. 383—386. Hesiod. “Erg. 25. 26. Hymn. Apoll. 165—175. quoted by Wolf Prolegom. Hom. p. 100. who observes, *Homeri ævo ars ἀιδῶν non minus peculiaris fuit quam fabri aut figuli, quam medici aut hariolii, honorem autem publice privatimque habuit longe maximum.* This observation does not express all that might be said. The first of the three testimonies produced by Wolf himself con-

to the actors in the scene and the main actions performed were contemporary witnesses; and their evidence was preserved as long as their compositions existed. But when their works came to be superseded by more finished poems, in which their poetry was incorporated, the works of the older bards naturally became obsolete, and ceased to be remembered.

From the testimonies to the time of *Homer* which have been given already^k we collect three principal opinions concerning his age. The first conjecture supposes him to flourish from 78 to 100 years after the fall of Troy; the second opinion, adopted by Aristotle, places his birth at the time of the Ionic migration, and by consequence his flourishing period would extend from 170 to 200 years and upwards after the fall of Troy. The third conjecture, that of Apollodorus, makes him 100 years later; and according to this opinion he is born 240 years, and his ἀκμὴ will be placed from 270 to 300 years after the Trojan era. This third opinion coincides with Herodotus, who places *Homer* and *Hesiod* together 400 years before his own time.

Hesiod supplies a notice of himself. His father inhabited Æolian Cymē, from whence he migrated to Ascra in Bœotia^l. And Cymē itself was not founded till 150 years after the Trojan war^m. *Hesiod* according to some opinions was contemporary with *Homer*; he is placed before him by other accounts, and after him by othersⁿ. The weight of authorities is in favour of this last opinion^o.

tributes to shew that the importance of the δοῦλος was not limited to the age of *Homer*, but belonged to the heroic times which preceded him.

^k See p. 145—148. We may add that according to Proclus p. 6. or Tzetzes p. 15. ad Hesiod. *Dionysius* the κυκλούραφος supposed *Homer* contemporary with the Theban and Trojan wars: see p. 348. g. He is contemporary with *Medon* in the Certamen Hom. et Hes. p. 493. αὐτὸν ξενοθήναι φασι παρὰ Μίδοις τῷ βασικῆι τῶν Ἀθηναῖων—a few years after the Ionic migration. The date which Tzetzes Chil. XII. 192 (which he repeats Chil. XIII. 647) ascribes to Apollodorus, 80 years from the Trojan war, is (as Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 510. observes) a mistake of Tzetzes. That date was not the date of Apollodorus, but of Crates. Heraclides Ponticus placed *Homer* some generations before *Lycurgus*: πολιτ. p. 206. τῷ Ὁμέρῳ πάλιν (Δικαιόρος) παρὰ τῶν ἀπογόνων Κρεψίδου λαβὼν πρώτος διεκόπει εἰς Πέλοπόνησον. who is followed by Plutarch *Lycurg.* c. 4.

^l *Hesiod*. Opp. 631—637.

^m See p. 105. 140.

ⁿ Tzetzes Chil. XII. 163.

‘Ησιόδος ὁ πρότερος κατά τινας Ὁμέρου,
κατά τινας δὲ Ισθμίους, θύτερος καθ' ἔτέρους.

Pausanias IX. 30, 2. avoids the question: περὶ δὲ ‘Ησιόδου τε ἡλικίας καὶ Ὁμέρου παλινρραγμονήσατος ἐξ τὸ δικριβέστατος εἴ μοι γράψεις ἦδη ἦσαν, ἐπισταμένη τὸ φυλαῖτιν ἄνδαν τε καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δους κατ’ ἐμὲ εἰς ταιῆσαι τὸν ἔτον καθεστήκεσσαν.

^o In the following testimonies *Hesiod* is either contemporary with *Homer* or a little before him. They are made contemporary by Herodotus al-

ready quoted; and by Euthymenes and Archemachus: see p. 146. by Hellanicus, Damastes, and Pherecydes: Proclus in Vita Homeri p. 466. Gaisf. Ἐλλάνικος καὶ Δαμάστης καὶ Φερεκίδης—Μαίανά φασι τὸν Ὁμέρου πατέρα καὶ Δῖον τὸν ‘Ησιόδου γενίσθαι Ἀπελλάδες κ. τ. λ. [conf. Suid. ‘Ησιόδος, Certam. Hom. et Hes. p. 477.] And by Cyril already quoted p. 146. He adds, however, φασὶ δέ τινες οὐχ ὅμηρον Ὁμέρῳ τὸν ‘Ησιόδον εἶναι. Nicocles apud Schol. Pindar. Nem. II. 1. ραψῳδῆσαι δέ φησι πρῶτον τὸν ‘Ησιόδον Νικοκλῆς. Ephorus apud Syncellum p. 173. B. ‘Ησιόδον Ἔφορος ἀνεψιὸν καὶ σύγχρονον Ὁμέρου φησι. Gellius III. 11. Homerum alii minorem scriperunt; in quis L. Attius poëta et Ephorus historia scriptor [whence we may correct the opinion of Syncellus]. Marcus autem Varro in primo de Imaginibus uter prior sit natus parum constare dicit; sed non esse dubium quin aliquo tempore eodem vixerint; idque ex epigrammate ostendi quod in tripode scriptum est qui in monte Helicone ab Hesiode positus traditur. Attius autem in primo Didascalico levibus admodum argumentis uititur per quae ostendi putat Hesiodium natu priorem, &c. Gellius himself XVII. 21. De Homero et Hesiode inter omnes fere scriptores constituit ætatem eos egisse vel iisdem fere temporibus vel Homerum aliquanto antiquiore. Sextus Empiricus p. 259. οὐχ ὥπλον πάντων διαλογεῖται ποιητὴς ἀρχαιώτατος εἶναι Ὁμέρος· ἕπει γὰρ ‘Ησιόδον πρόκειν τοῖς χρόνοις λέγονται. The Parian Marble No. 29. 30. places *Hesiod* about 30 years before *Homer*: ἀφ' οὗ .. ιδος—ἔτη ίηι Η ίδι ΑΔΑ... —ζηφ' οὗ Ὅμερος—ἔτη ίηι Η ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ. The interval is either 27 or 30 years, as the lacuna may be

In assigning the age of *Homer* we have only the choice of conjectures offered to us, and this under the farther disadvantage that the reasons upon which those conjectures are founded

supplied. Proclus ad Hesiod. p. 5. repeated by Tzetzes p. 12. συνηκριμέναι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Ὀμῆρος φασὶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρου προγενέστερον εἶναι δισχυρίζονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν προγενέστερον εἶναι τοῦτον Ὁμήρου δισχυρίζομενοι ἐν ἀρχῇ εἴναι φασὶ τῆς Ἀρέπτου διρχῆς Ὁμήρου δὲ ἐν τῷ τέλει, δὲ Ἀρέπτου ὀλός μὲν ἦν Ἀκάστου, ἄρχες Ἀθηναῖν ἔτη λέπια [see p. 132. o]. οἱ δὲ συγχρόνους αὐτὸν εἴναι λέγοντες ἐπὶ τῷ τελευτῇ τοῦ Ἀμφιδάμαντος τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐβοίας φασὶν αὐτὸν ἀγωνισασθαι, καὶ γενικητά Ὅσιοδον κ. τ. λ. Suidas Ὅσιοδος—ἡν δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρου κατά τινας πρεσβύτερος, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους σύγχρονος. Those who believed the tale of the contest with *Homer*: Dio tom. I. p. 76. ἡ οὖκ ἀκίκος τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ἐλικῶν τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίποδος;

‘*Ὅσιόδος Μούσας· Ἐλικωνίς τόνδ’ ἀνέθηκεν
Σώμαν γιγήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θείον*’ Ὁμηρον.

Philostratus Heroic. p. 194. οἱ δὲ ἔγκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη γεγονέναι μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν εἰνὶ Ὁμηρὸν τέ φασι καὶ Ὅσιόδον· δὲ δὴ φασὶ ἄμφω ἐν Χαλκίδι κ. τ. λ. Themistius Or. 30. initio: Ὅσιόδος—εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐκλείας—προῆλθεν ὥστε καὶ Ὁμῆρος περὶ σοφίας καὶ μουσικῆς ἐν ταφαῖς Ἀμφιδάμαντος εἰς ἀγώναν ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν κριτῶν τὸν στέφανον καὶ τῷ νίκου ἔχειν. Libanius tom. III. p. 22. ἡγωνιστάροι τοῦ Ὁμῆρος Ὅσιόδος καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς Ὅσιόδος ἐν ἐπίγραμματι διδάσκει· φιλοτιμούμενος καὶ λέγων νενικηκέναι τὸν Ὁμηρον. Eustathius ad Pl. p. 4. εἰ δὲ καὶ πρίστεν Ὁμηρος· Ὅσιόδον τῷ Ἀσκραλῷ καὶ ἡττήθη. The author of the *Certamen Homeri et Hesioidi* (written soon after the reign of Hadrian, in which the author lived: conf. p. 476) p. 477. εἴοι μὲν οὖν Ὁμηρον προγενέστερον Ὅσιόδον φασὶν εἴναι· τινὲς δὲ νεώτερον καὶ συγγενῆ—τινὲς δὲ συγκριμένας φασὶν αὐτὸν, ὥστε καὶ ἀγωνισασθαι ὅμοιος ἐν Αἰγαίῳ τῇς Βαιωτίᾳ—Γανίκτωρ ἐπιτάφιον τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀμφιδάμαντος βασιλέως Εὐβοίας ἐπιτελῶν τάντας τοὺς ἐπισχίους ἄνδρας—συνεκάλεσε· καὶ οὗτοι οὖν ἐν τῷ χρήσι, ὡς φασι, συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλους ἥλθον εἰς τὸν Χαλκίδαν Ὁμηρος· τε καὶ Ὅσιόδος. He repeats the epigram p. 489. The contest of these poets is ridiculed by Lucian V. H. II. 22. tom. IV. p. 282. τοιητῶν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ παραπολὸν ἔκρατεν Ὁμηρος, ἐνίκησε δὲ ζωμὸς Ὅσιόδος. Plutarch Sympos. p. 675. A. mentions the tale as told by early grammarians: ἐπίδοξος ἡμην ἔωλα παραβήσειν πράγματα, τὰς Οἰδύλους τοῦ Θετταλοῦ ταφάς, καὶ τὰς Ἀμφιδάμαντος τοῦ Χαλκιδέως, ἐν αἷς Ὁμηρον καὶ Ὅσιόδον ιστοροῦσιν ἔπεις διαγνωσάσθαι. καταβαλόν δὲ τάντα τῷ διατεθρυλῆσθαι πάντα ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματικῶν, κ. τ. λ. Idem Sept. Sap. p. 153. F. ἀκούμεν γάρ ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἀμφιδάμαντος ταφὰς εἰς Χαλκίδα τῶν τότε σοφῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τοιηταὶ συῆλθον· ἢν δὲ δὲ Ἀμφιδάμας ἀπὸ πολιτικῆς, καὶ πολλὰ πράγματα παρασχὼν Ἐρετριεῦσιν ἐν ταῖς περὶ Διλάτου μάργαις ἔπειτεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ τορετικαὶ πομένα

τοῖς τοιηταῖς ἐπὶ χαλεπήν—ἐποιει τὴν κρίσιν—ἢ τε δόξα τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν Ὁμηρου καὶ Ὅσιόδου πολλὴν ἀπορίαν μετὰ αἰδοῦς τοῖς κρίνουσι παρεῖχεν, ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοιαύτας ἐρωτήσεις, καὶ προθύβαλον μὲν, ὃς φησι Λέσχης,

Μοῦσά μοι ἔπειτεν ἐκένα τὰ μῆτ’ ἐγένοντο πάροιθεν
μήτ’ ἔσται μετόπισθεν—

ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ Ὅσιόδος δὲ τοῦ παρατυχόντος “Αλλ’ ὅταν” κ. τ. λ. The lines, however, upon *Amphidamas* in Hesiod. Opp. 648—660. are rejected as spurious by Plutarch apud Proclum p. 304. Wytttenb. tom. V. p. 790. ταῦτα τάντα περὶ τῆς Χαλκίδος, τοῦ Ἀμφιδάμαντος, καὶ τοῦ ἄλιον, καὶ τοῦ τρίποδος, ἐμβεβηγόσθαι φησιν δὲ Πλούταρχος οὐδὲν ἔχοτα χρηστόν. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀμφιδάμαντα νομιμαχοῦντα πρὸς Ἐρετριές ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ιηλάτου ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλα δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγονες ἐγένοντο τελευτῆς τοις παρὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παιδῶν· ηκῆσαν δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενον τὸν Ὅσιόδον—καὶ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τούτῳ θριλλῶσι. τάντα δὲν ταῦτα ληρόδη λέγουν ἐκένος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἄρχεται τὸν—“*Ηματα*” κ. τ. λ. (v. 661). Wytttenbach ad Plutarch. p. 153. E., who refers to all these testimonies, properly remarks that Plutarch does not call in question the war with the Eretrians (which is attested by Strabo X. p. 448), but only rejects the poetical contest: *Homerum et Hesiodium certasse, hunc victorem præmium tripodem abstulisse et inscripto epigrammate consecrassse, fictum nugatoriumque pronuntiat*. We may observe, however, with Wytttenbach himself that the contest with *Homer* is not alluded to in the verses. Pausanias IX. 31. 3., referring to the contest at Chalcis, does not name *Homer* as the competitor. It is possible that the lines which Plutarch rejects may be genuine, and that in the epigram already given from Dio the first line may commemorate a real transaction, and the second may be an addition of the grammarians. Proclus in Vita *Homeri* p. 467. retains the verses of *Hesiod*, but rejects the contest with *Homer* and the epigram which records it: ἀλλοι δὲ τὸ αἴνιγμα πλάναντες τοῦτο “*Ὅσιόδος—διον* Ὁμηρον.” ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπλανήσθοσαν ἐκ τῶν *Ὅσιοδειων ἡμερῶν* ἔτερον γάρ τι σημαίνει. In Plutarch p. 154. A. Wytttenbach (who reads προθύβαλον “*Ομηρος* δὲ φησι Λέσχης”) understands *Lesches* the ancient cyclic poet, who wrote concerning the contest of *Homer* and *Hesiod*. Reiske also interprets, teste *Lesches proponebat hanc quæstionem*. and Xylander remarks, *poëta hoc nomen est qui Parvam Iliadem scriptis*. But it is very improbable that the tale of this contest should have been invented before the age of *Lesches*, or that *Lesches* should have written upon it. Such subjects belonged to a later age. Wherefore I should rather read with some co-

are not known. I prefer, however, that date for *Homer* which is sanctioned by Aristotle, placing his birth at the time of the Ionian colonies. For *Hesiod* I accept the date supplied by

pies quoted by Wyttensbach προῦβαλον μὲν λέσχας, ὡς φασι.

Hesiod is younger than *Homer* in the following testimonies: Philochorus and Xenophanes apud Gell. III. 11. *Alii Homerum quam Hesioidum majorem natu fuisse scripserunt; in quis Philochorus et Xenophanes.* Apollodorus apud Strabon. VII. p. 299. τοὺς ἔτι νεωτέρους Ὁμηρού, Ἡσίδον μὲν κ.τ.λ. And his argument apud Strab. VIII. p. 370. also supposes *Hesiod* to be the youngest. Eratosthenes apud Strab. I. p. 23. Ερατοσθένης δὲ Ἡσίδον μὲν εἰκάζει πεκυομένον περὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσίους πλάνης ὅτι κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν γεγένηται, πιστεύσαντο τῇ δόξῃ, μὴ μάλιστα ἐφ' Ὁμήρου λεγομένου μεμήσθας ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἴτιης κ.τ.λ. Ὁμηρος δὲ μήτε εἰδίνας ταῦτα— Plutarch. Mor. p. 105. D. δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα [sc. *Homerum*] καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ— Ἡσίδος. The Scholiast on Homer II. δ. 59. προσβιτάτην: πλαγιασθεὶς δὲ ἐντεῖθεν Ἡσίδος κ.τ.λ. on II. ε'. 880.— τοῦτο δεδικεῖ ἀφορμὴν Ἡσίδῳ κ.τ.λ. on II. μ'. 22. ὅτι ἀνέγνω Ἡσίδος τὰ Ὁμήρου ὃς ἂν νεωτέρες τούτου. Heraclides Ponticus discussed the question περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσίδον ἥπικας (F. H. III. p. 471); and he decided that *Homer* was the elder: see Harles ad Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 95. a. Proclus ad *Hesiod*. Opp. 94. φάνεται νέωτερος Ἡσίδος Ὁμήρου. ad Theog. 338. καὶ ἐταύτου φάνεται Ἡσίδος Ὁμήρου νεώτερος καὶ γὰρ Ὁμηρος Αἴγυπτον καλεῖ τὸν Νεῖλον. Cicero, who placed *Homer* 30 years before *Lycurgus* (see p. 146), observes Cet. c. 15. *Homerus qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis fuit.* Velleius I. 7. *Hesiodus circa CXX annos distinctus ab Homeri aetate, vir—ut tempore tanto viro ita operis auctoritate proximus.* Porphyrius apud Suidam Ἡσίδος, Πορφύριος καὶ ἄλλοι πλεῖστην νεώτερον (Ὅμηρον) ἔκατὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁρίζουσιν ὡς λβ' μάρτιους ἐνιαυτοὺς συμπτυτερέν τῆς πρώτης διλυμπτιάδος. The numbers are exact. Porphyry placed *Homer* 130 years before Ol. 1: see p. 146. Eusebius Chron. II. places *Homer* and *Hesiod* together at the year 1002. But at the year 1210, 30 years before Ol. 1, he records the date of *Porphyry*; where Hieronymus supplies *Hesiodus insignis habetur, ut vult Porphyrius.* Tzetzes Chil. XII. 166. Prolegom. ad *Hesiod*. p. 15. supposes *Hesiod* 400 years later than *Homer*. See again, ad Opp. 652. Tzetzes Chil. XII. 196. XIII. 650. places him in the 11th Olympiad: Ἡσίδος δὲ ἥκμαζε, ὡς εἶρον ἐν ἐτίραις, Κατὰ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην μὲν αὐτὴν διλυμπτιάδα. According to Proclus p. 7., or rather Tzetzes p. 15., Aristotle placed *Hesiod* in the generation before *Stesichorus*: Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φιλόσοφος, μᾶλλον δὲ είμαι δὲ τοὺς πέτλους συντάξας, ἐν τῇ

'Ορχομενίων πολιτείᾳ Στησίχορον τὸν μελοτεῖον εἶναι φυσιν νέον Ἡσίδου, ἐκ τῆς Κλυμένης αὐτῷ γενηθέντα τῆς Ἀριφάνους καὶ Γανύκτορος ἀδελφῆς θυγατρὸς δὲ Φηγέως. ὁ δὲ Στησίχορος οὗτος σύγχρονος ἦν Πιθαγόρα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀκραγαντίνῳ Φαλάριδι· οἱ δὲ Οὐρηροὶ τετρακοσοὶ ιστέριζον ἔτεσι, καθά φησι καὶ Ἡρόδοτος. This account appears to be corrupted by some errors of Tzetzes. We know from Pausanias IX. 31. 5. 38. 3. Thucydides III. 96. Plutarch Mor. p. 162. E. F. 969. E. Eratosthenes in the author of the *Certamen* p. 491. that *Hesiod* was murdered by some Locrians, and that his bones were afterwards removed to Orchomenus in Boeotia. And we know from Plutarch apud Proclum ad Opp. 631. that this last fact was noticed by Aristotle: δοκίητος δὲ αὐτὸς [sc. *Aescram*] ὁ Πλωντάρχος ιστορεῖ καὶ τότε εἶναι, Θεσπίων ἀνέλοντων τοὺς εἰκούντας, Ὁρχομενίους δὲ τοὺς σωθέντας δεξαμένους ὅθεν καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ὁρχομενίους προστάξαι τὰ Ἡσίδου λείψανα λαβεῖν καὶ θάψαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ γράφων τὴν Ὁρχομενίων πολιτείαν. This work was written by the celebrated Aristotle (conf. Polluc. X. 165), and not by the author of the πέτλος. *Stesichorus* was in some accounts the son of *Hesiod*: Proclus ad Opp. 268. Ιστέριον δὲ ὅτι νέος Ἡσίδου Μνασέας ἔστι. Φιλόχορος δὲ Στησίχορος φησὶ τὸν ἀπὸ Κλυμένης ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρχέτης. Suidas: Στησίχορος Εὐφόρβου ἢ Εὐφίμου ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι, Εὐκλείδου ἢ Τέτους ἢ Ἡσίδου. That this was the opinion of Aristotle may be doubted. Tzetzes in that passage has misrepresented Herodot. II. 53. who makes no mention there of *Pythagoras* or *Phalaris*; and it is not unlikely that he has misrepresented Aristotle, whose work περὶ πολιτεῶν he could only quote at second hand. The date of the obsequies of *Hesiod* at Orchomenus we may fix from Pausanias IX. 38. 6. who relates that *Chersias* composed the epitaph inscribed upon his monument, and preserved Pausan. IX. 38. 3. Certam. Hes. et Hom. p. 491. Tzetz. ad *Hesiod*. p. 7. 16. and (under the name of *Mnasalcas*) in the Antholog. tom. I. p. 126. But *Chersias* flourished in the reign of *Periander*: see below N^o. 34. which fixes the inscription to that age. And this is confirmed by Plutarch Sept. Sap. p. 162. F. for in that dialogue, supposed to be held in the reign of *Periander*, he represents the Orchomenidus as then engaged in the search: ἀποκέριτται ζητούμενος τῷ Ὁρχομενίῳ, ὡς φασι, βαυλμένων κατὰ χρηστὸν ἀνελέσθαι τὰ λείψανα. and, although Plutarch in that dialogue is not always exact in the minute adjustment of particulars (see the Tables B. C. 564), yet for general facts he may be trusted.

Herodotus. These dates, when adjusted to the reduced epochs given above ^p, B.C. 1127 for the fall of Troy and B.C. 988 for the Ionic migration, will produce the following positions. The ἀξμή of Homer, taken from the age of 25 to 60 years, will fall within B.C. 962—927, or from 165 to 200 years after the Trojan era. Hesiod will be placed 100 years later, according to the account of Porphyry and many others, and his flourishing period will occupy B.C. 859—824, from 268 to 303 years after the era and 400 years before the ἀξμή of Herodotus, which may be taken at B.C. 459—424 ^q.

^p See p. 140.

^q Mr. Mitford vol. I. p. 229—234. concludes that Homer lived before the return of the Heraclidae for the following reasons: 1. Because in Odyss. α. 351. "those subjects are preferred which, being recent, are more interesting." And this would be contradicted by the poet's practice, if the events which he celebrates had happened 400, or even 100 years before him. 2. Because in Odyss. θ. 578. "the fall of Troy was the subject for future generations." Had the poet lived after the Return, that event would have been more interesting. 3. Because in Il. β. 486. Homer says that "he has these things only from report;" which would be superfluous information, if he had not lived so near the times that it might be doubted if his early youth had not been passed among them. 4. Because the most natural interpretation of Il. ν. 308., καὶ ταῦτα παιδεῖς, τοι κεν μετέπισθε γένωνται, marks precisely the number of generations from Æneas to the poet. 5. Because he is silent upon the return of the Heraclidae, and because "he would have paid some compliment to the Heraclidae if in his time they had been lords of Peloponnesus instead of exiles in Doris." But the first three passages are too vague to lead to a definite conclusion. The first is adapted to the situation and circumstances of Telemachus the speaker: the second is the natural expression of a poet who had chosen the Trojan war for his theme: Mitford's interpretation of the third is forced and unnatural; its plain meaning would rather refute his conclusion. Upon the fourth passage Heyne tom. VIII. p. 79. remarks, *Ex hoc versu viri docti declarare volueret tertia a Troja excidio etate vixisse Homerum: sic Jortin, Wood, et inde Mitford, quarta etate. Attamen in poëta, et multo magis in vaticinio, non tam accurate ταῦτα παιδεῖς dici, sed pro omni posteritate et progenie, existimandum est.* And this might satisfy the question. But even if with Mitford we understand the terms literally (which, however, he inaccurately interprets to express three generations after Æneas, whereas they express only two), a sufficient explanation may be given. Echelatus in the Æolic migration, according to Mitford himself p. 340., "made himself master of Troy

"and put a final period to that unfortunate city." If, then, the descendants of Æneas reigned at all, they reigned till their dynasty was ended by Echelatus the grandson of Orestes, with whom the grandson of Æneas might be contemporary. This passage, then, if interpreted with precision, as Mitford p. 231. requires, would only shew that the poet marked the dynasty to its extinction in the third generation, but would not prove that the poet himself lived at that period. But he is silent upon the Return (Mitford's fifth argument), which, if he had known it, he would have celebrated. "Had the return of the Heraclidae preceded the times in which Homer flourished, is it conceivable that he should never once have alluded to so great an event?" We answer that he has alluded to it in Iliad. 8. 40. "Οπποτέ κεν καὶ ἔγδι μερανδρούσιν ἐξαλατάδεις Τὴν ἑθέλω κ. τ. λ. 51—53. ητοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς μὲν τολμό φίλταται εἰσι πόλης, Ἀργος τε, Σπάρτη τε, καὶ εὐρύγυνα Μυκῆνη. Τὰς διατέρσαις ὅταν τοις ἀπέχουσται περὶ κῆρη. Schol. ad v. 40. ἐμφαίνει τὴν τὸν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον. Heyne ad loc. tom. IV. p. 561. Videri potest in his poëta ad tempora reditus Heraclidarum respexisse; quod et Schol. A. suspicatur. Quorsum et referas ητοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς— Homer has purposely abstained from more fully noticing this great event. If he was an Ionian, the Dorian conquerors were the enemies of his race. The Æolian and Ionian Greeks, for whom he composed, turned away their eyes from an ungrateful object; and he forbore to celebrate those by whom the Pelopidae and Nelicæ had been expelled. Hence the only Heraclid chief in the Iliad (if we except the sons of Thessalus once mentioned Il. β. 679) is Tlepolemus, who had been driven out by his brethren, and had coalesced with the Æolians or Achæans: see p. 79. q. Mitford observes in conclusion p. 233. "We must add the poet's ignorance of idolatry, of hero-worship, of republics, of tyrannies, of the division of the Greek nation into Æolian, Ionian, and Dorian; the form of worship which he describes, without temples and images; the little fame of oracles, and his silence concerning the Amphictyons; his knowledge of Sidon and his silence concerning Tyre; the loss of his works in Peloponnesus and their preserva-

Of the following poets whose times are known the earliest is *Arctinus*. *Eugamon*, probably the latest of the cyclic poets, came two centuries after him. But during a large portion of these 200 years the first elegiac, lyric, and iambic poets, were contemporary with the epic. *Callinus* flourished 170 years before the last cyclic poet; *Archilochus* 140 years; *Terpander*, *Alcman*, and *Thaletas*, a century before him. These are combined in one list, according to the probable order of time, in the following catalogue.

“tion in Asia. All these circumstances together amount almost to a conviction that he lived ‘before the Return.’” But in reply to all this it may be said, first, that some of these things are omitted because the poet describes the manners of the Trojan times, and not the customs of his own; secondly, that some facts, being later than his time, would shew indeed his antiquity, but would not prove that he preceded the Dorian conquest. The last circumstance may be naturally explained; the poems were composed in Ionia and for Ionians; hence they were preserved in Asia before they were known in Peloponnesus.

On an expression in Il. β. 535., Δωρῆν εἰ ταῖς τέρην ιερῆς Εὐβοίῃ, Heyne remarks tom. IV. p. 312. *Notabile hoc, quod poëtam in insulis vel Asia ora degentem arguit: nam trans, ultra, Eubœam esse Locridem sitam nemo potest dicere qui in Græcia habitat.* “τέρην, however, may perhaps mean only ‘over against.’” But the simile of the north and west wind, τὸ τε Θρήκην ἄντον Il. ι. 5., could only be composed in Æolis or Ionia: conf. Heyn. tom. V. p. 526. The internal evidence, then, of the Iliad confirms, in opposition to Mitford’s opinion, the more general account, that *Homer* lived after the return of the *Heraclidae* and was an Ionian.

The cause why *Homer* was claimed by so many states is properly assigned by Harles ad Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 329. He was an inhabitant, perhaps a citizen, of several cities. Hence what occurred to others in all ages of Grecian history occurred to him. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 141. r. has given examples of many who were citizens both of a mother state and of a colony. In Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. I. p. 845. No. 1720. is a remarkable case of a person who was a citizen of seven cities: ἡ Νεκυμίδεια—Θεσποτει τὰς ίδιας πολίτην, τὸν καὶ Θηθαῖαν καὶ Ἀθραῖαν καὶ Σμυρναῖαν καὶ Ἔφεσον καὶ Περγαμηνὸν καὶ Ἀγιοχέα τῆς πρὸς Δάφνην. The distich in which the seven cities which claimed *Homer* are commemorated is given with variations in the names in Gell. III. 11. Antholog. tom. II. p. 18. Antip. Sidon. 44. tom. IV. p. 221. incert. 486. The majority of the accounts is in favour of the Greek settlements in Asia: Proclus Vit. Hom. p. 465. εἰ μὲν Κολοφόνιον αὐτὸν ἀπηγέρεται, εἰ δὲ Χῖα, εἰ δὲ Σμυρναῖον, εἰ δὲ Ἰή-

τρη, ἄλλο δὲ Κυμαῖον. Auctor Certam. p. 473. “Ο-μηρος δὲ τάσσαι, ὃς εἰτεῖν, αἱ πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἔπους αὐτῶν παρ’ ἐκατοῖς γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσι· καὶ πρώτοι γε Σμυρναῖοι—Χῖοι δὲ πάλιν τεκμηρία φέρονται ίδιοι εἶναι πολίτην αὐτῶν. Conf. Antip. Sidon. 45. Antholog. tom. II. p. 18. Ibid. tom. IV. p. 221. Incert. 487. 488. Gell. III. 11, 6. Epiphan. tom. I. p. 326. A. B. From Epiphanius it appears that Aristarchus reckoned him an Athenian: Ἀθραῖον δὲ αὐτὸν εἰ τερὶ Αρισταρχοὺς ἀπεφίναντο. He therefore differed from Aristotle, and might place the ἀκμὴ of *Homer* where Aristotle placed the birth; in which case we must correct the observation made at p. 147. col. 2. For memorials of *Homer* at Smyrna conf. Strab. XIV. p. 646. Pausan. VII. 5, 6. He is of Chios in the earliest testimonies: Hymn. Apollin. 172. Simonides apud Stob. Flor. 98, 29.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ κάλλιστον Χῖος ἔστεν ἀνήρ·
οὗτος τε φύλλων γενεὴ τοῦδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

Pindar: Vit. Hom. apud Plutarch. p. 1070. Wytteneb. “Ομηρος τόνιν Πλίνδαρος μὲν ἔφη Χῖον τε καὶ Σμυρναῖον γενέσθαι, Σμυρνίδης δὲ Χῖον. Heyne Hom. tom. VIII. p. 777. supposes Pindar the earliest testimony to *Homer*: *Prima et antiquissima memoria extat apud Pindarum Pyth. IV. 493.* Pindar refers to *Homer* in that ode in B.C. 466; but he had been already mentioned by *Simonides*, who was 38 years older than Pindar. Strabo XIV. p. 645. refers *Homer* to Chios: and Theocritus VII. 47. Alcidamas on the contrary apud Aristotle. Rhet. II. 23, 11. denied that he was of Chios: Πάριος γενεὴ Αρχίδοχος καίτερ βλάσφημος ἦτα τετιμήκαστος· καὶ Χῖος Ομηρος, οὐδὲ οὖτα ποιήτην. He is an Æolian of Cymæ in the Pseud-Herodot. c. 1. 37. This was the opinion of Ephorus: Vit. Hom. apud Plutarch. p. 1058. 1070. But he is of Ios according to Aristotle: see above p. 146. Gell. III. 11, 6. Aristoteles tradidit ex insula Io natum. Tzetzes apud Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 330. τῷ δὲ σόφῳ Αριστοτέλει Ἰήτης τάχα δοκεῖ διὰ τὸ Ἑρμῆς τετράφθιμος. This account is in Steph. Byz. “Ια. ἡγος τῶν Κυκλαδῶν,—θεεὶ ἡ Ομήρου μῆτη, ὃς δὲ χρησμός: “Ολβία” κ. τ. λ. conf. Pausan. X. 24, 2. His tomb at Ios is mentioned Anthol. tom. I. p. 238. Alcæi 7. Pausan. X. 24, 3. Strab. X. p. 484. Plin. H. N. IV. 12. Solin. c. 11, 17. conf. Salmas. Plin. Exerc. p. 126. A. B.

1. *Homerus*. [B. C. 962—927.]
2. *Hesiodus*. [B. C. 859—824.]
3. *Arctinus* flourished B. C. 775—740. For his works see §. 24. 26.
4. *Cinæthon* B. C. 765.
5. *Eumelus* B. C. 761—731. See his works §. 2. 7. 18. and in the Tables B. C. 744^r.
6. *Antimachus* of *Teos* B. C. 753.
7. *Cercops*^s.
8. *Asius of Samos*. An early epic poet, quoted by Antiochus, Duris, and Pausanias^t.
9. *Creophylus*; author of the *Oιχαλίας ἀλωσις*. see §. 12. Said to be contemporary with *Homer*^v. Similar traditions were preserved of other early poets. *Stasinus* was con-

^r *Eumelus* is quoted on *Callisto*, and on the wife of *Arcas*, by Apollod. see above p. 12. e. conf. Tzetz. ad *Lycophr.* 480. on the Muses: Tzetz. ad *Hesiod.* p. 23. Εὔμηλος ὁ Κορίνθιος τρεῖς φυσὶν εἶναι Μεσταί, θυγατέρας Ἀπόλλωνος, Κηφισοῦν, Ἀπολληνίδα, Βαρυσθενίδη. on the birth of *Jupiter*: Lyd. de Mens. p. 96. Εὔμηλος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος τὸν Δίαν ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Λιδίᾳ τεχθῆνας βαύλεται. on *Sinopē*: Schol. Apollon. II. 953. cod. Par. κατὰ μὲν οὖν Εὔμηλον καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην (ἢ Σινώπη) Ἀσωποῦ θυγατῆρ ἔστι. On the *Bugonia* conf. Scalig. ad Euseb. p. 71.

^s Said to be contemporary with *Hesiod*: Laërt. II. 46. ἑριόνεικε—Κέρκωψ Ἡσιόδῳ ζῶντι. mentioned also Arg. Aristoph. Ran. p. 116. Kust. The reputed author of the *Alymius*: see §. 9. Quoted de *Theseo Athen.* XIII. p. 557. b. Αἴγιλην δι' ἥν καὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀράδην ὄρκους παρέβη, ὃς φησι Κέρκωψ. on *Argus* τανότης Apollod. II. 1, 3. ἐν Κέρκωψ (λέγει νιὸν) Ἀργον καὶ Ἰσμήνης τῆς Ἀσωποῦ θυγατέρας. on *Nauplius* Apollod. II. 1, 4. ἔγημεν, ὃς Κέρκωψ (λέγει), Ἡσώπην. Heyne ad Apollod. p. 979. thinks that Laërtius is mistaken, and that this might be *Cercops* the Pythagorean, mentioned by Epigenes apud Clem. Strom. I. p. 333. A. and by Aristotle apud Cic. N. D. I. 38. We may reject the account which makes him contemporary with *Hesiod*; but this very account, together with the report which ascribes the *Aegimius* to *Cercops*, marks him for an early epic poet, and places him before *Pythagoras*.

^t Strabo VI. p. 265. δοκεῖ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τὴν τόλων Μεταπότιαν εἰρῆσθαι πρότερον Μέταβον—τὸν τε Μελανύπατην οὐ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀλλὰ πρὸς Δίον κομισθῆναι, ἐλέγχειν ἥρων τοῦ Μετάβον, καὶ Ἀσιον τὸν ποιητὴν φίσαντα ἐτι τὸν Βοιωτὸν

Δίον ἐνι μεγάροις τέκεν εὐειδῆς Μελανίπην.

Athenæus XII. p. 525. e. τερὶ δὲ τῆς Σαμίων τρυφῆς Δύορις ἴστορῶν παρατίθεται Ἀσίου ποιήματα—ἔστι δὲ τὰ ταῦ Ἀσίου ἐπὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα

οἱ δὲ αὗτως φοίτεσκον ὅπεις πλοκάμους κτενίσαντο εἰς Ἡρας τέμενος, πεπικασμένοι εἴμασι καλοῖς, χιονέσις χιτῶσι πέδουν χθονὸς εὑρέος εἰχον,

χρέσαι δὲ κόρυμβαις ἐπ' αὐτῷ τέττιγες ὡς·
χαῖται δὲ ἡγρεῦντ' ἀνέμοι χρυσέους ἐν δεσμοῖς·
δαιδάλους δὲ χιλιδάνες ἀρφὶ βραχιστινὶ σταυ

* * * ησαντες ὑπασπίδιον πολεμοτῆν.

Idem III. 125. b. κατὰ τὸν Σάμιον ποιητὴν Ἀσίου τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον “κυποκόλαξ.” Pausanias VII. 4, 2. quotes him on the first inhabitants of Samos: “Ἀσίος ὁ Ἀμφιποτόλεμον Σάμιος ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὃς Φοίνικις ἐκ Περικήδης τῆς Οἰνέως γένετο Ἀστυπάλαιας καὶ Εὐρόπη, Ποτειδάνιον δὲ καὶ Ἀστυπάλαιας εἶναι παῖδα Ἀγκαλίου, θαυματεύειν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν καλουμένον Λειδέγον” Ἀγκαλίδη τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβόντι τοῦ Μαιάνδρου Σαμίων γενέσθαι Περίλαυν καὶ Ἔρωδον καὶ Σάμιον καὶ Ἀλιθέρσην, καὶ θυγατέρας ἐπ' αὐτῷ Παρθενόπην, Παρθενόπης δὲ τῆς Ἀγκαλίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Λικομήδην γενέσθαι. Ἀσίος μὲν δὲ τοσοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι ἐδήλωσεν. He mentions IV. 2, 1. *Asius* with *Cinæthon* and the ἐπη Ναυπάκτια. He quotes him on *Pelasgus*: see p. 14. m. on *Phocus*: see p. 41. k. on *Sicyon*: p. 29. q. on *Alcmena* daughter of *Amphiaraüs*: 76. m. on *Ptoüs*: IX. 23, 3. εἶναι δὲ Ἀθάμαντος καὶ Θεμιστοῦς παῖδα τὸν Πτοῦν, ἀρφὶ οὐ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπίκλησις καὶ τῷ ὅρει τὸ θύμα ἐγένετο, “Ἀσίος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἴρηκεν, on *Antiopa*: II. 6, 2.—πέποικης Ἀγις [[“]Ἀσίος Valck.[”]] ὁ Ἀμφιποτόλεμον”

‘Ἀσιον δὲ κούρη ποταμοῦ βαθυδιήντος,

Ζηρὶ τε κισσαμένη καὶ Ἐπωπέι παιμένι λαῶν.

On *Thestius*: III. 13, 5. Θέστιαν τὸν Ληδαῖς πατέρα Ἀρείος [[“]Ἀσίος Valck.[”]] φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἀγήνορος παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Πλεύρεος. Valckenaeer Diatrib. Eur. p. 58. remarks that Pausanias had read the works of *Asius*, but that Strabo and Athenæus quote *Asius* at second hand. It appears, however, from Athen. III. 125. that *Asius* himself had been read by Athenæus. Wolf Prolegom. Hom. p. 70. makes this poet contemporary with *Arctinus*: *Asius*, *Eumelus*, *Arctinus*, *alii*, *sub primis Olymp. clari*. But he produces no authority. We know that *Asius* was an early poet, but can only conjecture that he flourished in the time of *Arctinus*.

^v In the Certamen Hom. et Hes. p. 497. ὁ ποιητὴς εἰς Ἰον ἐπλευσε πρὸς Κρεωφυλον.

temporary with *Homer*^w; and *Arctinus*^x. To the same class of tales may be referred the more celebrated account that *Homer* and *Hesiod* were contemporary. *Pisander* was reckoned older than *Hesiod*^y; *Cercops* contemporary with *Hesiod*^z: which is not to be supposed a mistake of Laërtius, arising from the cause which Heyne assigns, but rather a tradition of the earlier grammarians whom Laërtius followed. Those accounts, although fabulous, yet establish that these were early poets. The times of *Arctinus* and *Pisander* are known; and we may infer that the others, whose age is not known, flourished near their times, within the period of the cyclic poets; perhaps not earlier than *Arctinus* and yet not later than *Eugamon*. Within these limits we may place the eight epic poets in this list whose age is unknown, from *Cercops* to *Hegesinus* inclusive.

10. *Stasinus* of *Cyprus*; author of the Κύπρια ἔπη. see §. 22. This poem was probably so called from the country of its author, as the Ναυπάκτικα were so named because the author was of Naupactus^a.
11. *Prodicus* of *Phocæa*. Reputed the author of the *Minyas*^b.
12. *Diodorus* of *Erythrae*. See the Tables B. C. 765.
13. *Augias* of *Træzen*. Author of the Νόστοι^c.
14. *Hegesinus*. The circumstance that he wrote an 'Αρθίς in epic verse which was quoted as authority, but which was lost before the time of Pausanias (see §. 14), will make it probable that *Hegesinus* belonged to this period, and flourished at least not later than *Eugamon*.
15. *Callinus*. Flourished B. C. 736—712^d.
16. *Archilochus*. The remaining accounts refer him to B. C. 708—665^e.
17. *Simonides* of *Amorgus*. Flourished B. C. 693—662.
18. *Tyrtæus* B. C. 683.
19. *Thaletas* B. C. 690—660. See the Tables B. C. 644.
20. *Terpander* B. C. 676—644. See the Tables B. C. 676.
21. *Polymnastus* B. C. 675—644. See the Tables B. C. 644.
22. *Alcman* B. C. 671—631.
23. *Aristoxenus* of *Selinus* B. C. 628.
24. *Lesches* of *Mytilenæ* B. C. 657^f.
25. *Xanthus*. A lyric poet who preceded *Stesichorus*^g.

^w See §. 22. fin.

^x See the Tables B. C. 775.

^y The Tables B. C. 647. ^z See No. 7.

^a See §. 4.

^b See §. 13.

^c See §. 27. and p. 346. e.

^d See the Tables B. C. 712.

^e Tables B. C. 708. 698. 687. 665. 662.

^f For his works see §. 25.

^g Athen. XII. p. 512. f. τοῦτον οὖν [sc. *Heracles*] οἱ νέοι ποιηταὶ κατασκευάζωντι ἐν ληστοῦ σχῆματι μόνιμον περιπορεύμαντι, ξένιον ἔχοντα καὶ λεωτήν καὶ τόξαν· καὶ ταῦτα πάσας πρότοι Στησίχορον τὸν Ἰμεραῖον. καὶ Εάνθος δὲ ὁ μελοποίης πρεσβύτερος ἐν Στησίχορῳ, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ Στησίχορος μαρτυρεῖ, ὃς φησιν ὁ Μεγακλείδης, οὐ ταῦτην αὐτῷ περιτίθησι τὴν στολὴν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν. πολλὰ δὲ τὴν Εάνθου παραπεπάκει ὁ Στησίχορος,

ὅσπερ καὶ τὴν Ὁρεστείαν καλουμένην. *Xanthus* probably lived before the Ηράκλεια of *Pisander* was composed, since he treated the subject of *Heracles* in the ancient manner. And this agrees with the account that he preceded *Stesichorus*. If *Xanthus* flourished about B. C. 650, he came before *Pisander*, and preceded *Stesichorus* about 45 years. Aelian V. H. IV. 26. quotes *Xanthus*: Εάνθος δὲ τοιητῆς τῶν μελῶν, ἐγένετο δὲ οὗτος πρεσβύτερος [recte Perizon. πρεσβύτερος] Στησίχορου τοῦ Ἰμεραίου, λέγει τὴν Ἡλέκτραν τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος οὐ τοῦτο ἔχειν τοῦνομα πρότον, ἀλλὰ Λαιδίκην. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων ἀνηρέθη τὴν δὲ Κλυταιμήστραν δὲ Αἴγισθος ἔγγημε καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀλεκτρὸν οὖσαν καὶ καταγγράσαν παρένοι. Ἀργεῖον Ἡλέκτραν ἐκάλεσαν, διὰ τὸ ἀμφιεῖν ἀνδρὸς καὶ μὴ πεπιστεῖσθαι λέκτρου.

26. *Pisander of Camira* B. C. 647—623^h.
27. *Arion* B. C. 625—610.
28. *Mimnermus* B. C. 630—586ⁱ.
29. *Sappho* B. C. 611—592.
30. *Alcaeus* B. C. 611.
31. *Damophylē* B. C. 611.
32. *Erinna* B. C. 611. See the Tables B. C. 595.
33. *Stesichorus* B. C. 608. See the Tables B. C. 611.
34. *Chersias of Orchomenus in Boeotia*. Contemporary with *Periander*: Plutarch. Sept. Sap. p. 156. F. Χερσίας ὁ ποιητής ἀφεῖτο γὰρ ἦδη τῆς αἰτίας καὶ διῆλλακτο τῷ Περιάνδρῳ νεωτέρι, Χίλιος δεκάτης. *Periander* reigned B. C. 625—585. If we place *Chersias* in the middle of that period, we shall refer him to B. C. 605^j.
35. *Solon* B. C. 594.
36. *Sacadas* B. C. 586—578.
37. *Pythocritus* B. C. 574—554.
38. *Eugamon of Cyrenē* B. C. 566.

Concerning the Iliad and Odyssey we should desire to know, if it were possible, whether they were composed without the aid of writing; and if so, at what time they were first committed to writing, and with what degree of accuracy they had been preserved without it. That the Greeks were taught the use of letters by the Egyptians or Phoenicians would be

^b Quintil. X. 1, 56. *Herculis acta non bene Pisandros?* He is quoted by Pausan. II. 37, 4. on the hydra: Πείσανδρος ὁ Καμύρεις, ἵνα τὸ θηρόν τε δεκόνι φοβεράτερον καὶ αὐτῷ γέρνηται ἡ τοίστις ἀξιόχρεος μᾶλλον, ἀντὶ τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐποίησε τῇ θύρᾳ τὰς τολλάς. VIII. 22, 4. on the Stymphalian birds: Πείσανδρος δὲ αὐτὸν [sc. *Herculem*] ὁ Καμύρεις ἀποτείνει τὰς ἄρνιθας εὖ φησι κ. τ. λ. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1047. οἱ δέ φασι θετὶ τῷ 'Ηρακλεῖ' μογήσαντι ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ θερμὰ λαυτρὰ ἐπαφῆκεν ὡς Πείσανδρος:

τῷ δέ εὐ Θερμηπύλησι θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη

ποίει θερμὰ λαυτρὰ παρὰ ἥρημάν θαλάσσης.

Apollod. I. 8, 5. Πείσανδρος δὲ Τυδία ἐκ Γέργυρης γενέσθαι λέγει. Schol. Eur. Phoen. 1760. Ιστορεῖ Πείσανδρος κ. τ. λ. on the Sphinx. Ibid. φασὶ δὲ ὅτι μετὰ τὸ θάνατον τῆς Ἰσκάστης καὶ τὴν αἰτῶν τίφλωσιν ἔγημεν (Οὐδίκους) Εὐρυγάνην κ. τ. λ.—ταῦτα φησὶ Πείσανδρος. Schol. Pindar. Ol. III. 52. quotes him on the stag: see §. 15. Schol. Apollon. I. 151. on the mother of *Idas*: Φερεκύδης Ἀρήνη φησι—Πείσανδρος Πολυδάραν. ad II. 98. on *Amycus*: Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ καὶ Πείσανδρος φασὶν ὅτι ἔδησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Πολυδάρης. ad II. 1089. on the Harpies: πιθανῶς δὲ ὁ Πείσανδρος τεῦς ἄρνιθας φησὶν εἰς Σκυθίαν ἀποπτῆγαι. ad IV. 57. he is quoted with *Hesiod* on *Endymion*: ad IV. 1396. on the serpent *Ladon*: τοῦτον Πείσανδρος ὑπείληψεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς γεγενῆσθαι. ad I. 471. Ἀρήνη τόλις Πελοποννήσου· νῦν δὲ Ἱεράνα λέγεται, ὡς φησὶ Πείσανδρος. Stobaeus Serm. 12, 6. Πείσανδρον.

οὐ νέμεσις καὶ φεῦδος ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἀγοράνειν. Eratosth. Catasterism. c. 12. Δέαν.—τινὲς δέ φασιν ἦτι Ήρακλέους πρώτος ἀθλος ἦν—λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ Πείσανδρος ὁ Ρόδος, ὃς: καὶ τὴν δορὰν αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν, ὡς ἔνδοξος πεποικώς. Schol. ad Germanici Aratea tom. II. p. 52. *Periandrus* [sic] *Rhodus* refert eum ob primos labores *Herculis* memoriae causa honorifice astris illatum.

ⁱ *Mimnermus* is called the inventor of elegy by Hermesianax apud Athen. XIII. p. 597. f.

Μίμνερμος δὲ τὸν ἡδὺν δὲ εὔρετο τολλὰν ἀνατλάς ἥχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ πενταμέτρου.

Orion p. 58. εὑρετὴν δὲ τοῦ ἔλεγον εἰ μὲν τὸν Ἀρχιλόχον, οἱ δὲ Μίμνερμον, οἱ δὲ Καλλίναν παλαιότερον. This may have been said because *Mimnermus* first gave the elegy its amatory character. *Callinus* and *Tyrtaeus*, who undoubtedly preceded him, had employed this metre in warlike poetry.

^j Pausanias IX. 38, 6. quotes *Chersias*: Ἀπεληδόνα [see p. 48] εἶναι νόμφης τε Μιδείας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ὄμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἀ ἐτάσσει Χερσίας ἀπὸ Ὁρχομένους

ἐκ δὲ Ποσειδάνους ἀγακλειτῆς τε Μιδείας 'Ασπεληδὼν γένεθ' οὐδὲ δι' εἰρύχορον πτολειθρον. τοῦδε τοῦ Χερσίου τῶν ἐπῶν οὐδεμίας ἦν ἔτι κατ' ἐμὲ μηδίμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Κάλλιπτος ἐκ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα εἰς Ὁρχομενίους τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χερσίου καὶ ἐπηγράμμα εἰς Ὁρχομένους. Callippus had also quoted another ancient poet, *Hegezinus*: see §. 14.

probable, even if no tradition remained to confirm it. The inhabitants of Syria, Egypt, and Phœnicia, possessed the use of writing from the remotest period ^k. But from the two last nations the Greeks received many settlers and many of the arts of life; their communications with them began in the earliest ages. The Phœnicians in particular had visited the coasts of the Ægean sea many generations before the Trojan war. It would be probable from the nature of things that the Egyptian or Phœnician settlers would carry with them this art among others. The traditions of the Greeks themselves confirm this, and point to the East as the source from whence they derived the art. The invention of letters is ascribed to *Prometheus* by Æschylus^l; the introduction of them to *Danaüs* by Anaximander, Dionysius of Miletus, Hecatæus, Pythodorus^m; to *Cadmus* by Herodotus, Sophocles, Ephorus, Aristotle, and by Dionysius quoted in Diodorusⁿ; to *Palamedes* by Stesichorus and Euripides^o. Others attributed them to *Hermes*, or *Cecrops*, or *Linus*, or *Musæus*^p. Mr.

^k Josephus Apion I. 2. τὰ παρ' Ἀλγητίους τε καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ Φοίνιξ (δῆ γὰρ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἔκείνους συγκαταλέγειν) αὐτοὶ δήποτεν [sc. Græci] διμολογούσιν ἀρχαιοτάτην τε καὶ μοιμοτάτην ἔχει τῆς μηῆς τὴν παράδοσιν. καὶ γὰρ τόπους ἀπαντεῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἥκιστα ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιεχοτεος φθοραῖς ἐποκεμένους, καὶ πολλὴν ἐποίησαντο πρώνιαν τοῦ μηδὲν ἄμυνστον τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς πρατημένον παρατίτειν, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοσίαις ἀγαγραφαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφωτάτων αὖτε καθιεροῦσθαι.

^l Æschyl. Prom. 469. Bekk. Anecd. p. 783. Λισχύλος δὲ Πραμηθέα φησὶν εὑρηκέναι ἐν τῷ διμονύμῳ δράματι.

^m Bekk. Anecd. p. 783. Πιθόδωρος δὲ ὡς ἐν τῷ τερὶ στοιχίῳ—δέ Δήμος ἐν τῷ τερὶ χρόνον πρὸ Κάδμου Δανάοις μετακούσαι αὐτά φασιν ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τούτοις καὶ οἱ Μιλησιαὶ συγγραφεῖς, Ἀναξιμανδρος καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἐκαταῖος, εἰς καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν νεῦν καταλόγῳ παρατίθεται.

ⁿ Herodot. V. 58. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες εὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι—ἄλλα τε πολλὰ—ἐστήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἔντα πρὶν Ἑλλησι, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖν. Sophocles: Hesych. Φοινικίοις γράμματος. Σοφοκλῆς Ποιμένος. ἐπει δοκεῖ Κάδμος αὐτὰ ἐκ Φοινίκης κεκομικέναι. Ephorus: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 306. Δ. Κάδμος δὲ Φοίνικην, ὡς τῶν γραμμάτων Ἑλληνιν εὑρετής, δε φησὶν Ἐφόρος. Hence in Bekk. Anecd. p. 782. Φοινίκεια τὰ γράμματα ἀλέγοντο, ὡς φησὶν Ἐφόρος δὲ Κυμαῖος καὶ Ἡρόδοτος, ἐπει Φοινίκες εἶρον αὐτά. Aristotle: Bekk. Anecd. p. 783. τῆς δὲ Φοινίκης εὐρέσεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς (Κάδμος) διδισκορος [f. διδάσκαλος] γεγενῆσθαι, εἰς καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν ταῖς ιστορίαις καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει· φαστὶ γὰρ ὅτι Φοινίκες μὲν εἶρον τὰ στοιχεῖα Κάδμος δὲ ἤγαγε αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Dionysius apud Diod. III. 66. φησὶ τοίνυν—Κάδμου κομισαντος ἐκ Φοινίκης τὰ καλύμνεα γράμματα, Λίτων πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν κ. τ. λ. Wolf Prolegom. in Homer. p. 52. 14. with so many others (see above p. 347. g) understands this to be the Milesian: Dionysius Milesius in magno opere, κόκλῳ, laudatur a Diodoro III. 66. But this very passage is a testimony that Diodorus did not quote

from the Milesian, since the Milesian ascribed the introduction of letters to *Danaüs*.

^o Bekk. Anecd. p. 783. Στησίχορος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀρεστείᾳ Παλαμήδην φησὶν εὑρηκέναι. Stob. Flor. 81, 7. Εὐρύποδίου Παλαμήδην. Τὰ τῆς γε λήθης φάρμακα ὥρθωσας κ. τ. λ. Lucian. tom. I. p. 64. καὶ ὁ γε πρῶτος ἡμῶν τοὺς νόμους τείτους διατυπώσας, εἴτε Κάδμος ὁ νησιώτης εἴτε Παλαμήδης ὁ Ναυπλίου. Others of the later writers who name *Palamedes*, as Dio Or. XIII. p. 225=tom. I. p. 428. Themist. Or. IV. p. 60. Α., οἱ τῆς Κάδμου καὶ Παλαμήδους τέχνης δημιουργοὶ, are quoted by Hemst. ad Lucian. tom. I. p. 305. Bipont.

^p Plato Phædro p. 274. records the Egyptian account which referred the invention to *Theuth*; alluded to again Philebo p. 18. b. Bekker. Anecd. p. 783. Δοσιάδης δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ φησὶν εὑρεθῆναι αὐτά—Μνασέας δὲ Ἐρμῆν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλοι. In what follows, εἰσινέγκαντος Ἀρχίνου παρὰ Θηβαῖοις ψήφισμα, l. παρ' Ἀθηναῖοις ψήφισμα. referring to the archonship of Euclides B. C. 403: see F. H. II. p. 86. Tacitus Ann. XI. 14. collects the various opinions: *Ægyptii literarum semet inventores perhibent; inde Phœnicae, quia mari præpollebant, intulisse Græciae, gloriāque adeptos tanquam reppererint que acceperant: quippe fama est Cadmum classe Phœnicum vectum rudibus adhuc Græcorum populis artis ejus auctorem fuisse. quidam Cecropem Atheniensem vel Linum Thebanum et temporibus Trojanis Palamedem Argivum memorant sedecim literarum formas, &c.* And Pliny H. N. VII. 56. *Literas semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse; sed alii apud Ægyptios a Mercurio, ut Gellius; alii apud Syros repertas volunt. Utique in Græciam intulisse e Phœnice Cadmum sedecim numero; quibus Trojano bello Palamedem adjeccisse quatuor—totidem post eum Simonidem melicum—Aristoteles X et VIII priscas fuisse—et duas ab Epicarmo additas quam a Palamede mavult. Anticlides in Ægypto invenisse quendam nomine Menona tradit XV annis ante Phoroneum*

Mitford^q, after Montfaucon, truly remarks that the names of the Greek letters sufficiently testify that they came from Phœnicia.

At what time the Greeks received this art cannot be now determined; but there is nothing incredible in the account that they had the knowledge of letters as early as the time of *Cadmus*^r. The very uncertainty of the Grecian traditions is a proof that this art had been introduced at a period very remote, and beyond the reach of any authentic information. But although known to the Greeks thus early, yet Mr. Mitford^s has shewn very sufficient reasons why the use of letters made slow progress among them. Letters might be known 130 years before the fall of Troy, but the familiar use was not practised till long after it; and we may admit with Wolf^t and Heyne that the poems of *Homer* were not committed to writing by their author. If this be so, we are led to inquire when written copies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were first made. Wolf refers this to the time of *Pisistratus*. An earlier date, however, may probably be assigned. Letters were known and used even in Peloponnesus in the age of *Lycurgus*, who enacted that his laws should not be committed to writing^v; an unnecessary provision, if writing had not been practised. Wolf himself acknowledges that the art of writing was practised soon after the beginning of the Olympiads, and affirms that perhaps *Arctinus* and *Eumelus*, but certainly *Archilochus* and *Alcman* and *Pisander*, committed their works to writing^w. And this is justified by the circumstances. For according to Cicero^x Greece was filled with poets and musicians before B. C. 750. Fifty years later, *Deioches* delivered his judgments in writing^y. Indications also remain that the Homeric poems were extensively known and popular in Greece before the time of *Pisistratus*. *Lycurgus* was said by early authorities to have introduced them (or at least the *Iliad*) into Peloponnesus^z. They

antiquissimum Græciæ regem; idque monumentis approbare conatur. This last particular is illustrated in Bekk. Anecd. p. 783. Ἀντικλείδης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν εὑρεσιν ἀνατίθησι.

^q See Mitford vol. I. p. 123. and Montfaucon there quoted.

^r If we may place *Cadmus* at B. C. 1257 (see p. 139), this would be at least 360 years after the Decalogue had been delivered in writing to the people of Israel; which Mitford vol. I. p. 122. thinks the earliest recorded occasion of the use of letters. But the Babylonians, who had made astronomical observations B.C. 2233 (see p. 281, 282), already possessed the art of writing many ages before the delivery of the Law.

^s Vol. I. p. 129—131.

^t Prolegom. p. 41—44.

^v Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 13. νόμους δὲ γεγραμμένους ὁ Λυκοῦργος οὐκ ὅθηκεν, ἀλλὰ μία τῶν καλουμένων ἡγετῶν ἔστιν αὕτη.—μία μὲν οὖν τῶν ἡγετῶν ἦν, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, μὴ χρῆσθαι νόμους ἐγγράφοις. M^r. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 155. o. admits that *Lycurgus* prohibited written laws.

^w Prolegom. p. 50. *Etiamsi litteræ ante Homerum in Græciam importatae essent omnes, tamen facultatem et usum earum usque ad initia Olympiadum fere nullum fuisse credamus.* p. 70. *Ulro concesserim aliquanto ante Solonem Athenis*

hanc artem paullatim privato studio usurpari ceptam; neque adeo dubito quin id seculis VIII et VII in ceteris civitatibus, nominatim Ionia et Magna Græcia, fecerint solertiares quidam homines; eorumque exemplum secuti, vel ipsi rem auspicati sint, poëtæ nonnulli, si non Asius, Eumelus, Arctinus, alii, sub primis Olymp. at certe Archilochus, Alcman, Pisander, Arion, et horum æquales.

^x See the Tables B. C. 750.

^y Herodot. I. 100. τις δίκαιος γράφοτες. That the Medes should be familiar with writing in the time of *Deioches* is nothing wonderful; but that a Greek historian should mention the use of letters as an ordinary matter is worthy of remark.

^z Wolf. Prolegom. p. 139. *Quatuor exstant hujus rei testes; in his primus et aetate et auctoritate Heraclides Ponticus, περὶ πολιτεῶν.* He then adds the other testimonies: Dio tom. II. p. 87. Plutarch Lycurg. c. 4. Ælian V. H. XIII. 14. and observes that for 300 years afterwards nothing is known: *per tria proxima a Lycugo saecula nihil constat de his carminibus nisi quod a rhapsodis particulatim divulgata sunt.* Heyne Hom. tom. VIII. p. 777—807. follows to the same effect: *Lycurgus notitiam aliquam Spartam adduxisse fertur; verum et hoc fama incerta*

had been celebrated at Sicyon before the time of *Clisthenes*, who was tyrant of Sicyon more than thirty years before the accession of *Pisistratus*^a. *Solon*, who was contemporary with *Clisthenes*, had already introduced the recital of *Homer* at Athens^b: τά τε Ὁμέρου ἔξι ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ραψῳδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου δὲ πρῶτος ἐληγξεν ἐκεῖθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον—ώς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν πέμπτῳ Μεγαρικῷ. And the narrative concerning *Solon*, that he appealed to the Homeric Catalogue in support of the claim of the Athenians to Salamis, is a proof of the authority of these poems; for, whether that line was interpolated by *Solon*, or whether it was already in the catalogue, it testifies that the authority of the *Iliad* was already established, if the states of Greece were likely to receive it as evidence^c.

The opinion, then, of Wolf that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were not committed to writing till the times of the *Pisistratidae*, and that written copies of the cyclic poems were not made till after that period, is not justified by facts; and is even inconsistent with his own positions. For if the poets, with whom Greece was now filled according to Cicero, had begun to apply this art in B. C. 708, when *Archilochus* flourished, it is not likely that these poems, the most celebrated and favourite compositions of the Greeks, would remain unwritten for 150 years afterwards. And if *Pisander* certainly committed his works to writing, it cannot be affirmed that the cyclic poets, to whom probably *Pisander* himself, undoubtedly some of his contemporaries, belonged, were not preserved in writing till a century after *Pisander*^d.

traditum est, nec constat quo auctore antiquiore; nam Heraclides Ponticus primus narrationis auctor editur. Inde per 300 annos nulla extat memoratio. Sequitur ea qua de Pisistratidarum et Solonis studiis extat. p. 807. Duo sunt tempora. alterum est ætas Lycurgi alterum ætas Pisistrati, filiorum ejusdem, et Solonis. Lycurgi ætas—A. C. 884. En verba Heraclidis [p. 206. see p. 359. k]: Ἐλιανός de suo jam adjecit “universam Homeri poësin:” δῆ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιος ἀδρός πρῶτος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλὰδα ἱκόμενος τὸν Ὁμέρου τοῖςτιν. Plutarchus multo liberalior, &c. [see above §. 12. and p. 359. k]. The interval is exaggerated. Solon and the Pisistratidae are inaccurately placed together as forming one epoch. Solon was at least 40 years before Pisistratus and 70 years before Hipparchus; as Heyne himself acknowledges p. 810. Lycurgus indeed is placed by Eratosthenes at B. C. 884; but even in that account his travels in Asia and acquaintance with the Homeric poems was later; and according to the more probable account of his time, which places his legislation at B. C. 817 (see p. 141), there were about 220 years between Lycurgus and Solon instead of 300. As Ephorus apud Strab. X. p. 482. mentioned a personal acquaintance of Lycurgus and Homer—ἴντυχότα, δὲ φασὶ τινες, καὶ Ὁμέρον διατρίβοντας ἐν Χίῳ κατάραι πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκεῖαν—it is probable that this account of the introduction of the poems by Lycurgus into Peloponnesus was also in Ephorus.

^a Herodot. V. 67. Κλεοπότερος Ἀργείων τολεμήσας τότε μὲν ραψῳδος ἔτανος ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὸν Ὁμηρελύν εἶπεν εἰρεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοι τε καὶ Ἀργος τὰ

πολλὰ ὑμέαται. *Clisthenes* was tyrant in the Cirrhaean war B. C. 595: see the Tables.

^b Laërt. I. 57. Partly repeated by Suidas v. ἵποβολή.

^c Plutarch. Solon. c. 10. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῷ Σίλωνι συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Ὁμέρου δίξαν· ἐμβαλόντα γάρ αὐτὸν ἔπος εἰς νεῶν κατάλογον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκυς ἀναγνώνται: “Αἴας δὲ ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος—Στῆσε δὲ ἄγων” [II. β. 558]—Plutarch adds, αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα μὲν σύνται φύνειν εἴναι, τὸν δὲ Σίλωνά φασιν ἀποδέκαια τοῦ δικαστᾶς κ. τ. λ. The opinion of the Athenians does not invalidate the account, which is also noticed Laërt. I. 48. Strab. IX. p. 394. Schol. Iliad. ad loc. better given in Heyne tom. IV. p. 321. than in ed. Bekker. The interpolation of the Megarians apud Strab. l. c. is also a proof of the authority of the Homeric Catalogue, whose testimony they desired to secure to themselves. Some accounts referred that interpolation to *Pisistratus*: conf. Strab. l. c. φασὶν οἱ μὲν Πεισιστράτοις δὲ Σίλωνα παρεγγύαντα—but that it was rightly referred to *Solon* may be gathered from the narrative of Plutarch, placing the war with Megara and the contest for Salamis in the time of *Solon*; also attested by *Solon* himself apud Laërt. I. 47.

^d Wolf. Prolegom. p. 157. *Græci posteaquam Homerum suum collegerant, per quam verisimile est eos eandem curam statim ad reliqua præstantiora carmina supparis ævi traduxisse. Itaque nec ceteris reliquis Homericis nec Hesiodeis defuerunt, ut opinor, διασκενασται, qui singulares rhapsodias connecterent, sive eas quæ ab ipsis auctoribus ad eandem formam compositæ erant*

But the services which *Pisistratus* rendered to the Homeric poems are much overstated by Wolf, who asserts that it was the unanimous voice of all antiquity that *Pisistratus* first caused them to be committed to writing, and first arranged them in the order in which they now appear^e. But these two propositions (which are at variance with his own admission just before^f that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were properly arranged in Ionia and elsewhere before *Solon's* time, and with his conjecture that they were probably written in the age of *Solon* and *Pittacus*) are not both equally justified by the authorities produced. For in all the list of testimonies no mention is made of written copies except in a single passage of *Josephus*, who does not name *Pisistratus*. The whole import of all the other passages amounts to this, that *Pisistratus* first collected and arranged the detached poems of which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed^g. The recitation of *Homer* at the *Panathenaea*, a fact alluded to by *Isocrates*, and

uno volumine complectentur, ut catalibyous γνωστῶν, vel Ἡλίας μεγάλας. Idemque non multo post Pisistratidas factum suspicor in cyclicis et aliis multis carminibus, quae, hodie vix nomine nota, non pervenissent ad sacerdolum Ptolemæorum nisi tum ab interitu vel novis corruptelis servata essent.

^e Proleg. p. 142. *Vox totius antiquitatis et, si summam spectes, consentiens fama testatur Pisistratum carmina Homeri primum consignasse litteris, et in eum ordinem redegitissime quo nunc leguntur.*

^f Proleg. p. 141. *Neque enim ulla modo credibile est Solonem fuisse primum omnium qui tali ratione elegantiori dispositioni et collectioni Homericorum operum occasionem daret, neque ea in Ionia et alibi tam dissolute ut nonnullis nuper placuit tamque confuse et permixte cantitata esse, ut eorum omnis tenor penitus corrumperetur. Immo si praesidium nobis in sola conjectura esset, ubi alias quam in patria Homeri primum institutum illius elegantioris dispositionis quereremus? Addo etiam scriptio[n]is; cuius prima tentamina a cultissima gente facta viderentur illo tempore quo confectionem voluminum inchoatam esse docuimus, §. 17. hoc est, Pittaci vel Solonis aetate. But he there admitted that *Archilochus* and *Alcman* composed their works in writing; and these were much earlier than *Pittacus* or *Solon*.*

^g Wolf. Prolegom. p. 143. 5. The passage of *Josephus Apion*. I. 2. p. 1138. also quoted by *Fabric. B. G. I.* p. 352., of which they both give the latter part, is this: (οἱ Ἑλλῆρες ὅφει καὶ μόδις ἔγραψαν φύσιν γραμμάτων. οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαιοτάτην αὐτῶν τὴν χρῆσιν εἶναι θέλατες παρὰ Φοινίκους καὶ Κάδμου σεμνύνονται μαθεῖν. οὐ μή οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἑκείνου τοῦ χρόνου δίνατο τις, ἀν δεῖξαι σωζομένην ἀναγραφὴν οὔτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς οὔτ' ἐν δημοσίοις ἀναθήμασιν. ὅπου γε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν τοσούτως ἔτεσι στρατευσάντων ὑστερών τολλὴ γέγονεν ἀπορία τε καὶ ζήτησις εἰ γράμματιν ἔχριστο καὶ τάληθες ἐπικρατεῖ μᾶλλον τερὶ τοῦ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν τῶν γραμμάτων χρῆσιν ἑκείνους ἀγνοεῖν. οὐλας δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὐδὲν

ὅμολογούμενον εὑρίσκεται γράμμα τῆς Ὁμήρου πιστήσεως πρεσβύτερον——καὶ φασὶν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐν γράμμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ ποίησιν καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμημανευμένην ἐκ τῶν δισμάτων ὑστερούσης συντεθῆναι, καὶ ίδια τοῦτο τολλάς ἐν αὐτῇ σχεῖν τὰς διαφωνας. Here *Pisistratus* is not named. The other texts, in which he is named, make no mention of writing: Cicero Or. III. 34. *Cujus eloquentia litteris instructior fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? qui primus Homeri libros, confusos antea, sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus. Pausan. VII. 26, 6. Πειστράτος ἐπὶ τῷ Ὁμήρου διεπασχένα τε καὶ ἄλλα ἀλλαχοῦ μημανευμένα ηθροῖς. Άelian V.H. XIII. 14. Δικοῦρος——τὸ ἀγνύμα τοῦτο ἐξ Ἰερίας, ἥνικα ἀπεδημησεν, ἤγαγεν ὑστερὸν δὲ Πειστράτος συναγαγόντος ἀπέφρινε τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν. Liban. tom. I. p. 385. Πειστράτος ἐπαινούμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἑτέρᾳ πεποιημένων συλλογῆς. Suid. Ὁμηρος.——ὕστερον συνετέθη καὶ συνετάχθη ὑπὸ τολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Πειστράτου. Eustath. p. 5. εἰ συνέμενοι ταῦτην [sc. τὴν Ἰλιάδα] κατ' ἐπιταγὴν, ὡς φασι, Πειστράτου. Anonymus apud Allat. τὰ ποιήματα——στοράδην πρότερον φέμενα Πειστράτος Ἀθηνῶν συνέταξεν——ὕστερον Πειστράτος αὐτὰ συνήγαγεν, ὡς τὸ ἐπιγράμμα τοῦτο δηλῶ. “Τρίς με τυραννίσατα——” Anthol. tom. IV. p. 184. Incert. 308. On the authority of this epigram see *Jacobe tom. XII. p. 56.* But in this nothing more is said than in the other passages; namely, ηθροῖς σποράδην τὸ τρίνον δειδίμενον. In *Pausan. I. c. Wolf p. 155.* supplies the rest: μημανεύεν δὲ καὶ Ὁμηρον ἐν καταλύφ τῶν σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι φασιν Δονούστης ποιήσαντα ἔπος [Il. B. 573] “Οἴ θ' Ἐπερηφῆ τέ”—— Πειστράτον δέ, ἥνικα ἐπὶ τῷ Ὁμηρου διεπασχένα τε καὶ ἄλλα ἀλλαχοῦ μημανευμένα ηθροῖς, τότε αὐτὸν Πειστράτον ἡ τῶν τινὰ ἑταίρων μεταποίησαι τὸ ὄνομα ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας, which he expresses in this manner: *Pausanias discrete mentionem facit Pisistrati amicorum et adjutorum in Iliade litteris mandanda.* The terms of *Pausanias* do not warrant this interpretation; nor do any of these passages justify the assumption that *Pisistratus*, according to general belief, first caused these poems to be committed to writing.*

more distinctly attested by Lycurgus^h, is attributed by another account to *Hipparchus*; and *Hipparchus* is affirmed to have been the first who introduced *Homer* into Atticaⁱ. This account, then, limits the services of the *Pisistratidæ* to Attica alone; and, if *Hipparchus* participated, brings down the collection to the close of the reign of *Pisistratus*^k. The library which he was said to have formed was at Athens; and in the same age a contemporary collection is recorded of *Polycrates of Samos*^l. *Pisistratus*, then, himself, towards the close of

ting. The only other passage produced by Wolf at p. 78. 39. is from a Scholiast upon Dionysius Thrax apud Villoison. Anecd. Gr. tom. II. p. 182. ἦν γὰρ ἡς φασιν ἀποδόμενα τὰ τοῦ Ὁμηρού τότε γὰρ οὐ γραφῇ παρεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ μόνη διδασκαλίᾳ κ. τ. λ. but Wolf himself admits this Scholiast to be no great authority: *Adjutor minime dignus ille mentione, nisi narrationem suam ex iisdem Alexandrinis reliquias sublegisset*. This Scholiast appears in a narrative in which *Pisistratus* is made to employ 72 grammarians (borrowed from the 72 interpreters of *Aristeas*), who consult upon *Zenodotus* and *Aristarchus*. conf. Villoison. Anecd. p. 183. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 767. Wolf. Prolegom. p. 147. 9.

The whole passage of Josephus is given by Wolf p. 77. and he concludes that Josephus drew that circumstance from the Alexandrine critics. That *Zenodotus*, however, *Aristophanes*, and *Aristarchus*, did not found their emendations upon the supposition that the Homeric poems were at first unwritten, is evident from the nature of their criticisms. Wolf himself admits p. 232. 233. that *Aristarchus* and others were not guided by authorities in their corrections of the text of *Homer*: *Scribit Cicero Ep. Fam. III. 11. Aristarchum Homeri versus negavisse quos non probaverit.—Immo quam horum temporum et hominum ingenia intueor, et clara veterum testimonia accurate comparo, videri mihi solet Aristarchus non aliter tractavisse Homerum ac Cato ille Lucilium, cuius male factos versus emendabat.* And acknowledges p. 174. that their emendations proceeded potius ab æstheticō quam critico judicio, a poëticā potius quam diplomaticā fide. And this is manifest from the specimens collected in F. H. III. p. 493—495. From Josephus it may be deduced that some ancient critics held the Homeric poems to have originally been unwritten; but we have no proof that even this opinion was generally received. Still less have we any proof that those who believed the poems to have been unwritten placed the first written copies in the time of *Pisistratus*; and if they did, this would be no assurance of the fact. Those who supposed that *Lycurgus* brought the *Iliad* into Peloponnesus, among whom was *Aelian*, one of the testimonies in Wolf, necessarily supposed the existence of written copies in the

time of *Lycurgus*.

^h Isocrates Panegyr. p. 74. a. in B. C. 380 observes, ὅμας δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὁμέρου τοιησιν μείζω λαβεῖν δίξαν ὅτι καλλίς τοὺς πολεμήσαντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνεκμιαστε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουληθῆναι τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἔτιμος αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἀθλοῖς καὶ τῇ παιδείστε τὸν νεωτέρον. Lycurgus Leocr. p. 161. in B. C. 330: οὕτω γάρ οὐπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδῶν ἔναι ποιητής, ὥστε νόμον ἔθετο καθ' ἕκαστην πενταετηρίδα τὸν Παναθηναϊκὸν μόνον τὸν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ρυθμούσθαι τὰ ἔπη.

ⁱ Plato Hipparcho p. 228. Ἰππάρχῳ, ὃς τὸν Πεισιστράτον παῖδεν ἦν πρεσβύτατος καὶ σοφώτατος ὃς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα σοφίας ἀπέδειχατο, καὶ τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη πρώτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτην, καὶ ἡγάγκασε τοὺς ῥαψῳδοὺς Παναθηναϊοὺς ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διέσπαν, ὥστε τὸν ἔπι οὐδὲ πιστὸν. Wolf exaggerates (p. 153): *Hipparcho tam magnifica partes assignantur in celebrando Homero, ut patrem in labore colligendi et disponendi vel in primis adjuvisse, vel consilium paternum executus esse atque id cum amantibus literarum communicasse videri possit.* He observes also Ibid. ea simpliciter tribui filio quæ ab aliis patri tribuuntur et Soloni. We must remark that, if *Hipparchus* assisted his father, the collection made by *Pisistratus* is to be referred to the end of his reign; not before B. C. 530, when *Hipparchus*, from the age of his brother *Hippias* (see F. H. II. p. 203), was certainly under 30 years of age; which will place the collection of *Pisistratus* 60 or 70 years below the time of *Solon* and *Clisthenes* of *Sicyon* already mentioned.

^k See the preceding note. Heyne Homer. tom. VIII. p. 809. 810., who considers the two testimonies, Plato Hipparcho and Dieuchidas apud Laërt. I. 57., the only two which deliver the early account faithfully (*hi duo soli sunt qui famam antiquam cum fide tradant, nam reliqui tam varie et supine hac de re loquuntur, ut vix unquam explorare eos aliquid rescivisse appareat*), yet observes tom. VII. p. 716. *perscripta autem litteris primum Athenis sub Solonis tempora esse carmina Homerica probable fit &c.* This observation places the first written copies in *Solon's* time, and limits this to Athens.

^l Gell. VI. 17. *Libros Athenis disciplinarum liberalium publice ad legendum præbendos primus posuisse dicitur Pisistratus tyrannus.* Athen. I.

his reign, and his son *Hipparchus* after him, encouraged learned men and poets. A library was formed by *Pisistratus* containing the works of the epic, elegiac, lyric, and iambic poets, and among the rest the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the detached parts of which perhaps were then first collected and arranged in their present order^m; but as the collection was for Athens alone, and had no reference to the rest of Greece, and as written works of other poets had been known in Greece for at least 200 years before, and a similar library at that very time was formed at Samos, it is not to be believed that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the works of all others the most celebrated, were then first committed to writing.

It is probable, then, that these poems began to be written, at least in *Ionia* and *Aeolis*, as soon as written poetry came to be in use; that is, between B. C. 776 and B. C. 700, between the times of *Arctinus* and *Archilochus*. But if the composition of these poems, or at least of the *Iliad*, is rightly referred to B. C. 962—927, there had elapsed a space of about two centuries, during which they existed without the aid of writing. How were they preserved without it? Mitfordⁿ, founding his opinion upon Plato, argues that by the aid of poetry and music the memory was capable of retaining with correctness long compositions. And Wolf^o concurs in the opinion that *Homer* could be accurately preserved without writing. In the early poetry of Greece the ἀοιδός recited his own compositions, the φαψῳδός the compositions of others, with precision. In those times the memory, being the only or at least the chief depository of knowledge, was cultivated with a care proportioned to its necessity and importance; and the Grecian bards might transmit their poetry, as the Druids of Gaul and Britain trans-

p. 3. a. Ἡ δὲ βιβλίων κτῆσις αὐτῷ ἀρχαῖον Ἑλληνικὸν τοσαύτην ὡς ἐπερθάλλειν πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ συναγογῇ τεθαυματίσμένους, Πολυκράτην τε τὸν Σάμιον καὶ Πειστοτρατὸν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον τυραννήσαντα, Εὐκλεῖδην τε τὸν καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀθραιῶν κ. τ. λ. Wolf p. 145. ridicules this account: *Non reperio qui alii præter Homerum inesse potuerint scriptores, quam aliquot poëtæ, nuper denum vel ipsius jussu perscripti. Idemque sentiendum fortasse de Polycrate Samio, &c.* We may place these collections at B. C. 530, the close of the reign of *Pisistratus* and the beginning of the reign of *Polycrates*. The chief works must undoubtedly have been in verse, for prose composition had but recently commenced. But in the preceding list at p. 365 (which contains a small part of the whole number) are the names of 25 poets from *Callinus* to *Eugamon*, who had by the admission of Wolf himself the use of writing when they composed their works (a fact sufficiently manifest), and who flourished 200 years (as *Callinus*), or 170 (as *Archilochus*), or 80 (as *Sappho* and her contemporaries), or 70 (as *Solon*), or 36 years (as *Euganon* the latest), before this epoch. We may add to these the works of *Cadmus*, *Theagenes*, perhaps *Acusilaüs*, and some others who had already before this date begun to cultivate prose writing. If the library of *Polycrates* contained copies of the works of those poets, and also copies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, he certainly did not derive these from copies which *Pisistratus* had caused to be made

at Athens. Written copies, then, already existed in other quarters.

^m Mr. Payne Knight Prolegom. ad *Homer*. c. 4. 5. denies even this, and rejects much of what is told concerning the *Pisistratidæ* as a fable: *Pisistratum sic disposuisse ut jam inde extiterunt Cicero ex quodam rumore incerto tradidit. At neque Herodotus neque Thucydides neque Plato neque Aristoteles tanta in poëtam beneficia nosse videntur. In dialogo Socratis cui nomen Hipparchus, qui inter Platonis dubia auctoritate recensetur, Hipparchus Homerica carmina primus Athenis intulisse dicitur, et a rhapsodis in ordine Panathenæis decantanda curasse. Inde fortasse fabula de carminibus a Pisistrato aut Pisistratidis in corpora collectis originem traxit. Plus isti rumori homines postea tribuisse videntur quam primi ejus auctores significare voluerunt.* He returns to this subject at c. 32. *Historiola de compage rhapsodiarum a Pisistrato facta, si non prouersus spernenda, de Atheniensi exemplari vel editione tantum accipi debet, cuius apud veteres haud magnam fuisse auctoritatem e grammaticorum silentio colligere licet.*

ⁿ Hist. of Greece vol. I. p. 135—137.

^o Prolegom. p. 104. *Minī vehementer errare videntur ii, qui putant litteris non usum Homericum statim totum immutari et sui dissimilem reddi necesse fuisse. Id scilicet effecisset vaga auditio, non legitima et bene composita θεᾶσκαλα.*

mitted theirs, without the aid of letters ^p. The ῥαψῳδοί, a class of persons trained to the business of recitation, received from the ἀοιδὸς the compositions which it was their office to recite, and acquired by practice the power of retaining long poems ^q. The poems of Homer in par-

^p Cæsar B. G. VI. 13. *Druides—magnum numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque nonnulli annos vicenos in disciplina permanent, neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare, quum in reliquis fere publicis privatisque rationibus Græcis litteris utantur. Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur; quod neque in vulgus disciplinam efferri velint, neque eos qui discunt litteris confisos minus memorie studere. Quod fere plerisque accidit, ut præsidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant.* Plato Phædro p. 275, addressing the supposed inventor of letters, is of the same opinion: ὁ τεχνικώτατε Θεῖθ,—σύ, πατὴρ ἀν γραμμάτων—τούναντιν εἶπες ἡ δύναται. τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν μαθόντων λίθην μὲν ἐν φυχαῖς παρέει μηῆμης ἀμελετησίᾳ, ἀτε δὲ πλεστιν γραφῆς ἔξωθεν ὅτε ἀλλοτρίων τύπων εἰς ἔνδον αὐτοῖς ἴφ' αὐτῶν ἀναμμηκομένους. Quintilian XI. 2, 9. quoted by Heindorf ad loc. *Invenio apud Platonem obstarē memoriae usum litterarum; videlicet quod illa quæ scriptis reponimus velut custodiōe desinimus, et ipsa securitate dimittimus.*

^q Wolf Proleg. p. 96., observing *rhapsorum potissimum curæ deberi quod etiam nunc Homericum teneamus*, properly marks the error of those who confound the ῥαψῳδοί of the first ages with the ῥαψῳδοί of later times: *Hos, quos insignem ordinem appello, pro levissimis hominibus habendos multi docuerunt ex Platone et Xenophonte.* In this, he observes, *prisca illius et Socraticeæ ætatis rationes confunduntur.* p. 99. *Quamvis artis hujus nomen videatur posterius esse Homero, ipsa ars et professio jam antiquissimis temporibus viguit, ac multo tum quam posthac fuit illustrior.* p. 100. *Ars διδῷ peculiaris fuit,—eadem rhapsodis dignatio, eadem vita fuit, donec res sensim cum studiis et moribus hominum immutata, et, argento certaminum præmio proposito, ad levem quæstum deducta eviluit.* The cause, however, of the altered estimation of the ῥαψῳδοί was rather this; that in the early times, before the use of writing, the rhapsodists were the sole depositaries of the national poetry; but after writing became practised their importance was diminished. They continued for many ages after written works were common to recite the works not only of the epic but also of the elegiac and lyric poets: Athenæus XIV. p. 620. c. quoted by Heyne Hom. tom. VIII. p. 795. Χαρακτέαν ἐν τῷ περὶ Στηριχέρον καὶ μελαθῆναι φησιν εὖ μόρος τὰ 'Ομηρού, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ 'Ησιόδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, ἔτι δὲ Μηνέμου καὶ Φυκιλίου. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ περὶ γρίφων

"τὰ 'Αρχιλόχου" φησὶν "δ Σιμωνίδης δ Ζακύνθιος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ δίφρου καθήμενος ἐργάζεται." Λυσανίας δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Ιαμβοποιῶν Μνασίνα τὸν ῥαψῳδὸν λέγει ἐν ταῖς δεῖξει τῶν Σιμωνίδον τινὰς ιάμβων ὑποκρίνεται. τοὺς δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλέους καθαροὺς ἐργάζοντες Ολυμπίας Κλεομένης δ ῥαψῳδός, ἡς φησι Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ 'Ολυμπικῷ. But the observation applied by Heyne to these recitations is erroneous: *Ante frequentatum apographorum curandorum usum carminum recitationes fieri solitæ sunt.* None of these recitations belong to the time which preceded the use of written copies. *Archilochus* himself wrote his works. *Mimnermus* was contemporary with *Solon* (see the Tables B. C. 630), *Phocylides* with *Hipparchus* (F. H. II. p. 9). *Empedocles* reached the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (*Ibid.* p. 53). The rhapsodist *Cynethus* himself flourished in B. C. 503: *κατὰ τὴν ξθ' ὀλυμπιάδα* Schol. Pindar. Nem. II. 1. *Ion* of *Ephesus* was contemporary with *Socrates*: *Plato Ion.* p. 530. Other *rhapsodi* continued to recite in the age of *Plato*: *Plato leg.* II. p. 658. e. ῥαψῳδὸν δὲ καλός Ιλιάδα καὶ 'Οδύσσειαν ἡ τι τῶν Ησιοδείων διατίθεντα τάχ' ἀν ἡμέες οἱ γέροντες ἤδιστα ἀκούσαντες πικῆν ἀν φαιμεν πάμπολυ. But these recitations had then become theatrical exhibitions. In the first ages the *rhapsodi* might rank with the masters in the schools of philosophy of after times; in the latter period they were degraded to the class of actors in the tragic scene.

Heyne tom. VIII. p. 799. thus sums up the question: *Primitus etatibus ῥαψῳδὸν dicti ipsi poëtae, ἀοιδοί, qui carmina sua recitabant; inde uero qui aliorum carmina memoriter recitabant, verum etiam sua, hactenus erant poëtae. Inde res versa in artem et dramaticum ἀγόνα.* In this, though containing general truth, he has confounded some points which were distinct. The ἀοιδοί in the first ages were not called ῥαψῳδοί. This term came into use afterwards, and not till the time of *Hesiod*: see above p. 359. o. Nor did the practice first become an art in the latest period; for it was already an art as soon as the name of ῥαψῳδοί was known. The explanation, however, of the term ῥαψῳδὸς is well given by Heyne p. 794. and by Wolf p. 96. with whom Mr. Boeckh in part agrees ad *Pindarum* p. 362. See also Dissen ad *Pindar.* p. 371. *Philochorus apud Schol. Pindar. Nem. II. 1.* explains the phrase: *Φιλόχορος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ συντίθενται καὶ ῥάστεν τὴν φύσην εἴτε φροσίν αὐτοῖς προσκεκλήσθαι. θηλοῖ δὲ 'Ησιόδος λέγων* "Ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρώτου ἐγώ καὶ 'Ομηρος ἀοιδοί Μέλπο-

ticular were sung at Chios by a family, or rather school, of rhapsodists, who bore from their functions the name of 'Ομηρίδαι'. By these methods, although so remote from the habits of

"μεν"— These lines are supposed by Heyne tom. VIII. p. 794. and Siebel. ad Philochorūm p. 105. to be quoted by *Philochorus* himself. But *Philochorus* did not believe *Homer* and *Hesiod* to be contemporary (see above p. 361. o), which is asserted in these verses; and if he had quoted them the expression would have been δῆλον δὲ καὶ Ἡσίόδον. The citation, then, from *Philochorus* ends at the word προσκεκλήσθαι. What follows (δῆλος κ. τ. λ.) is from the Scholiast himself; and we have no proof that these lines were accounted genuine by *Philochorus*.

The *Homeridae* are mentioned by *Pindar* Nem. II. I. "Οθεν περ καὶ Ομηρίδαι Ραπτῶν ἐπέων ταῦλλ' ἀστοῖς" *Aρχοταί*, Διὸς δὲ προομίου—referred to by *Strabo* XIV. p. 645. ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ομηρού Χίον, μαρτύριον μὲν τοὺς Ομηρίδας καλούμενους ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἑκίνου γένους προχειρίζομεν, δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος μέμνηται: "Οθεν—ἀστοῖς." To these was ascribed the hymn to *Apollo* which bore the name of *Homer*: *Athen.* I. p. 22. b. "Ομηρος ἡ τῶν τις Ομηρίδῶν ἐν τοῖς εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὑμνους φησὶν κ. τ. λ. They are also named by *Iosocrates* Hel. p. 218. e. λέγοντο δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν Ομηρίδῶν ὡς ἐπιστᾶσα ἡ Ἐλένη τῆς νυκτὸς Ομήρῳ προστάχει ποιεῖ περὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπὶ Τρίαιν κ. τ. λ. by *Acusilaus*, *Hellenicus*, and *Crates*: *Harpocr.* Ομηρίδαι (abridged by *Suidas* Ομηρίδαι): Ιστοράτης Ἐλένη [l. c.]. Ομηρίδαι γένος ἐν Χίῳ, διστηρ Ακονιστῶν ἐν τρίτῃ. Ἐλλαδικος ἐν τῇ Ἀγλαντιάδι [Ἀτλαντιάδι] *Valesius et Sturz.* p. 61] ἀπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν φησὶν ὄντων σταθμῶν. Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν δευτέρᾳ περὶ βίων ἀμαρτάνειν φησὶ Κράτητα νομίζοντα ἐν ταῖς ιεροτοιαις Ομηρίδαις ἀπογόνους εἶναι τοῦ ποιητοῦ. ἀνομάσθησαν γάρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄμηρών ἐπει τι γνωκές ποτε τῶν Χίων ἐν Διονυσίους παραφρονήσασι εἰς μάχην ἥλθον τοῖς διδράσι, καὶ δύντες ἀλλήλους θυμρῷ νυμφίνας καὶ νύμφας ἐσάναστο: δὲ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Ομηρίδας λέγοντον. by *Plato*: Rep. X. p. 599. d. ἢ φίλε Ομηρε, σὲ τὶς αἰτίας πόλις—σφᾶς ὀφεληκέναι;—οὐκον λέγεται γε οὐδὲ οὐπ' αὐτῶν Ομηρίδῶν. Ion. p. 530. d. εὖ κεκόσμηκα τὸν Ομηρον· διστηρ οἵραι ἐν Ομηρίδῶν ἄξιοι, εἴναι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανοθῆναι. Phædro p. 252. b. λέγοντο δὲ οἵραι τινες Ομηρίδαι ἐκ τῶν ἀπόθετων ἐπῶν δύο ἔτη εἰς τὸν Ἔρωτα—ίμωντος δὲ ὅδε. "Τὸν δὲ ητοί—" The last passage is rightly understood by *Ast. ad Phædro.* p. 458. after *Heyne Hom. tom. IV. p. 109. Hos versus singit Plato e reconditis Homeridarum carminibus sumptos.* In the two first, 'Ομηρίδαι may be used to express the admirers of *Homer*, as *Stalbaum ad Ion. l. c. interprets*. But *Plato* doubtless in this term (though applied in another sense) had also in view the *Homeridae* of Chios, who were so well known in his age. The office of the *Homeridae* is described by *Porphyry*

apud *Bekk. Anecd. Græc.* p. 769. Πορφύριον.—κατέχον δὲ καὶ κλάδους δαφνῶν οἱ Ομηρίδαι ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν, ἵτε τοὺς Ομηρικὸς στήχους ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἑστῆ ἔνθαλλον. and by *Schol. Pindar. Nem. II. I.* Ομηρίδαις ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ομήρου γένους, οἱ καὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἥδον μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ εἰ ραψῳδοὶ οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς Ομηροὺς ἀνάγοντες. ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οἵς φασι τολλὰ τῶν ἐπών ποιησαντας ἐμβαλάντες εἰς τὴν Ομήρου ποίησιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος Χίος, διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ομήρου ποιησάντων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος γεγραμμένον ὕμνον λέγεται πεποικέναι. οὗτος ὧν ὁ Κύναιθος πρότος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἔβαψθησε τὰ Ομήρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ἔξηκοστην ἐνάτην διλυπτιάδα, ὡς Ἰπεστρατές φησιν. *Alius*: Ομηρίδαι πρότερον μὲν οἱ Ομηροὶ παιδεῖς, ὑστεροὶ δὲ οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον ραψῳδοὶ οὗτοι γάρ τὴν Ομήρου ποίησιν σκεδασθεῖσαν ἐμημνεύσαν καὶ ἐπηγγέλλειν ἐλυμήναντο δὲ αὐτὴν πάντα. *Eustathius* more briefly, ad II. a. p. 6, 38. τοῦ δὲ ἀπαγγέλλειν τὴν Ομήρου ποίησιν σκεδασθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο Κύναιθος ὁ Χίος ἐλυμήναντο δέ φασι αὐτὴν πάμπολλα οἱ περὶ τὸν Κύναιθον, καὶ τολλὰ τῶν ἐπών αὐτοὶ ποιησάντες παρενέβαλαν. διὸ καὶ διαθέσθησαν αἱ Ομηρικαὶ βίβλοι, ὡς ἀνωτέρα εἴρηται. This is an inaccurate description. *Salmasius Plin. Exerc. p. 609. A. makes Cynæthus the first ραψῳδός: Cynæthus quidam Chius primus fertur ραψῳδησαι Homerī carmina circa Ol. 69.* which is also inaccurate. Before the time of *Cynæthus Acusilaus* had already described the *Homeridae*. But the terms even of the Scholiast would only imply that *Cynæthus* was the first who recited at Syracuse. Nor was it true that *Cynæthus* collected the scattered parts of the *Iliad*, for he lived after the *Pisistratidae*. On the account that *Cynæthus* composed the hymn to *Apollo* see *Barnes apud Ruhnken. Ep. Crit. p. 7.* The position is thus stated: *Vixit Cynæthus circa Ol. 69. Thucydides historiam condidit Ol. 89.* But the interval may be assumed thus: *Thucydides*, who was 30 years of age in B. C. 441, was only about 60 years later than *Cynæthus*, who flourished in B. C. 503. The hymn to *Apollo*, then, which *Thucydides III. 104.* believed to be genuine, was composed by some earlier ραψῳδός. *Cynæthus* himself was a celebrated ραψῳδός, and the *Homeridae* continued down to his time. *Heyne tom. VIII. p. 794.* here again overstates the interval: *Memorabilis res esset, si per 500 et quod excurrit annos eam familiam floruisse vere traditum est.* But the interval from *Homer* (even where we have placed him) to *Cynæthus* will be only $927 - 503 = 424$ years. With respect to the *Homeridae*, the interpretation of *Séleucus* is inadmissible. They were, as *Wolf* p. 98. has explained, not indeed

our times, the works of *Homer* might be preserved in their genuine condition, and transmitted through four or five generations from the time of the poet himself to the period when they were secured in written copies from future accidents.

Mr. Wolf is inconsistent upon this subject. He asserts fully the power of the memory^s, and affirms that *Homer* without the aid of writing was preserved by the *rhapsodi*^t, and even that the genuine text may be restored^v. And yet in another place he contends that the *rhapsodi* corrupted in recitation^w, and that whole books of the Iliad were not composed by the original author^x. He argues at one time (what may perhaps be true) that the Iliad was originally composed in detached portions, and afterwards combined into one poem by others^y; and that marks of this subsequent combination may still be traced, in the want of coherence and consistency in some of the parts^z: at another time he rejects the last six books of the

the descendants of the poet, but a school of *pavphædæ* exclusively or principally devoted to the recital and transmission of the Iliad and Odyssey. This interpretation, justified by the preceding testimonies, which all attest the occupation of the *Homeridæ*, is much to be preferred to that of Niebuhr Hist. Rom. vol. I. p. 268, who thinks that "such a house as the *Codridæ*, *Eumolpidæ*, *Buladæ*, at Athens, was that of the *Homeridæ* in Chios; whose descent from the poet was only an inference drawn from their name, whereas others pronounced that they were in no way related to him:" and that "a hero named *Homer* was revered by the Ionians at the time when Chios received its laws." The *Homerista*, established by Demetrius Phalereus (Athen. XIV. p. 620. c) near 200 years after the time of *Cynæthus*, were a different class of persons.

^s Prolegom. p. 101. *Stupes fortasse ad tantam capacitatem memoriae quæ totum Homerum complecti potuerit. Mihi vero id etiam parum videatur; multoque plura nonnunquam bonos rhapsodos tenuisse suspicor.* Having referred to Xenophon Mem. IV. 2, 10, he proceeds, *Quid ambigis de iis hominibus qui in tali re assidue operam locabant, et illis in sæculis ubi brevior orbis discendorum ingenius quasi vacuitatem dabat?* &c. and refers to Plato and Cæsar already quoted in p. 373. p.

^t See above p. 372. o.

^v Prolegom. p. 35. *Hæc cuivis persuadeant purioribus fontibus adeundis veram formam Homericæ scripture revocari hodieque posse. Neque hanc spem eripit nobis longinqua vatis vetustas. Nam falsa est eorum opinio qui sola longinquitate temporis vel universæ historiae fidem infringi vel scriptorum corrumpi integratatem.*

^w Prolegom. p. 105. *Neque enim ne tenacissima quidem memoria, a scriptis exemplaribus destituta, non vacillat interdum. In primis vero recitatio ipsa, ardore animi peracta, infirmaverit oportet memoriam.*

^x Ibid. p. 135. *Nonne omnibus erit manifestum διατκεναστὰ his operibus conformandis propriam artem adhibuisse, quem demonstratum fuerit in utroque carmine non modo particulæ quasdam sed totas rhapsodias inesse, quæ Homeri non sunt?*

^y Prolegom. p. 134. *Homerum non universorum quasi corporum suorum opificem esse, sed hanc artem et structuram posterioribus sæculis inditam putem.* p. 109. *Videtur sequi necessario tam magnorum et perpetua serie deductorum operum formam a nullo poëta nec designari animo nec elaborari potuisse sine artificio administriculo memoriarum.* Of the Odyssey again p. 121. he observes that, although more perfect in its structure than the Iliad, *Telemachi iter, Ulyssis secessus in Ogygia insula, carmen in quo errores suos Phæacidibus denarrat, eodemque modo etiam reliqua, hoc est, seorsum et nulla spectatione universæ formæ, ab Homero composita videri possunt, diuque decantata esse priusquam aliquis politiore ævo animadverteret ea, paucis recendendis, addendis, &c. ad perpetuitatem unius magni corporis redacta splendidius monumentum fore.*

^z Prolegom. p. 129. He observes indications that these poems were put together by other hands: *Duae res hic paucis attingendæ sunt, quæ vel solæ suspicionem compagis manus alienis factæ in utroque carmine commoveant. Alterius generis sunt aliquot hiantes commissuræ, &c.* He argues p. 126. that the art ascribed to the Iliad is imaginary: *Cyclici omnes hæc Homericæ artificia vel non animadverterunt vel ab aequalibus animadversa imitari aut noluerunt aut non potuerunt.—Ne Pisander quidem aut Panyasis aut Antimachus, qui secundum Homerum optimi numerati sunt, nedum antiquiores et cyclici.—Apparet cyclicos poëtas res suas eodem ordine quo deinceps consecutæ essent, non ad formam Odysseæ nostræ, narravisse. Quæ quum ita sint, quis putet illos omnes eam artem, quæ tam eximia perfectionis causa est, si ab Homero adhibitat vidissent, aut non intellexisse aut intellectam æmulari noluisse?* This is not material to the main point of inquiry, and could only

Iliad as spurious, because they do not form a part of the original argument^a. But it is evident that no reason is here adduced for rejecting these books; for, if the author designed his works as a series of poems on one subject, but not as component parts of a single poem, there could be no original argument of the whole; and the last six *rhapsodiae* might be genuine, although they are not promised in the *exordium* of the Iliad. And this circumstance, that they are not promised in the introductory lines, is not only no proof that these parts of the Iliad are spurious, but is an argument that the *exordium* itself is genuine; for, if it had been composed by a διασκευαστής, it would have been adapted with more minute accuracy to the body of poetry which was to follow. And yet Wolf admits that an unity of style and manner pervades the whole Iliad^b. The same answer may be given to his objection that the catalogue is unnecessary^c. Both the catalogue and the six last books are quoted not less than the other parts of the poem by ancient authorities^d.

shew that Aristotle was mistaken in attributing extraordinary art to the structure of these poems, because this art had been overlooked by the epic poets who followed. Nor is even this proposition distinctly argued, since he applies the same reasoning to the Odyssey, to which he allows (p. 123) the merit of skilful arrangement; as to the Iliad, to which he denies it. All this, however, refers only to a question of taste. But the real question was, whether the arrangement was from the poet himself; and this is not determined by the argument adduced; for it does not follow that the arrangement and disposition—the *ars et junctura* (p. 123)—is to be ascribed to a later age—posterioris *atatis studiis et elegantiae tribuenda*—because it had escaped the attention of Panyasis and Antimachus, who (living after Pisistratus) certainly read the poems in their present form.

^a Prolegom. p. 118. *Nunquam certis argumentis docebitur septem illos versus [Il. a'. 1—7] quidquam ultra promittere quam XVIII rhapsodias. Reliquæ non iram Achillis in Agamemnonem continent sed novam a priore longe diversam, &c.* p. 136. *De Iliade non demonstrant ex regulis suis cur potissimum in tumultuaria descriptione Hectorei funeris terminetur. Nam in Odyssea suis quemque sensus docet, si extrema illa deessent, sollicitos nos abituros de Ulysse.—Quid ergo, si eam ipsam partem cum aliis nonnullis quibus justa compositio carminis carere nequit Homeri non esse, sed ab aliquo ingenioso rhapsodo proxime insequentis ævi compo-sitas doceri potest? Quid si idem potest de sex pos-tremis rhapsodiis Iliados?* Equidem certe, quoties in continentia lectione ad istas partes deveni, nunquam non in iis talia quædam sensi qua, nisi illæ tam mature cum cæteris coauissent, quovis pignore contendam dudum ab eruditis detecta fuisse. He consents to reject some parts, although they are necessary to the conduct of the plot; and he would sacrifice others, because the argument is

complete without them.

^b Prolegom. p. 265. *Immo congruunt in iis car-minibus [the Iliad and Odyssey] omnia ferme in idem ingenium, in eosdem mores, in eandem formu-lam sentiendi et loquendi.* He explains this by referring it to Aristarchus: *Quid autem? si miri-ficum illum concentum revocatum in primis Aris-tarchi eleganti ingenio et doctrinæ debemus.* An opinion which has drawn upon him the just animadversion of Payne Knight Prolegom. c. 33.

^c Prolegom. p. 128. *Catalogum copiarum si non legeremus, philosophia artis nihil, puto, omissum quereretur.*

^d Many passages of the six last books are attested by Plato, Aristotle, Æschines, and others, whose testimonies are marked by Heyne in his Annotations.

^{t'. 92.} Plato Sympos. p. 195. d. *Ομῆρος γὰρ Ἀττυρ θεόν τέ φησιν εἶναι καὶ ἀπαλήν—λέγων “Τῆς μεν θ’ ἀπαλὸι πόδες—βαλεῖ.”*

303. Æschin. Timarch. p. 20. *ἔστι δὲ τὰ ἔτη ἀ-έγων νῦν μέλλον λέγειν [Il. σ'. 324—329]* “*Ο τόποι—γαῖας ἐρεύθειν (sic.)*” οὐ τούντις ἐνταῦθα μάρτιον σχετ-λιάζων φαίνεται, ἀλλ’ οὕτως αὐτὸν ισχυρῶς ἐπένθησεν, ὅπε ταῦτα Θετίδος τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς προκαύσας διει μητελθὼν μὲν τοὺς ἔχθρος ἀλλ’ ἔστις ἀτιμώρητον τὸν τοῦ Πατρόκλου θάνατον ἐπανελθὼν οἰκαδε γηραιός ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ πατρὶδι ἀποθανεῖται, τιμωρησάμενος δὲ διὰ ταχέων μέλλει τὸν τελευτὴν, ἐλλειπε τὴν τοῦ τεθνεότος πτοτινού μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν σωτηρίαν ὅπως δὲ μεγαλοψύχως ἡπείρυτο τὸν φονέα τὸν ἐκείνου τιμωρήσασθαι ὕστε πάντων αὐτὸν παραμιθου-μένους, καὶ κελευστὸν λούσασθαι καὶ σῖτον προσενέκυασθαι [Il. τ'. 303. 304], ἀπόμνιοι μηδὲν τούτων πράξειν πρὶν ἄν κ. τ. λ. —ἀναγνώστεις ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὰ ἔπη τὰ περὶ τούτων, & *Ομῆρος πεποίηκε.* λέγει πρῶτον τὰ περὶ τῆς *Ἐκτορος τιμωρίας*: “*Αλλ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν, φίλ’ ἐταῖρε (sic), σεῦ ὑστερεῖς—φοίης.*” [Il. σ'. 333—335.] ἀναγ-νώσκε δὴ ἀ περὶ τοῦ διοτάφους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι λέγει ἐν τῷ ἔπῳ ὁ Πάτροκλος, καὶ περὶ τῶν διατριβῶν δις συνδι-τριβῶν ἀλλήλους: “*Οδ γὰρ ἔτι ζωῖ γε—σορὸς ἀμφικα-λύπτοι.*” [Il. ψ'. 77—91.] —ἀνάγνωθι ἀ λέγει ἵ

The opinion of Heyne, that several *rhapsodi* originally composed the songs out of which

Θέτις. “Οπίζωρος δῆ μι—φίλτατος ἔσκει” [Il. σ'. 95—99]. The variations in the text of *Aeschines* in these citations are nothing, when the question is concerning the integrity of whole ῥαψῳδίαι.

ν. 33. Plato Rep. II. p. 378. d. Ήρας δὲ δεσμοὶ τὰς νίες [Il. σ'. 18] καὶ Ἡφαιστού ρίνεις ὑπὸ πατρός [Il. α'. 591]—καὶ θεομάχια, ὅτας Ὀμηρος πεποίηκεν [Il. ν'. 33].

64. 65. Plato Rep. III. p. 386. d.

74. Plato Cratyl. p. 391. e. οὐκ οὐσθα ὅτι περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῦ ἐν τῇ Τρίᾳ ὡς ἐμονομάχεις τῷ Ἡφαιστῷ, “Οὐ Ξάνθην (φυσί) καλέσεις θεοῖς” κ. τ. λ.

216—218. Plato Leg. III. p. 681. “Ομηρος—Κτίσσει δὲ Δαρδανίην—Ιδης.”

234. 272. Aristot. Poet. c. 25. πεποίηται ὁ Γανυμήδης “Διὶ εἰνοχεῖεν.” Ibid. διεν τὸ “τῇ β' ἐσχετο “χάλκεον ἔχος.”

φ'. 107. Plutarch. Alex. c. 54. τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένη σινέτα τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τοῦ βασιλέως [Alexandri]—εἰπεν “Κάτθαε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅπερ τέο πολλὸν ἀμεί—“νεν.”

214. See χ'. 15.

308. Plato Protag. p. 340. a. δοκῶ οὖν μοι ἔγω παρακαλεῖν σε ὥσπερ ἔφη “Ομηρος τὸν Σκάμανδρον πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τὸν Σιρμεντα παρακαλεῖν, εἰ—πόντα “Φίλε καστήρητε—σχάμει.”

χ'. 15. 20. Plato Rep. III. p. 391. a. οὐδὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἀξιώσομεν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἀλλὰ φιλοχρή—ιατον εἴησι πόστε πάρα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος θέρα λαβεῖν [Il. τ'. 278], καὶ τιμὴν αὐτὸντα τεκρὸν ἀπολίνειν [Il. α'. 176] ἄλλως δὲ μὴ ἔθελειν—καὶ ὡς τρὸς τὸν Ἀτόλλον εἶπεν “Ἐβραψάς μ, ‘Εκαργε—παρέλη.’ καὶ ὡς τρὶς τὸν ποταμὸν θεῖν ἔντα ἀπειθῶς εἶχε καὶ μάχεσθαι ἔποιμος ἦν [φ'. 214, &c.]” καὶ αὖτις τὰς τοῦ ἔτερου ποταμοῦ Σπερχεῖν ἵερας τρίχας “Πατρόκλῳ ἥρωι—φέρεσθαι [Il. ψ'. 151], τεκρὸν ὄντε—τὰς τε αὐτὸν Ἐκτορος ἔξεις περὶ τὸ σῆμα τὸ Πατρόκλου [Il. χ'. 395] καὶ τὰς τὸν ζωγρηθένταν σφραγάς εἰς τὴν πυράν [Il. ψ'. 175].

χ'. 100. Aristot. Eth. III. 11. τοιούτους δὲ καὶ “Ομηρος τοιεῖ, οἷον τὸν Διομήδην καὶ τὸν Ἐκτορα. “Που—“ινδάμας—ἀναθήσει,” καὶ Διομήδης “Ἐκτωρ—ἴπ’ “ἔμειδος” [Il. θ'. 148]. Idem Eth. Magn. I. 21. “Ομηρος πεποίηκε τὸν Ἐκτορα λέγοντα “Ποιλιδάμας”—Idem Eudem. III. 1. “Ομηρος τὸν Ἐκτορά φησιν ἴπο—μεῖταν τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν τρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα. “Ἐκτορα δὲ “αἴτος εἶλος (sic)—Ποιλιδάμας” κ. τ. λ.

165. Aristot. Poët. 24. τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἐκτορος διώξιν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ὄντα γελᾶσα ἀν φανεῖν, οἱ μὲν ἐστῶτες καὶ οὐ διώκοντες, δὲ ἀνανεῖσθαι [Il. χ'. 205]. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπεισι λαυθάνει. c. 25. παράδειγμα ἡ τοῦ Ἐκτορος διώξις. This whole ῥαψῳδία is attested by Plato Ion. p. 535. b. ἔταν φῆση—Ἀχιλλέα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐκτορα ὄρμῶντα, ἡ καὶ τὸν περὶ Ἀνδρομάχην ἐλεεινῶν τι ἡ περὶ Ἐκάβην ἡ περὶ Πρίαμον.

168. 169. 414. 415. Plato Rep. III. p. 388. c. πάλιν δὲ ‘Ομηρου δεησόμεθα—μὴ ποιεῖν Ἀχιλλέα θεᾶς

παιδα “Αλλοτ’ ἐπὶ πλευρᾶς—ἄλλος ἀτρυγέτοιο” [Il. α'. 10—12]. μηδὲ “Αμφοτέρησι χεροὶν—κάκκεφαιλῆς” [σ'. 23]—μηδὲ Πρίαμον ἐργὺς θεῶν γεγονότα λιτανεύ—ιστά τε καὶ “κυλινδόμενον—έκαστον” —μήτοι θεούς γε ποιεῖν ἐδυραμένους καὶ λέγοντας “Ομοιος” [σ'. 54]—εἰ δὲ οὖν θεούς, μή τοι τὸν γε μέγιστον τῶν θεῶν ταῦλησται οὕτως ἀνομίους μιμήσασθαι ἀστε “Ω πόποι” φάναι—“ῆτορ” καὶ “Ἄι αἱ ἐγώ—δαμῆναι” [π'. 433].

γ'. 77. see τ'. 303.

100. 103. 104. Plato Rep. III. p. 386. d.

108. Aristot. Rhet. I. 11. διὸ καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως εἴρηται “Ος φάτο—γόνοιο.”

150. 151. 175. see χ'. 15.

328. Aristot. Soph. Elench. I. 4. p. 166. Bekk. τὸν “Ομηρον ἔνιοι διορθῶνται πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχοντας ὡς ἀτόπος εἰρηκότα “τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπιθεται ὅμβρῳ.” λύσοντι γάρ αὐτὸ τῇ προσφύδιᾳ, λέγοντες τὸ οὐ δξύτερον. καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὅτι οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπεν “δίδομεν δέ οἱ εἶχος ἀρέσθαι” [Il. β'. 8—15. ubi nunc non legitur]. Idem Poët. 25. ὥσπερ Ιππίας ἔλευς ὁ Θάσιος τὸ “δίδομεν δέ οἱ”—καὶ “τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπιθεται ὅμβρῳ.”

335—340. Plato Ion. p. 537. εἰπὲ δή μοι ἂ λέγει Νέστωρ Ἀντιλόχῳ τῷ νιεῖ, παραινῶν εὐλαβηθῆναι περὶ τὴν καρπὴν ἐν τῇ ἱπποδρομίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ. “Κλυν—“θῆναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔξεστω (sic)—έπαυρεν.” Χε—νοφορ. Sympos. 4, 6. “αὐτὸν δέ κλινθῆναι ἔξεστου—χεροῖ” [335—337].

ω'. 10. See χ'. 168. ω'. 176. see χ'. 15.

54. Aristot. Rhet. II. 3. εἰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐκτορος ὁ ποιητῆς παῖσαι βιβλόμενος τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τῆς ἐργῆς τεθνεῶ—τος “Καφῆγη γάρ—μενεσίνων.”

80—82. Plato Ion. p. 538. τί δὲ ὅταν λέγη “Ομηρος “Η δὲ—φέρουσα.”

316. Aristot. H. An. IX. 32. μορφοντις οὐ καὶ Ομηρος μέμνηται ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πρίαμον ἔξιδοφ.

ω'. 348. Plato Protag. p. 309. a. οὐ σὺ ‘Ομήρου ἐπαινεῖτης εἰ, οὐς ἔφη χαριεστάτην ἥβην εἶναι τοῦ ἴππηντος;

527—532. Plato Rep. II. p. 379. d. οὐκ ἄρα ἀποδεκτέον “Ομίρον—λέγοντος ὡς “Δοιοὶ πίθοι—δειλῶν.” καὶ ὃ μὲν ἄρα μίζας οἱ Ζεὺς δοῦ ἀμφοτέρων, “Αλλοτε μέν “—ἐσθλῷ” φ' ὃ ἀν μή, ἀλλ' ἄκρατα τὰ ἔτερα, τὸν δὲ “κακὸν βούβρωστις—έλαυνεν.” οὐ δὲ ὡς ταμίας ἡμῖν Ζεὺς “ἄγαδεν τε κακῶν τε τέτυκται.”

Of Il. ω'. Wolf observes Prolegom. p. 135. *Constat jam olim dubitatum esse ab Aristophane et Aristarcho de auctoritate extremorum Odyssear inde a ψ. 297. Eademque dubitatio injecta est etiam de Iliados ω'. Jensis apud Heyn. tom. VIII. p. 761. had condemned this book because in his judgment it is unpoetical, and because it forms a tame conclusion to the Iliad; but without pronouncing an opinion upon its authority: Neque ipse dubilasse videtur eundem cum ceteris carminis partibus hanc rhapsodiam auctorem ha-*

buisse. Heyne p. 764. Dawes Misc. Crit. p. 152=257 Kidd. because he cannot restore the digamma to v. 449. pronounces, *Fuerunt inter veteres qui totum hunc librum Homero abjudicarent; atque in eo quidem adeo multa occurrunt quorum similia nusquam alias leguntur ut contineare me nequeam quin in eorum sententiam concedam.* Heyne answers these objections p. 760—769. His observations may be classed under four heads : 1. The ancients have nowhere pronounced this book spurious. The passage referred to by Wolf relates solely to the *Odyssey*, and makes no mention of Il. *ω.* namely Schol. *Odys.* ψ. 296. Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος πέρας τῆς Ὀδύσσειας τόῦτο τοιῶται. Alius : τόῦτο τὸ τέλος τῆς Ὀδύσσειας φησίν Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης. Eustath. ad *Odyss.* p. 1948, 47. ιστέος δὲ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν ιστορίαν Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῶν τότε γραμματικῶν εἰς τὸ, ὡς ἐρρέθη, “Ἀστάσιοι λέκτροι—ἴκοντα,” περατοῦσι τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν τὰ ἔφεγῆς ἔνας τέλους τοῦ βιβλίου νοθεύοντες. οἱ δὲ τοιῶται πολλὰ τῶν καιριωτάτων περιστοποιεῖν, ὡς φασιν οἱ αὐτοῖς ἀντιπίποντες. The ancient critics object to particular passages of Il. *ω.* but in the same spirit in which they object to others in the former books of the *Iliad*; objections founded upon taste, and not upon authorities. Specimens of their objections have been given in F. H. III. p. 495. y. 2. As to the words which only occur in this book, as μέλας πόντος 79. δέ χέρνιος 304. καλήτορα 577. ἐπίσκοπος 729. ἀθλεῖαν πρὸ ἄνακτος 734. Heyne remarks, *Nullus aliis est liber Iliadis in quo non occurrunt ἀκατ λεγόμενα.* 3. On the *mythi novi*, the judgment of *Paris* v. 28. &c. he answers, *Nullus facile est liber in quo non mythi et narrata occurrunt in ceteris haud obvia.* 4. On the objection that verses are repeated here which occurred before, Heyne observes, *Illud vero omnino nullam vim habet, quod versus aliunde expressi aut repetiti iterantur.*

The catalogue was extant in the time of *Solon*: see above p. 369. On the catalogue Aristotle Poët. c. 23. observes, “Ομῆρος—ἐπεισόδιοι κέχρυται πολλοῖς, εἰν νεῶν καταλόγῳ καὶ ἀλλοῖς ἐπεισόδιοι.” v. 510, 719, and the total number of ships, are verified by Thucydides I. 10. 552—554 by Herodotus VII. 161. and by an inscription apud Aeschin. Ctes. p. 80, 21. Corinth v. 570 was in this part of the catalogue in the time of *Pindar*: Conf. Ol. XIII. 81. 576, 612 are attested by Thucydides I. 9. 684 Idem I. 3. 671—673 by Aristotle Rhet. III. 12. Corruption or interpolation has been especially imputed to the catalogue by modern critics. But these charges for the most part amount only to a general suspicion founded upon the nature of this part of the *Iliad*, and upon the supposed facility with which insertions might be made. Mr. Muller *Aeginet.*

p. 43. thinks it interpolated by the vanity of the different states seeking to insert their own heroes. He rejects the passage on *Tlepolemus*: *Tlepolenum, Phidippum, et Antiphum, etiam si in ipsis fabulis nullum habebant locum, copiarum catalogo inseri—Locus de Rhodiis 653—670 omnium longissimus—ob versum ultimum suspicionem novel, cum Rhodios vix crediderim multo ante Ol. 1. mercaturas facere cœpisse. Corinthus in catalogo ἀφενεῖ, quod etiam Heynium offendat.* *Apud Homerum tantum urbes regiae Pelopidarum. Corinthiorum mercaturæ multo recentiores sunt.* In Dor. vol. I. p. 125. o. he again rejects *Tlepolemus*, but adds no new arguments; only affirming that he feels convinced that no enemy of Troy came from the east of the *Ægean*. If we were to grant that v. 670, καὶ σφι θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχειν Κρονίων, was an interpolation, this would be no cause for rejecting the preceding lines. There seems to be no good reason for admitting no forces from *Rhodes*, or *Cos*, or *Carpathus*, or *Symē*. These islands were not more remote from Aulis or from Troy than Crete. The people of these islands were Greeks not less than the Cretans were, and might equally with the Cretans engage in an enterprise which promised adventure and plunder. No national vanity could be gratified by the mention of *Nireus*. The objection to ἀφειδῆς Κάρυθος is not so weighty as the objection to v. 670. This epithet is used in a general sense of persons who are not preeminent. The people of the little town of *Zelea* are ἀφειδεῖ: §. 825. *Euchenor* of *Corinth* is ἀφειδεῖ: v. 664. *Dares*: ε'. 9. *Podes*: §. 576. *Nisus* of *Dulichium* in *Odyss.* σ'. 126. But, it is urged, the vanity of the Grecian states would lead them to interpolate. While, however, the *Iliad* was little known in Greece, they could have had no motive; when its authority and credit was established, there would be less opportunity for corruption. When the poems were widely circulated, interpolation would have been detected. One or two instances are recorded, as that in the time of *Solon*; and, if others had been attempted, we should probably have heard of them. Nor is the catalogue such as to justify the suspicion. We may assume the space between *Lycurgus* and *Solon* as the period within which, from the extended fame of the *Iliad*, the national vanity might desire to be commemorated. But the catalogue celebrates few of those who then had the ascendancy in Greece. It contains for the most part the names of extinct or exiled or conquered dynasties, of those who had either retired to distant settlements, or had been reduced to bondage at home, while the chief sway in Greece was now in other hands.

the Iliad was compiled^e, is still less tenable. This opinion is merely founded on the probability that a long poem, composed and at first preserved without the aid of writing, might not be the work of one man. But to this we may oppose the internal evidence of the Iliad itself. There are doubtless in the long series of the Iliad many lines which might be pruned away; many, which may be interpolations; although the indications of this are more rare than we might expect^f. But yet the general fabric of the whole, the unity of style, not merely in the structure of the verse and language (which is a less decisive argument), but still more in the thoughts and characters and images, mark the poems of which the Iliad is composed for the productions of a single mind^g.

That the Odyssey was composed by the author of the Iliad was the persuasion of the early Greeks. It is quoted without suspicion by Plato, Aristotle, and others^h. But among the

^e Heyne Homer. tom. VIII. p. 803. 804. 835.

^f The following have been noticed as the most material: three verses not now extant are quoted by Plato Alcib. II. p. 149. from Il. θ. 547. Three in Æschines Timarch. already quoted in Il. ψ. see note d. at ψ. 303. Four lines were wanting, expunged by Aristarchus in Il. ι. 457. apud Plutarch. Mor. p. 26. F. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρισταρχος ἔξειλε ταῦτα τὰ ἐπὶ φθῆσις ἔχει δὲ πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ὄρθως κ. τ. λ. Idem p. 72. B. θεν οὐχ ἀπίλας ὁ Φοῖνιξ ἐνέβαλε τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀτυχήματα, δι' ὅργην ἐπιχειρήσατος ἀνέλειν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ταχὺ μεταγύρτος. “Ως μὴ “ πατροφόνες—καλεῖσμην.” Conf. Valcken. Diatr. Eur. p. 264. Æschines Timarch. p. 18, 10. καὶ τὸν “Ομῆρον πολλάκις ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι λέγοντα πρὸ τῶν τῶν πειδώντων γενέσθαι “Φήμην τὸν εἰς στρατὸν ἥθε” — This expression is nowhere in our copies. One line after Il. Η. 542. is in Aristot. Rhet. II. 9. Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμέσασθε ὅτι ἀμείνον φωτὶ μάχιστο. Some few remarkable various readings occur. We have seen an instance in Aristotle in note d. at ψ. 328. and in Plato at ψ. 527. Another is given at Il. ψ. 870. by Schol. Ven. ἐν τῷ Μασσαλιωτικῷ “Στεργόμενος—ἴθινεν.” ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ Ἀντίμαχον οὖτας “Στεργόμενος ὡς ἄρα Μηρίσιος ἔζειλετο τόξου Χεραῖν”—Aristotle Met. III. 5. p. 1009. remarks. καὶ τὸν “Ομῆρον ταῦτην ἔχοντα φάνεσθαι τὴν δέξιαν, ὅτι ἐπούσε τὸν Ἐκτορα, ὃς ἔξεστη ἐπὶ τῆς πληρῆς, κεῖσθαι “ἀλλοφρονέντα.” This word occurs in Il. ψ. 698. applied to *Euryalus*, but nowhere applied to *Hector*. Either therefore Aristotle has named *Hector* by mistake for *Euryalus*, or this word was formerly extant in the description of *Hector* Il. ξ. 409—439. ο. 240—252. The ἀθέτησις of Aristarchus were not founded upon legitimate criticism. But even these were few in number. Wolf Prolegom. p. 272. observes that 470 verses are marked in the extant Venetian Scholia: *Versus in codice Veneto ὀβελισμένοι sunt admodum 470, numerusque aliquanto major esset si codex servatus esset integer.* In a poem containing more than 15,600 lines we may wonder that the variations are not more numerous.

^g One observation of Heyne upon this subject tom. VIII. p. 828. deserves attention: *Statuendum est non modo famam Trojani belli usque ad octavam vel nonam aetatem, fuisse servatam, verum et carmina antiquiora quibus ea fama jam condita fuerat; nec enim ad assequendum facile esset, unde tam politus et suavis sermo Ionicis carminis procedere potuisse, nisi jam multa carmina antecesserant.* Per ea itaque heroicæ vite mores et instituta jam ita multorum poëtarum studiis informata esse poterant ut eorum imaginem reddere tam vividam facile possent. If we substitute the fourth or fifth generation for the eighth or ninth, and one author of the Iliad for many, this observation will be just, and will truly describe the materials which Homer used in composing the Iliad; namely, the works of the poets who preceded him.

^h Pindar Nem. VII. 29=20. ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον ἔλπομαι Δίόγονον Ὀδυσσέα, η πάθεν, διὰ τὸν ἀδυνητὸν γενέσθ “Ομῆρον” Ἐπεὶ Φευδεσθοί οἱ ποτανῷ τε μαχανῷ Σεμνῷ ἐπεστί τι. Plato has the following passages among others: Ion. p. 535. b. ὁ Ιαν,—τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰδὸν ἐφαλαρμένον ἔδησε, ἐκφανῆ γυγνόμενον τοὺς μηνοτῆροι καὶ ἐκχέοντα τοὺς διότοις [Od. χ. 1—4]—τότε πότερον ἔμφρων ἐπὶ ἡ ἔξω σαντοῦ γίγνει; p. 538. e. πολλαχοῦ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ λέγει, οἷον καὶ ἀ ε τὸν Μελαμποδιδῶν λέγει μάντις πρὸς τοὺς μηνοτῆρας Θεοκλέμενος: “Δαιμόνιος (sic) τί κακὸν τόδι — ἀχένς” [Od. ψ. 351—357]. Rep. III. p. 386. c. ἑκατηίθουες ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ἐποιού ἀρξάμενοι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα: “Βιηλομῆν — ἀνάστειν” [Od. ς. 488]. Again Rep. VII. p. 516. d. τὸ τοῦ Ὀμῆρου ἀν πεπισθεναι καὶ σφιδρὰ βούλεσθαι “ἐπάρουρον ἔότα — ἀκλή — ψρ.” Rep. IV. p. 441. b. τὸ τοῦ Ὀμῆρον μαρτυρῆσει, τὸ “Στῆθος δὲ πλήκτας — μίθῳ” [Od. ψ. 17]. Protag. p. 315. c. d. τὸ δὲ μέτ’ εἰσενόητα, ἐφρ “Ομῆρος [Od. ς. 600]—καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ Τάρταλόν γε ἐσεῖδον [Od. Η. 581].—This passage therefore, which was condemned by Aristarchus (Schol. Pindar. Ol. I. 97. Schol. Odys. ψ. 568. 601. 604), was acknowledged by Plato. Porson ad Eur. Or. 5, who mentions the ἀθέτησις of Aristarchus, has

Alexandrine critics, as it should seem, the question arose, whether the author of the Iliad was also the author of the Odyssey. *Aristarchus* appears to have held that they were both composed by *Homer*; since in some passages of the Venetian scholia, which for the most part follow his authority, reasons are offered against the opinion of those who gave the Odyssey to another poet. The arguments in favour of that opinion which may be gathered from those passages are for the most part frivolous and insufficient. *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, *Athenaeus*, never notice it: *Seneca* mentions it with contemptⁱ. Some modern critics, however,

neglected to notice this testimony of *Plato*. *Plato Leg. VII.* p. 804. a. προσδικῶντα καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν εὐ λέγει τὸ “Τηλέμαχ ἄλλα μὲν —τραφέμεν τέ” [Od. γ'. 26—28]. *Leg. III.* p. 680. b. λέγει δὲ αὐτῆν τους καὶ “Ομηρος γεγονέναι περὶ τὴν τῶν Κυκλικῶν οἰκησιν εἰπών” “Τοῖσι δὲ οὖτ' ἀγοραὶ —ἀλέγουσι” [Od. ι'. 112—115]. referred to by *Aristotle Rep. I. 2.* τοῦτ' ἔστιν δὲ λέγει “Ομηρος,” “θεμιστεῖν δὲ ἔκαστος “Παιῶν ήδε ἀλόχουν.” *Eth. Nicom. X. 10.* κυκλωπικῶν θεμιστείων παιῶν ήδε ἀλόχουν. who also among other passages has the following: *H. A. VI. 20.* p. 575. a. *Bekk.* “Ομηρος σύντα τινες ὄρθες ποιῆσαι τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ἀποθανόντα τὸν κύρον τοῦ Ὀδύσσεως” [Od. ρ'. 326]. *Problem. 26.* p. 943. b. *Bekk.* “Ομηρος ἐν τῷ Ἡλισίῳ πεδίῳ, “‘Αλλ’ ἀεὶ Ζεφύριος —ἄηται” [Od. δ'. 567]. *Ibid.* p. 953. b. “Ομηρος ἐποίησε “καὶ μέ φησι δάκρυ πλώειν βεβαρμένον οἴνῳ” [Od. τ'. 122. these two with some variations]. *Poët. c. 8.* “Ομηρος—Οδύσσειαν ποιῶν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἀπάντα δύσα αὐτῷ συνέβη,—ἀλλὰ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν, σίαν λέγουσιν τὴν ‘Οδύσσειαν συνέστησεν, ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ τὴν ‘Ιλιάδα.

i Schol. II. β'. 356. Εἵλενης ὄρμήματα: ή διπλῆ πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας ἔφασαν γάρ τὸ μὲν τῆς ‘Ιλιάδος ποιητὴν δυσαναχετεύσαν συνιστάνταν καὶ στένουσαν διὰ τὸ βίᾳ ἀπῆχθαι—τὸν δὲ τῆς ‘Οδύσσειας ἐκουσαν, οὐ νοῦντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἔτινεν εἶναι αὐτῆς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ ἔσων πρόβεσιν τὴν “περὶ” δεῖ λαβεῖν, οὐδὲ περὶ ‘Ελένης. A frivolous objection answered by a frivolous solution. The true answer is, as *Heyne* has seen tom. IV. p. 264, that the line is out of place and ought to be expunged: *hunc versum ex 590 in alienum locum esse illatum.* This verse at its true place, at 590, merely expresses the feeling of *Menelaüs*, and in that sense is happily paraphrased by *Pope*.

β'. 649. δὰς τί ἐνταῦθα μὲν πεπόηκεν —Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ‘Οδύσσειᾳ —“‘ενεήκοντα πό—“λησες;” τὸ γάρ ποτὲ μὲν ἐνεήκοντα ποτὲ δὲ ἔκατὸν λέγειν δοκεῖ ἐναντίον εἶναι. ‘Ηρακλεῖδης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι λίνεν ἐπεχείρουν οὕτας κ. τ. λ. ‘Αριστοτέλης δὲ οὐκ ἀποτόν φησιν κ. τ. λ. In *Schol. Ven.* ή διπλῆ πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἑκατόμπολιν τὴν Κρήτην, ἐν ‘Οδύσσειᾳ δὲ ἐνεήκοντά πολιν. This question was discussed also by *Ephorus*: conf. *Strab. X.* p. 479. But in the time of *Ephorus* and *Aristotle* and *Heraclides Ponticus* the only question was concerning the inconsistency of the poet. It does not appear to have been then argued that the *Odyssey*

was not by *Homer*. For the λύσεις ‘Ομηρικαὶ of *Heraclides* see *F. H. III.* p. 471.

δ'. 354. Τηλεμάχοιο: ή διπλῆ ὅτι προτετυκμένως τὰ κατὰ τὴν ‘Οδύσσειαν μνημονεύει τοῦ Τηλεμάχου. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρα ποιητοῦ καὶ η ‘Οδύσσεια. A conclusion not warranted by the premises.

ζ'. 154. ή διπλῆ πρὸς τὴν ἐπανάληψιν τοῦ ὄνόματος· καὶ ὅτι ἐν ‘Ιλιάδι συνεχῶς ταῖς ἐπαναλήψεις κέχρηται, ἐν δὲ ‘Οδύσσειᾳ ἀπαξ κατ’ ἀρχάς: “Αἰδίστες τοι διχόδα.” *Schol.* ad μ'. 96. ή διπλῆ ὅτι πλεονάζει ἐν ‘Ιλιάδι τὰς ἐπαναλήψεις, ἐν ‘Οδύσσειᾳ δὲ ἀπαξ. πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας. ad η'. 138. ή διπλῆ ὅτι πυκναὶ ἐν ‘Ιλιάδι αἱ ἐπαναλήψεις, ἀπαξ δὲ ἐν ‘Οδύσσειᾳ. The same observation is repeated at ρ'. 372. and at ψ'. 642.

κ'. 476. προτάροισθεν: ή διπλῆ ὅτι καὶ ἐν ‘Ιλιάδι νῦν τὸ “προτάροισθεν” ἐπὶ χρόνον τέταχεν—οὐχ ὡς οἱ χωρίζοντες ἐν ‘Οδύσσειᾳ μόνα, ἐν ‘Ιλιάδι δὲ τοπικῶς.

λ'. 147. ὄλμον: ή διπλῆ ὅτι ἀπαξ ἐνταῦθα κέχρηται· καὶ ὅτι ἐν ‘Ιλιάδι εὐτελέστερος κέχρηται λεξιδίοις, οὐ μόνον ἐν ‘Οδύσσειᾳ “χώνικος” [τ'. 28] καὶ “λύχνον” [τ'. 34]. πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας. To the same purpose *Schol. Odyss. τ'. 28.* χώνικος: ἀπαξ ἐνταῦθα η φωνή. καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο χωριστόν τῆς ‘Ιλιάδος τὴν ‘Οδύσσειαν κάκει γάρ εἰσι τοῦδε εὐτελέστερα ὄντατα, “ὄλμον,” κ. τ. λ.

λ'. 692. ή διπλῆ πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας, ὅτι ἐν μὲν ‘Ιλιάδι δώδεκα Νηλῆς παῖδες λέγει, ἐν δὲ τῇ ‘Οδύσσειᾳ [λ'. 285] τρεῖς γεγονέναι. It is answered, and perhaps sufficiently, that only the sons of *Chloris* are mentioned in the *Odyssey*.

ν'. 365. ή διπλῆ ὅτι νῦν μὲν τὴν Κασσάνδραν “εἴδος ἀρίστην,” ἐν ἀλλοις δὲ [Π. ζ'. 252] τὴν Λαοδίκην, καὶ οὐ μάχεται. ή δὲ ἀναφορὰ πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας, λένται γάρ τοις τοιούτοις.

π'. 747. ή διπλῆ ὅτι ἀπαξ εἰρηκε “τήθεα”—πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας. φασὶ γάρ ὅτι ὁ τῆς ‘Ιλιάδος ποιητὴς οὐ παρεισάγει τοὺς ἥρωας χρωμένους ἱχθύσιν, ὁ δὲ τῆς ‘Οδύσσειας. See *Heyne* tom. VII. p. 262. who well concludes, tota hæc argumentatio et disputatio vana est.

φ'. 416. ή διπλῆ ὅτι οἱ χωρίζοντές φασὶ τὸν τῆς ‘Ιλιάδος ποιητὴν εἰδέναι συνιστάντα τῷ “Ἄρει τὴν ‘Αφροδίτην, τὸν δὲ τῆς ‘Οδύσσειας διαφόρως ‘Ηφαιστῳ. The *Scholiast* properly adds, λέγειν δὲ δεῖ ὅτι οὐχ οἱ αὐτοὶ χρόνοι ἦσαν τῆς συμβιώσεως.

φ'. 550. ‘Αχιλλῆς πτολίτορθον: ή διπλῆ ὅτι πλεονάζει ἐπ’ ‘Οδύσσειαν τὸ “πτολίτορθος,” νῦν δὲ ἀπαξ ἐπ’ ‘Αχιλλέως. πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας τούτους γάρ χωῶσται.

Wolf Prolegom. p. 158. observes, τοὺς χωρίζον-

have minutely examined this question, and have traced in the *Odyssey* differences of style and indications of a later time, which make it probable that this poem was the work of another author^k. But yet, if not by the same poet, these two poems manifestly belong to the same school of poetry, and are not far from each other in time. I should upon conjecture place the *Odyssey* before *Hesiod*, and about 50 years later than the time of *Homer*^l.

If *Hesiod* flourished where we have placed him, 400 years before *Herodotus* and about 80 before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, his genuine works, like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, must have been at first preserved by recitation for some space before they were committed to writing. It seems probable from what has been already observed^m that written copies were begun to be made 50 years after that era, and little more than a century after the time of *Hesiod* himself. The genuine works which may be referred to B.C. 859—824 are the *'Eryx*, perhaps the *Θεογονία*ⁿ. The other works which bore his name, the *Μελαχρυστία*, the *'Ασπίς*, the *'Ηοῖαι*,

ταὶ priores suisce celeberrimis scholis grammaticorum ex multis indiciis colligo. Quare videndum est ne forte primum vestigium illius suspicionis lateat in mulilato loco ritæ Homeri, quæ a Tychsenio edita est, &c. The passage is in Proclus p. 468. Gaisford, repeated by Bekker in Schol. Hom. Il. p. I. γέγραψε δὲ τούτους δύο, Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσεαν, τὴν Εένων καὶ Ἑλλάνικης ἀρχιρρότου αὐτοῦ· οἱ μέρου ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὸν Κύκλων ἀναφέρονται εἰς αὐτὸν. *Hellenicus*, who is here opposed to *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι*, is not the historian, but a grammarian quoted Schol. Hom. Il. ε'. 269. ο'. 631. τ'. 90. *Xenon*, also a grammarian, either preceded or was contemporary with *Aristarchus*: conf. Schol. ad Il. μ. 435. There is no reason, then, to conclude that this opinion concerning the *Odyssey* had arisen before the time of the Alexandrine critics. No suspicion of this appears in Aristotle, and the questions in these passages are such as the grammarians were accustomed to discuss. Seneca de Brev. Vitæ c. 13., quoted by Wolf, does not fix the time: *Græcorum iste morbus sicut quærere quem numerum remigum Ulysses habuisse; prior scripta esset Ilias an Odyssea; præterea, an ejusdem esset auctoris.*

^k Mr. Payne Knight Prolegom. c. 43—47. determines that the *Iliad* was more ancient than the *Odyssey* by the following arguments: 1. *Voces quedam in Odyssea e vita cultioris usu ortæ videntur, ut χρήματα, λέσχη, βύζλιος, θητεῖς.* 2. *Voces aliae in utroque poëmate obviæ in Odyssea breviores sumunt formam.* 3. The syntax is different: *ἐτῶν* has an indicative in the *Odyssey* but not in the *Iliad*. 4. The mythology is different: in the *Iliad* *Hermes* is not the messenger of the gods; *Neptune* has no trident; *Delos* is not sacred to *Apollo*; there is no *ἀποθέωσις* of a hero. 5. In the *Odyssey* are marks of a greater progress in the arts. The instances, however, which are produced are not very satisfactory. Mr. Coleridge, in his excellent Introduction to the Greek

Poets, also concludes that these poems were not by the same author. He remarks p. 170. a change in the language of the *Odyssey*. He observes p. 101. 167. more than 200 similes in the *Iliad*, but in the *Odyssey* (which, though shorter than the *Iliad* by 3586 lines, is still a long poem) he numbers less than 50, marking the genius of a different poet. We may add that *Ἐλλῆνες* is used in a larger sense in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*: see above p. 45. s. Mr. Coleridge, however, justly concludes p. 142., from the unity of design through the whole poem, that the *Odyssey* was composed by one poet, and not compiled from the songs of various *rhapsodi*.

^l Some of the differences observed in the two poems may be attributed to the difference of the subjects; the one describing war, the other domestic life. The author of the *Iliad* adapts the manners to the age which he describes; the poet of the *Odyssey* more naturally introduces the later manners of his own time. Some indications of resemblance occur. Mr. Coleridge observes that 1000 verses are identical in the two poems; as Il. ζ. 490. Od. α'. 356. *Apollo* and the Sun are distinct deities in both. Both poems are silent, as Payne Knight remarks, upon the use of letters and of coined money. We may conclude from these particulars that the *Odyssey* was but little later than the *Iliad*.

^m See above p. 369.

ⁿ The Boeotians allowed only the *έργα* to be genuine, as we know from Pausanias. But the *Theogony* has its claims, and is quoted as of *Hesiod* by early authorities; *Xenophanes*: Laërt. IX. 18. γέγραψε δὲ καὶ ἐν ἔπεισι καὶ ἐλεγείαις καὶ λάμβονται Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ὁμηρόν, ἐπικόπτων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ θεῶν εἰρημένα. *Sext. Empir.* p. 280. Ὁμηρος δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος, κατὰ τὸν Κολοφώνιον Ξεναφάνη, διὰ πλεῖστον ἐφθέγγαντο θεῶν ἀθεμίστων ἔργα, κλέπτειν, μισχεῖν τε, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεῖν. *Herodotus*: II. 53. Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ὁμηρος—ἄλιτι δέ

μεγάλαι and κατάλογοι γυναικῶν^c, and the Κήκος γάμος, which was perhaps included in the

εἰσὶ οἱ ποιῆσαντες θεογονίην "Ελλῆσι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δίντες κ. τ. λ. Aristotele: Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 584. Aristoteles lib. III. de Cœlo cap. 1. et alibi. sc. de Cœlo III. 1. εἰσὶ γάρ τις οἱ φασιν οὐδὲν ἀγέντοι εἴναι τὸν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίγνεσθαι, γενόμενα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄφερτα διαμένεν τὰ δὲ πάντα φεύγεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν εἰ περὶ Ἡσίοδον, εἴτε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πρῶτοι φυσιολόγοις. Other passages are in Phys. Ausc. IV. 1. p. 208. Bekk. δόξει δὲ ἀν καὶ Ἡσίοδος ὅρθος λέγειν τούσας πρῶτον τὸ χάος. λέγει γοῦν [Theog. 116] "Πάντων μὲν πρώτιστα χάος—εἴ—“ρύστερος.” quoted again Met. I. 4. de Xenophane c. 1. p. 975. c. 2. p. 976. Idem Met. II. 4. p. 1000. οἱ περὶ Ἡσίοδον καὶ πάντες δοὺς θείδογοι μάλιστα ἐφρόντισαν τοῦ πιθανοῦ τῷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἡμῶν δὲ ἀληγρύπτων θεοῖς γάρ πιστεῖτε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐκ θεῶν γεγονέναι, τὰ μὴ γενσάμενα τοῦ νέκταρος καὶ τῆς ἀμφιροσίας θυητὰ γενέσθαι φασίν.

The collection entitled "Ἡοῖς μεγάλαι, κατάλογοι γυναικῶν, ἥροική γενεαλογία, ἥρωνονία, has produced much diversity of opinion. Five books are named by Suidas: "Ἡσίοδος—ποιῆματα αὐτοῦ ταῦτα. Θεογονία. Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι. Ἀστίς. Γυναικῶν ἥραινῶν κατάλογος ἐν βιβλίοις εἰς which Petitus Leg. Att. p. 559—561. thus distributes:

γυναικῶν κατάλογος α'. β'. γ'.
δ'. Ἡοῖς μεγάλαι.
ε'. ἥρωνονία.

Kuster ad Suid. l. c. agrees with Petitus; and Fabricius B. G. tom. I. p. 577. *Tres priores catalogi sub titulo κατάλογοι γυναικῶν. Post librum IV^m Ἡοῖς μεγάλαις complexum, fuit quintus ἥροική γενεαλογία sive ἥρωνονία.* Siebelis ad Pausan. tom. IV. p. 101. considers the Ἡοῖς and the γυναικῶν κατάλογος to be different works; *ut duo distinguuntur opera.* But Wyttensbach ad Eunapium p. 133. thinks them the same: "Ἡοῖς opus idem est quod γυναικῶν ἥραινῶν κατάλογος βιβλίοις εἰς. And Heyne ad Apollod. p. 986. κατάλογος γυναικῶν. Idem carmen vulgo appellatum Ἡοῖς μεγάλαι. rotuit quoque appellari γενεαλογίας ἥρωικαι. In Schol. Apollon. II. 181. they are distinguished: cod. Par. "Ἡσίοδος μὲν ἐν ταῖς Ἡοῖς πετυησθαι φησὶ τὸν Φοιέα διὰ τὸ δεῖξαι Φρέξφ τὴν εἰς Σκυθίαν ὁδὸν· ἐν δὲ τῷ γῇ τῶν καταλέγων, διὰ τὸ διάτη μακρὰν ὄντες μᾶλλον ἐλέσθαι. Casaubon ad Strab. I. p. 42 (72). observes from hence that they were different works: *Ex scholiaste Apollonii discimus diversa hæc esse opera;* but rightly adds, *Certum est tamen Eæas Hesiодi aliud fuisse nihil quam mulierum præstantissimarum catalogum.* Maximus Tyrius Diss. 32. p. 123. divides the works of Hesiód into three classes: δὲ Ἡσίοδος χωρὶς μὲν τὸν ἥρων, ἀτὸ γυναικῶν ἀρχόμενος, καταλέγων τὰ γένη, ὅστις δὲ ήτος ἔφυ χωρὶς δὲ αὐτῷ πεποίηται οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι, ἄμα τοῦ λόγου

θεογονία· χωρὶς δὲ αὖ ὀφελεῖ τὰ εἰς τὸν βίον, ἔργα τε ἀδραστέον καὶ ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς δραστέον. And Lucian tom. VIII. p. 147. Θεῶν τε γενέσεις διηγούμενος—ἔτι δὲ γυναικῶν ἀρετᾶς, καὶ παρανέσεις γεωργικάς where the Ἡοῖς are not distinguished from the κατάλογος. Pausanias IX. 31. 4. Βιωτῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλικῶνα οἰκοῦντες παρελημμένα δόξῃ λέγουσιν ὡς ἄλλο Ἡσίοδος ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν ἢ τὰ ἔργα· καὶ τούτων δὲ τὸ ἐξ τὰς Μούσας ἀφαιροῦσι προσίμων—ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἔτερος (δόξα) κεχωρισμένη τῆς προτέρας, ὡς τούτην τινὰ ἐπὼν δὲ Ἡσίοδος ἀριθμὸς ποιήσειν, ἐς γυναικάς τε ἀδόμενα ἃς μεγάλας ἐπονοράζουσιν Ἡοῖς, καὶ Θεογονίαν, καὶ ἐς τὸν μάντιν Μελάμποδα [Clem. Strom. VI. p. 628. C. ταῦτα (sc. Odyss. i. 372)—Ἡσίοδος ἐπὶ τοῦ Μελάμποδος ποιεῖ. Athen. XI. p. 498. a. et hinc Eustath. ad Il. μ. p. 900. 18. Ἡσίοδος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Μελάμποδίᾳ. II. p. 40. f. Ἡσίοδος ἐν τῷ Μελαμποδίᾳ. XIII. p. 609. e. Ἡσίοδος ἐν τρίτῳ Μελαμποδίᾳ. Tzetz. ad Lyc. 682. ὁ τῇ Μελαμποδίᾳ ποιητής: 5 lines de Tiresia. Schol. Od. λ. 90. περὶ δὲ τῆς Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας παρὰ Τειρεσίου ἔνεκα τῆς λαγνείας κρίσεως καὶ δὲ τῆς Μελαμποδίας ποιητῆς ὡς ἀπὸ Τειρεσίου φησίν “Οἴην μὲν “μάρτα”—two lines], καὶ ὡς Θησεὺς εἰς τὸν "Αἰδηνὸν Πειρίθεον καταβαῖν, παρανέσεις τε Χείρωνος ἐπὶ διδασκαλίδην τῇ Ἀχιλλέως [Schol. Pindar. Pyth. VI. 19. τὰς Χείρωνος ἴκοθήκας Ἡσίοδῳ ἀνατίθεσιν, δύνη ἡ ἀρχῆ]. “Ἐλ “νῦ μοι τάδε ἱκαστα””—3 lines. Conf. Quintil. I. 1. 15. Grammaticus Aristophanes primus ἴτυθίκας negavit esse hujus poëtæ], καὶ ὅτα ἐτί ἔργον τε καὶ ἡμέραις. Where Pausanias, as the text now stands, includes the Ἡοῖς in the poems ἐς γυναικας; which is to be preferred to the interpretation of Siebelis, retaining καὶ ἃς μεγάλας—and distinguishing them as separate works. The other testimonies to the Ἡοῖς are these: Pausan. IV. 2. 1. ἐπεδέξαμην τὰς Ἡοῖς καλομένας—“Τλλον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θυγατρὶ Εὐαλχημη συνοικῆσαι Πολυκάσονα οὐδὲ Βούτου λεγούσας τὰς μεγάλας οὐδα Ἡοῖς. II. 26. 3. κατὰ τὰ ἐπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἡοῖς ἡν Ἐπιδαύρῳ πατήρ “Ἄργος ὁ Διός. IX. 40. 3. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὰ ἐπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἡοῖς ποιήσαις: “Φύλας δὲ ὀπτινει κούρην”—6 lines. X. 31. 2. αἱ Ἡοῖς καλούμεναι: de Melægros. II. 2. 3. πεποίηται ἐν Ἡοῖς μεγάλαις Οἰβάλων θυγατέρα εἶναι Πειρίην. VI. 21. 7. ἀπέθανον δὲ ὑπὲ τοῦ Οἰνομάκου κατὰ τὰ ἐπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἡοῖς Ἀλκάθους ὁ Πορθέανος—μετὰ δὲ Ἀλκάθους Εἰρύαλος καὶ Εύρύμαχος κ. τ. λ. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 35. ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης τὰ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις Ἡοῖς παρατίθεται ““Η ων Τρήν πυκι—“νόφρων Μυκιονίκη κ. τ. λ.” 3 lines. Schol. Apollon. I. 118. δὲ δὲ ταῖς καλομέναις μεγάλαις Ἡοῖς λέγεται. de Melampode. IV. 57. τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα Ἡσίοδος μὲν Ἀεθλίον παῖδεν λέγει.—καὶ Πεισταύρος δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ φησὶ καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ Φερεκύδης κ. τ. λ.—ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις Ἡοῖς λέγεται τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα ἀνεκεχθῆναι ἐπὶ Διὸς εἰς οὐρανός ἀρασθέντα δὲ Ἡρας παραλογισθῆναι εἰδώλῳ

νεφέλης δώλ τὸν ἔρωτα, καὶ ἐκβληθέντα κατελθεῖν εἰς
ἄδου. IV. 828. ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις Ἡοῖαις Φόρβαντος
καὶ Ἐκάτης ἡ Σκύλλα. II. 1123. Ἀκουστίλαος, καὶ
Ἡσιόδος ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις Ἡοῖαις. de *Phrixi filiis*:
see above p. 49. Schol. Soph. Trach. 1169. Ἡ-
σιόδος ἐν Ἡοῖαις. see above p. 55. o. Athen. X.
p. 428. c. Ἡσιόδος ἐν ταῖς Ἡοῖαις εἴπεν “Οἶα Διόνυσος”
—4 lines. VIII. 364. b. ἐκ τῶν εἰς Ἡσιόδον ἀνα-
φερομένων μεγάλων Ἡοίων — παρέβηται. Eunapius
Ædes. p. 41. τὰς Ἡσιόδου καλλιμένας Ἡοῖας. The
κατάλογος is thus quoted: Strabo I. p. 42. Ἡσιό-
δος ἐν κατάλογῳ φησι

καὶ κούρῃ Ἀράβῳ, τὸν Ἐρμάνων ἀκάκητα
γένετο καὶ Θροήν κούρη Βήλοιο ἄνακτος.

Harpocr. Μακροκέφαλοι. ἔθνος —οἱ Ἡσιόδος ἐν τρίτῳ
γυναικῶν καταλόγῳ μέμνηται. conf. Strab. I. p. 43.
Ἡσιόδον δὲ εἴναι ἄν τις αἰτιάσαιτο ὅργων ἡμίκυνας λέγον-
τες καὶ μακροκεφάλους καὶ Πυγμαῖους. Harpocr. ὑπὸ^{την}
γῆν εἰκοντες. τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἡσιόδου ἐν τρίτῳ καταλόγῳ
κατευθαῖνες ὀνομαζόμενους. Diomedes apud Vales.
ad loc. *Eugegetici poëmatis species sunt tres **
Historice, qua narrationes et genealogiae compo-
nuntur, ut est Hesiōdī γυναικῶν κατάλογος. Steph.
Byz. Γερρία. Ἡσιόδος ἐν τρίτῳ καταλόγῳ·

κτεῖν δὲ Νηλῆς ταλασίφροντος νίας ἑσθίας
ἔνδεικα· διδέκατος δὲ Γερήνιος ιπτίτα Νέστωρ
ξεῖνος ἐν ἐπόχῃ ταρ' ιπποδάμαιοις Γερήνοις.

conf. Schol. Iliad. β. 336. τίτε Νέστωρ ἐν Γερήνοις
τριβόμενος, κ. τ. λ.—διὸ καὶ Γερήνιος ὀνομάσθη. ιστορεῖ
Ἡσιόδος ἐν καταλόγῳ. Pausan. I. 3, 1. Ἡσιόδος
εἴρηκεν ἐν ἔποις τοῖς ἐς τὰς γυναικας. I. 43, 1. οὐδα
Ἡσιόδον ποιήσαντα δι καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφρύγενειαν οὐκ
ἀποδιδάσκει. Servius ad Æn. VII. 268. *Hesiōdus*
etiam περὶ γυναικῶν inducit multas heroidas optasse
nuptias virorum fortium. Dio Or. II. p. 77.
Ἡσιόδος—ἐποίησε γυναικῶν κατάλογον, καὶ τῷ ὅπῃ τὴν
γυναικῶντιν ὑμηστερ. Lucian. tom. V. p. 259. δη-
γουμένου σου τὸν τοῦλν, ὃς καὶ ταρ' Ἡσιόδῳ, κατάλογον
ἄν ἀρχῆθεν ἡράσθης. Porphyrius apud Schol. Iliad.
ξ. 200. ταρ' Ἡσιόδῳ ἐν γυναικῶν καταλόγῳ ἐπὶ τῆς
Ἀγγίνωρος παιδὸς Δημοδόκης “τῷν πλεῖστοι” κ. τ. λ. conf.
Schol. Odyss. α'. 98. Eustathius ad Odyss. ν'.
p. 1746, 9. ἐκ τοῦ ταρά Ἡσιόδῳ καταλόγου περὶ τῶν
Πραττίδων κ. τ. λ. Tzetzes ad Lyc. 393. Ἡσιόδος ἐν
τῇ ἡραϊκῇ γενεαλογίᾳ “Ἡματὶ τῷ ὅπῃ τεῖχος—” κ. τ. λ.
part of a fragment of 5 lines: conf. Gaisford.
Fragm. Hes. p. 174. Schol. Apollon. III. 1086.
Ἡσιόδος ἐν πρώτῳ καταλόγῳ. on *Deucalion and Hellen*: see p. 44. That a part of the ἀστίς was in-
cluded in the κατάλογος is attested by a Scholiast
apud Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 577. Gaisf. Poët.
Min. tom. I. p. 143. τῇς ἀστίδος ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν τῷ δικα-
ιῶγῳ φέρεται μέχρι στίχου ν' καὶ σ' [γ' καὶ στ' Petitus].
ἰπτάττεις δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης—οἱ γραμματικοὶ ὃς οὖν ὀσταν
αἰτήν Ἡσιόδου ἀλλ' ἐτέρου τινὸς την 'Ομηρικὴν ἀσπίδα
μιμήσασθαι προσωριμένου. Μεγαλῆς δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖς γρή-
σιν μεν οὐδε τὸ τοίηρα, ἄλλος δὲ ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ.
—Ἀτολλάνιος δὲ ὁ Ρόδιος ἐν τῷ γ' φησιν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἐκ

τε τοῦ χαρακτῆρος; καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὸν Ἰόλαον ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ
εἰρίσκειν ἰμιοχῶντα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. ὥσπερ τος δὲ καὶ Στη-
σίχορος φησιν Ἡσιόδος εἴναι τὸ πόνημα. The κατάλογος
is the collection so named; which Apollonius, it
seems, ascribed to *Hesiod*. Hesych. Ἡοῖαι. ὁ κα-
τάλογος; Ἡοίδου. Idem ηρωι. αἱ λεγόμεναι ἔποιαι
[Ἡοῖαι Valesius]. Tzetzes Prolegom. ad Hesiod.
p. 17. distinguishes the κατάλογος from the ἱρωγο-
νία: Ἡσιόδου ἔργα καὶ ἱμέραι—οὗτον δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται
τρὶς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῶν ἐπέρων αὐτοῦ πεντεκαΐδεκα βιβλίων,
Ἀστίδος, Θεογονίας, Ἡρωγονίας, γυναικῶν καταλόγου,
καὶ λοιπῶν ἀπαστῶν. The discrepancies between the
Ἡοῖαι and the κατάλογος in Schol. Apollon. are
well explained by Harles ad Fabric. tom. I.
p. 581. and by Groddeck apud Harles l. c. who
argue that the collection was composed of pieces
by various authors: *Genealogica illa carmina a
variis iisque ignotis auctoribus esse conscripta;*
*seriore autem tempore propter argumenti similitu-
dinem ex iis unum opus, in plures libros distribu-
tum, esse conflatum et Hesiōdo suppositum;* Ἡοῖαι
verò μεγάλα; Hesiōdi quod in magna fuisse
fama etiam collectione facta suum nomen reti-
nuisse, partem vero reliquarum genealogiarum
fuisse habitas. Harles observes p. 579. Equi-
dem valde suspicor inscriptionem Ἡοῖαι, sive κατά-
λογος γυναικῶν, a grammaticis demum poëmati fuisse
præfixam. Wolf Prolegom. Hom. p. 157. con-
siders the collection made in the ancient time:
διασκευασται qui eas que ab ipsis auctoribus ad
eandem formam composite erant uno volumine
complectentur, ut καταλόγους γυναικῶν vel Ἡοίας
μεγάλας. We may agree with Harles that the
title κατάλογος γυναικῶν was given in the time of the
Alexandrine grammarians, and that in the
collection then made were included various an-
cient poems on the same subject; some bearing
the name of *Hesiod*, others by unknown authors.
But the Ἡοῖαι μεγάλαι which formed a part of
that collection were not so named first in the
times of the Alexandrine school; because this
title was known to *Hermesianax*, who alludes to
it apud Athen. XIII. p. 597. d.

Ἐνθεν δὲ γ' Ἡοίην μνάμενος Ἀσκραικήν
πόλιν ἔπαθεν, κ. τ. λ.

And *Hermesianax* flourished before those times:
Pausan. I. 9, 8. Ἐρυγοιανᾶς δὲ δι τὰ ἐλεγεῖα γράψας
οὐκέτι (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ) περὶ πάντως γάρ που καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν
ἐπὶ ἀλινηῃ Κολοφῶνι ὕδρατο. Pausanias concludes
that his death preceded the capture of Colophon
by *Lysimachus*, who was slain in B. C. 281.
And the term Ἡοῖαι is described as generally
used: Pausan. IX. 36, 4. δι τὰ ἐπη συνθεῖς ἄς μεγά-
λας Ἡοῖαι καλοῦσιν Ἐλληνες, where 5 lines are given
de *Orchomeno*. For II. 16, 3. see above p. 14. p.
This poem, then, was so named in ancient times,
but was received into the κατάλογος when that
collection was made by the Alexandrine critics.

κατάλογοι^ρ, may be added to the list of thirty epic poems already given^q. Their age is unknown. The 'Ηοῖαι and the 'Αστρις have been brought down to the 40th Olympiad by some. But this date is assigned upon conjecture, and is founded on no authority^r. If the authors had lived so late as B. C. 620, when letters were in common use and poetry was written, it is likely that their names would have been preserved. That these poems, with the Μελαμποδία, the κατάλογοι, and Κήνος γάμος, were ascribed to *Hesiod*, and that the real authors were unknown, is a proof of their antiquity, and an argument that they were composed before the use of writing was general. The 'Ηοῖαι and some other pieces might really be composed by *Hesiod* himself; those which were the work of other poets may be placed near his time, or at least not later than *Arctinus*^s. The anonymous cyclic poems, the Φορωνίς, Δαναΐς, 'Αλκμαιωνίς, Θηβαΐς, and 'Επίγονοι, may for the same reasons be assigned to the same period^t.

^r The Κήνος γάμος is named by Athenaeus II. p. 49. b. 'Ησιόδος ἐν Κήνος γάμῳ, καὶ γὰρ γραμματικῶν παιδεῖς ἀποδεῦστος τοῦ παιγνοῦ τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἀρχαῖς εἶναι. Schol. Apollon. I. 1280. 'Ησιόδος ἐν τῷ Κήνος γάμῳ. de *Hyla*. Plutarch Symp. p. 730. F. rejected it: ὃ τὸν Κήνος γάμον εἰς τὰ 'Ησιόδου παιεμβαλλὼν εἴρηκεν. Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 579. 593. observes, *Pars fuit τῶν κατάλογων*. Probably however not a fragment of a poem, but an entire poem in itself, which was received into that collection. The Κήνος γάμος might be a part of the κατάλογοι as the 'Ιλιάν πέρσις was a part of the epic κύκλος.

^q See p. 358. The Αἴγιμος has been already mentioned §. 9. The other titles of lost works collected by Fabricius tom. I. p. 590—593. are either corrupt and spurious titles, as γῆς περιόδος, θεῖα λόγοι, μεγάλα ἔργα, or parts of other poems, as *Epithalamium Pelei*, ἔπη μαντικά, Θοσέος κατάβασις, or supposititious works which we cannot with certainty pronounce to be ancient, as ἀστρονομία μεγάλη, περὶ Ἰδαίων δακτύλων, ἵποθήκαι Χείρωνος. On all these titles see Harles ad Fabric. I. c.

^r Vossius de Poëtis Græcis p. 18. assigns this date after Scaliger: *Ad hæc tempora* [sc. Ol. 40] *referendus videtur auctor τῶν 'Ηοίων καὶ τῆς 'Αστριδος, ut optime Scaligero monitum Epist. 247. ad*

Claudium Salmasium. Scaliger merely says, *Prima illa ætas in qua fuere Homerus et Hesiodus—hanc potes judicare atque adeo vocare ver Poëtices.—Excipit eam ætas in qua Onomacritus, Solon, Tyrtaeus, et quisquis fuit auctor τῶν 'Ηοίων καὶ τῆς 'Αστριδος, quam præpostero judicio criticorum natio Ascreo illi attribuit.*

^s Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 581. remarks of the κατάλογος γνωμῶν, *Collectio illa non integra ab Hesiodo profecta sed ab aliis aucta (quod quidem non adeo multo post Hesiодi tempora factum opinor; alias enim antiquiores critici rem melius scire et accuratius distinguere libros potuerant), postea in quinque partes distributa et per ignorantiam uni Hesiodo adscripta videtur*. If Harles intends to express that the collection was made not long after *Hesiod's* time, he is somewhat inconsistent with himself; for the collection was made at the time of the distribution into five books, to which the title κατάλογος was affixed: and this he had already referred to the grammarians. But if his meaning is limited to this, that some parts of the collection afterwards made were from *Hesiod* himself and that the other parts were composed not long afterwards, he appears to have judged rightly.

^t See above p. 358.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS—VOL. I.

NOTES UPON THE TABLES.

669, 2. Mr. Muller—*Damocratidas* too low] That is, according to the dates of Pausanias, whom Muller quotes p. 113. f., and accordingly Mr. Muller himself at p. 519, in conformity with these dates, places *Damocratidas* at Ol. 28. But if we bring down the termination of the war to B. C. 662, the dates of Muller may be admitted, and *Damocratidas* might reign at B. C. 660.

617, 2. *Alyattes*] Within the reigns of *Cyaxares* and *Alyattes* according to Herodotus I. 74. occurred the eclipse predicted by *Thales*: πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγερόντες ἐπέτη πάντες διαφέρουσι δὲ σφι ἐπὶ ἵσης τὸν πόλεμον, τῷ ἔκτῳ ἐτεῖ συμβοῦσι γενομένης συνήνεκε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστέῶσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἔξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἰωταὶ προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, ὅπρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν φῇ δῆ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. Various dates have been assigned to this eclipse both by ancient and modern writers. The ancient testimonies are these: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 302. A. Θάλην δὲ Εὐδημος [conf. Laërt. I. 23. *Eudemus* was the disciple of *Aristotle*: Simplic. ad Phys. Ausc. p. 216. a] ἐν ταῖς ἀστρολογικαῖς ἱστορίαις τὴν γενομένην ἔκλειψιν τοῦ ἡλίου προειπεῖν φησὶ καθ' ὃς χρόνους συνῆψαν μάχην πρὸς ἀλλήλους Μῆδοι τε καὶ Λυδοί, βασιλεύοντος Κυακάρους μὲν τοῦ Ἀστυάγους πατρὸς Μῆδων, Ἀλυάττου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου Λυδῶν. συνάρδει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πράτῃ. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ χρόνοι ἀμφὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν διαμπιάδα. Cicero Div. I. 49. *Thales Milesius*—primus defectionem solis quæ Astyage regnante facta est prædictissime fertur. Plinius H. N. II. 12. Primus omnium Thales Milesius Ol. 48. 4 prædicto solis defectu qui Alyatte rege factus est U.C. anno CLXX^o. Solinus 15, 16. Bello quod gestum est Ol. 49^a anno post Trojam capiam 604^o inter Alyattem Lydum et Astyagem Mediae regem, (haustu mutui sanguinis) firmata sunt jura pacis. Themistius Or. XXVI. p. 317. b. Θαλῆς δὲ ὑστερον καὶ πρὸς γήρᾳ φύσεώς τε ἥψατο πρῶτος καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἔζήτασε, καὶ προεφήτευσεν ἐν κοινῷ ἄπασι Μιλησίοις δι τοιούτῳ ἐστοτο ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κ.τ.λ. It appears from these testimonies that some ancient accounts brought this down to the reign of *Astyages*, who was reigning in Ol. 48—50. Themistius followed this opinion; for he referred the eclipse to the old age of *Thales*, which better agrees with Ol. 48—50 than with the reign of *Cyaxares*. *Eudemus*, however, agrees with *Herodotus*; for Ol. 50 seems the date added by *Clemens* himself. The various opinions of modern inquirers upon this eclipse are collected by *Wesseling*, *Larcher*, and *Schweigh.* ad *Herodot.* I. 74. and by *Hales* vol. I. p. 182. 184. and *Lenglet du Freney* tom. I. p. 17.

B. C. 625 Feb. 3. Ol. 38. 3 is the date of Volney apud *Schweigh.* This is refuted by the age of *Thales*, who was then about 14, or perhaps under 10 years of age; and by the time of the Scythian dominion in Asia, which was then in its tenth year, but had declined before that war commenced.

B. C. 610 Sept. 30. Ol. 42. 3 is the date of Francis Baily Philosoph. Trans. 1811. p. 269. This would coincide with the third year before the Scythians were expelled from Asia.

B. C. 607 Feb. 2., within Ol. 43. 1, is the date of *Calvisius*. This agrees with the year in which the Scythians were expelled, and with the 11th year of *Alyattes*. But *Hales*, who refers this to July 30, objects that the eclipse was not total.

B. C. 603 May 17. Ol. 44. 1 *Bayer*, May 18 in *Hales*, who quotes *Costard*, *Kennedy*, *Montucka*. Adopted by *Hales*, because this eclipse was total.

B. C. 601 Sept. 19. Ol. 44. 4. The date of *Usher*. But this eclipse was partial according to *Larcher*, and according to *Hales* passed to the north of the Euxine sea.

B.C. 597 July 9. within Ol. 45. 3. Adopted by Petavius, Hardouin, Marsham, Bouhier, Corsini, Larcher, and Du Fresnoy tom. I. p. 315. This coincides with the 11th year after the expulsion of the Scythians and the 21st of the reign of *Alyattes*. But Hales objects, and Larcher admits, that this eclipse was partial, that it traversed Scythia, and passed north of the Caspian sea.

B.C. 585 May 28. before the close of Ol. 48. 3. This date, agreeing with Pliny and with the accounts of Cicero and Themistius, is adopted by Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 89. and after him by Salmasius Plin. Ex. p. 136. E. by Ferguson, Vignoles, Jackson, Newton, and by Reizius ad Marg. Herodot. I. 74. But Hales and Larcher assert that this eclipse also was not visible on the field of battle.

B.C. 583 Oct. 1. Ol. 49. 2. adopted by Scaliger, according to Larcher. But Larcher objects that this eclipse appeared after sunset. These two last dates are inconsistent with Herodotus and Eudemus, because they both occur after the death of *Cyaxares*.

The date of Baily, B.C. 610, as I learn from Schultz Specim. Apparatus ad Annales Criticos Rerum Græcarum p. 20., has been also fixed upon by a German professor in 1823. At this date the Scythian power was on the decline. That they were still in Asia at the beginning of the war appears from Herodotus, who relates that certain Scythians were the cause of the war. The siege of Nineveh had not yet commenced, and *Cyaxares* had yet 15 years to reign. *Thales* at this time, according to Apollodorus, might be in his 30th year: Sosocrates makes him only 26. see F. H. II. p. 3. This date, however, will not necessarily carry back the accession of *Alyattes*, as Schultz supposes, five years higher than the date to which it is determined by ancient testimonies. *Alyattes* concluded the war with Miletus in his sixth year B.C. 612, and might conclude the Median war in the beginning of his ninth, in Oct. B.C. 610; which would carry back its commencement to the middle of B.C. 615, during the 9th year of the war with Miletus. But in the latter years of that Milesian war no great efforts were made by either party, and *Alyattes* would not be prevented from defending himself against the attack of the Medes. But Herodotus I. 74. refers the peace which followed that eclipse to the reign of *Labynetus*, the father of that king who was captured by *Cyrus*: Idem I. 188. which is not consistent with B.C. 610, because in that year *Nabopolassar* was still reigning at Babylon. Wherefore the date adopted by Hales, B.C. 603, seems to offer fewer objections. The eclipse was total, and visible on the field of battle; and May B.C. 603 was in the 15th year of *Alyattes* and eight years before the death of *Cyaxares*. *Thales* was at this date, by the lowest estimate, in his 33rd year; in his 36th by the account of Apollodorus. We may observe, however, that if B.C. 603 was the 6th year of this war, B.C. 606 was the third; and in that year *Cyaxares* was engaged in the siege of Nineveh. But this is no decisive objection, since the two wars might have proceeded together.

599, 2. *Camarina*] Mr. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 515., who has placed the foundation of Syracuse in the 5th Olympiad B.C. 758, yet himself supplies an argument in favour of the 11th Olympiad for the era of Syracuse. His argument is in substance as follows: If Syracuse was founded in Ol. 5. 3, Camarina (135 years after) was founded in Ol. 39. 2. But Camarina was destroyed in 46 years; destroyed therefore in Ol. 50. 4. Now *Parmenides* of Camarina was victor in the foot race in Ol. 63: Diod. I. 68. African. apud Euseb. p. 148. But as his native town had been destroyed 49 years, he must have then been 50 years of age, which is not probable. If, however, we place Syracuse in Ol. 11, and Camarina in Ol. 45, and consequently its destruction in Ol. 56 (Ol. 56. 4 B.C. 553), *Parmenides* in Ol. 63 B.C. 528 is victor only 26 years after its fall; which is much more likely to have happened.

586, 2. *Damasius II.*] In Selden's edition the date of the Parian Marble at line 54. Ep. 38. (39 Chndl.) is thus represented: ἐτη ΗΗΗΔΠΙΠ, ἀρχοντος— Selden is followed by Palmerius Exercit. p. 680. Prideaux in his edition Oxon. 1676., by Mr. Boeckh, and the numbers are thus exhibited by Chandler fol. Oxon. 1763. in the capital letters at p. 26. This will place that epoch and the year of *Damasias II.* at B.C. 582 Ol. 49. 3, making the interval 9 years from the capture of Cirrha in the

preceding epoch. But in the smaller type Chandler at p. 27. exhibits the numbers with a *lacuna*, ζην ΗΗΗΔ · II, which he thus supplies: ΗΗΗΔ (Δ) II, making the interval 5 years.

Chandler on another occasion gives one date in the capitals and another in the small characters. Thus at line 59. Ep. 44. (45 Chandl.) the numbers in the capitals are, with Selden, .. Δ III, but in the smaller characters they are .. Δ (Π) I, which is acknowledged to be the more correct date. Hence it appears that he corrected in the latter what he had given less accurately in the former. A friend, who has at my request examined the Marble at line 54, assures me that the numbers are too much defaced to be deciphered. We may reasonably doubt, then, whether even in Selden's time they were sufficiently distinct to be legible, and may question the accuracy of the numbers which he exhibits.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page note line

- ii. a. after "373" add as follows: "What is said in those passages and on the present occasion concerning the authority of the poets in transmitting memorials is not inconsistent with what is asserted below at p. 283. that the poets transmitted a few obscure facts received from oral tradition. This last assertion is made with reference to another matter. The testimony of the poets, commencing perhaps at the period marked in the Homeric poems, the fourth generation before the Trojan war, was of authority to establish general facts; the existence of particular heroes, the prosecution of wars, the movements of tribes, the origin of states. But yet the information which such records convey is dark and imperfect when compared with the narratives of the sacred writers."
5. 24. δὲ καὶ δε read δὲ καὶ δὲ
24. 4. refer r. refers
34. i. 14. Theangala r. Theangela
21. ληστεῖσαι τ. ληστεῖσαι
35. p. 1. col. 2. Θειδάμαντι τ. Θειδάμαντι
45. s. 2. Ἀργου τ. Ἀργος.
50. 1. of his descendants r. descendant of Ζελος
50. f. 13. after Νηλεὺς insert "Pindar himself Pyth. IV. 251—256. names Cretheus and Salmoneus: μία βοῦς Κρηθεῖ τε μάτηρ καὶ θραυμῆδει Σαλμωνεῖ. Jason is the third from Cretheus: τρίταισι δὲ γοναῖς ἄρμες αὖ κείνον φτειθέντες."
52. 17. son of Phthius r. son or brother of Phthius
57. a. 6. πίγη τ. πηγὴ
59. d. 9. Ἐρκαδεῖς τ. Ἐργαδεῖς
61. l. 12. ἐπονομένους τ. ὑπονομένους
n. 29. δευτέρα τ. δευτέρᾳ
62. n. 36. adopt r. adapt
66. b. 46. col. 2. its—it r. theirs—their
67. e. 21. col. 2. ἡγέμονας τ. ἡγεμόνας.
68. e. 13. col. 2. for "which better agrees with the Homeric catalogue than Steph. Byz.—Trojan war" substitute "Add Steph. Byz.—Θερσάνδρου. Schol. Hom. Il. β'. 503. Κόρωνος καὶ Ἀλιάρτου Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Σισύφου παῖδες, ἀφ' ἧν ἀνομάσθησαν αἱ πόλεις."
80. s. 5. col. 2. δσμδ̄ τ. δσμδ̄
86. l. 7. Λαοδάμαντος τ. Λαοδάμαντος
92. v. 4. Pompus and Ξεινητες r. Simus Pompus and Ξεινητες
20. col. 2. Phintas r. Phialas

- | Page | note | line |
|------|------|---|
| 93. | h. | 18. Ἡλεῖνς γ. Ἡλεῖνς |
| 96. | s. | 21. ὀνόμασαν διὰ τὰς γ. ὀνόμασαν διὰ τὰς |
| 100. | | on <i>Telemachus</i> the 6th from <i>Thersander</i> see Index v. <i>Telemachus</i> . |
| 108. | a. | 4. after Τρωϊκῶν insert “ <i>Proclus Vit. Hom.</i> p. 468. τοῖς δὲ χρόνοις αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον φασὶ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰανίας ἀποικίαν, ητίς ὑστερεῖ τῆς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδου ἐτῶν ἔξηκυντα. οἱ δὲ περὶ Κράτητα ἀνάγοντιν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς Τρωϊκοὺς χρόνους.” |
| 109. | f. | 49. col. 2. <i>Amphimachus</i> γ. <i>Polyxenus</i> |
| 111. | k. | 37. col. 2. διδότες γ. διδότες |
| 112. | n. | 18. after “350” insert “ <i>Periclymenus</i> is named among the Argonauts by Pindar Pyth. IV. 311=175.” |
| 115. | w. | 48. [Ἴπποκλέους ἡῆσοι] ‘Ηγήτορος Zenob. Schottus ad locum: <i>Erasmus et ejus amulus Cognatus in Erasmo reddunt Insulae Hippocli cederent, pro Hegetori, μημονικῷ ἀμαρτήματι.</i> ’ The error seems to be in Zenobius himself; the sense requiring ‘Ιπποκλέους. |
| 117. | z. | 25. seq. for “founded—108 years—B. C. 651” γ. “occupied—111 years—B. C. 654.” |
| 119. | e. | 12. col. 2. omit “Heraclea—559” and read the rest thus: “The Phocæans founded Massilia in B. C. 600, Alalia in B. C. 564, Amisus in B. C. 563. See the Tables at 600, 564, 563.” |
| 125. | | 5. 279 years γ. 297 years |
| 129. | m. | 19. col. 2. ἐκγόνων γ. ἐκγόνων. |
| 133. | p. | 21. col. 2. <i>Eunomus</i> γ. <i>Polydectes</i> , and consult p. 144. z. |
| 142. | n. | 2. <i>Trojæ</i> γ. <i>Trojæ</i> |
| 147. | | 22. 23 ^o γ. 23 ^a |
| | | 24. 685—500 γ. 685+500 |

TABLES.

- | B. C. | col. | line |
|-------|------|--|
| 775. | 3. | 6. τετρακόσια ἔτη]. Two MSS. in Suidas ed. Gaisford. p. 576. E. have <i>υἱ</i> ἔτη=B. C. 773: precisely agreeing with the date of Cyril. |
| 673. | 2. | 11. ἔνοι γ. ἔνοι |
| 671. | 3. | 1. τῷ ὄντι] Read with ed. Gaisford. p. 202. D. 203. C. πταιόντα, that is, <i>secundum Cratetem errantem</i> . |
| 630. | 3. | 1. Μίμνερμα Gaisford. p. 2506. B. from three MSS. |
| 627. | 2. | 11. after “Προνοίας ἐκτίσθη” add “Diodorus quoted below at B. C. 579 has a date for Lipara 48 years below this epoch; from whence it appears that there were two accounts of the time of this colony.” |
| 625. | 3. | 13. Κυκλέως νιός] Add <i>Aelian. H. A. XII. 45.</i> quoted in ed. Gaisford. p. 559. E. The lines are correctly given Anthol. tom. I. p. 49. |

ἀθανάτων ποικαῖσιν Ἀρίστα Κυκλέος νιὸν
ἐκ Σικελοῦ πελάγους σῶσεν ὄχημα τόδε.

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| 620. | 3. | 1. μεσοῦν] In ed. Gaisford. p. 1118. D. it is stated that one MS. has <i>μεσοῦν</i> , and that in another <i>brevis est lacuna post μεσοῦν</i> . |
| 596. | 3. | 2. in the testimony from Suidas, after διμητρίᾳ add γηραιὸς ὅν. |
| 586. | 2. | 25. <i>Damasias I.</i> γ. <i>Damasias II.</i> |
| 572. | 3. | 2. for Εὐγείτων Μεσημβριανὸν (sc. τὸν Αἴσαπον) Gaisford has restored the better reading Εὐγείτων Μεσημβριανός. For the authorities conf. ed. Gaisford. p. 1117. H. |

Page note line

APPENDIX.

256. 4. ὀδκετ' τ. ὀὐκέτ'
271. 8. *Nabuchodrosorum* τ. *Nabucodrossorum*
283. a. 10. after "witnesses" add "For although the authors of the historical books are not known yet we know that the Hebrews possessed the use of writing from the first; and that they applied this art to the registering of public events: in which they did no more than the other Eastern nations, concerning whom we have the testimony of Josephus quoted below at p. 367. k. We cannot therefore doubt that each public fact contained in the historical books was recorded in writing by a contemporary, and that from this original record it has been transcribed into the historical books."
284. 4. for "sacred temple" τ. "second temple"
295. τ. 23. after "τοῦ θεοῦ κ. τ. λ." add as follows: "The preceding text, Gen. XI. 1. 2., is cleared from all difficulty by the excellent interpretation of Mr. Granville Penn, quoted and justly approved by Faber Origin of Pagan Idolatry vol. III. p. 374. That interpretation is to the following effect: "The word rendered *the East* springs from a root "which denotes *priority either of place or time*; and it came to signify *the East* because by the ancients that quarter was deemed the front or fore part of the world. "But agreeably to its origin it does not merely signify *the East*; it equally conveys "the idea of *priority of time*. Accordingly the very same word is in other passages "rendered *from the beginning* or *at the first*; not *from the east*; and, as Mr. Penn "has excellently shewn, this is by no means the only place in which the faulty rendering *from the East* has been thoughtlessly adopted from the Greek interpreters. "These, indeed, by a mistranslation bring the builders of the tower of Babel *from the East*; and, as their error has been received into more than one modern version, so "it has formed the basis of more than one speculative hypothesis. But among the "ancients we find a very different turn given to the expression. The old Chaldee "paraphrase, the Targum of Jerusalem, Aquila, and Jerom, all render it *in the beginning, or at the first*; and Josephus, who is wholly silent upon any *oriental migration*, simply intimates that, when the posterity of *Noah* quitted the heights of "Armenia, the place where they *first* established themselves—πρῶτων Ant. I. 5—[I. "4, 1] was the plain of Shinar. Hence I think we may safely pronounce that Gen. "XI. 1. 2. should be translated as follows: *And the whole world was of one lip and "one mode of speech. And it came to pass when they FIRST journeyed that they found "a plain in the land of Shinar.*" But this interpretation again confirms the shorter computation; for, if the *first* journey of the descendants of *Noah* was to the plain of Shinar, it is not likely that this movement was delayed till the sixth century after the flood; and accordingly Josephus himself in the passage referred to, I. 4, 1., places the descent into Shinar in the lifetime of the three patriarchs, *Shem, Ham, and Japheth.*"
299. k. 9. col. 2. omit "no other children—and if" and read "So that, if he had no grandchildren born till" &c.
303. g. 16. col. 2. *legendum* τ. *legendum*
308. q. 10. *Valesius)* τ. *Vigerus)*
314. s. 297. τ. 298.
328. 3. *Amos* τ. *Amon*
334. 22. col. 2. τὴν τ. τὸν
335. 25. col. 2. ἀνέστης τ. ἀνέστης;

Page note line

339. 26. Messenian r. Messenian
340. 18. after "same subjects," add this note aa. "We may refer to a fourth class the epic poetry which drew its subjects from the period after the *νόστοι*. The Dorian conquest, the adventures of *Codrus*, the *Æolian* and *Ionian* colonies, the fortunes of the *Cypselidæ*, the *Ægyptidæ*, and the *Bacchiadæ*, some or all of these events were probably described in epic verse by poets either contemporary or near the times. But, as no record remains of the title of any poem treating these subjects (unless the *Αιγίμιος*, according to the opinion noticed at p. 350. o. contained the Return of the *Heraclidæ*), it is unnecessary that this class of arguments for early epic poetry should be considered in this place."
343. b. 57. for *Linus ex Urania Musa* in Hygin. fab. 161. r. *Linus Apollinis filius* in Hygin. fab. 273.
350. n. 9. 'Αλκμαῖονίδα r. 'Αλκμαιωνίδα
- o. 2. η r. ή
354. z. 37. col. 2. *νήπιος*—see other references to this line in Toup ad Suid. quoted in ed. Gaisford. p. 3380. E.
361. o. 48. Orchomenidus r. Orchomenians
379. f. 1. for "the following have been noticed" r. "the following variations have been noticed."

VOL. II.

INTRODUCTION.

- iii. 18. See I. p. 125. v.
- vi. 2. See I. p. 128. f.
- vi. 11. See I. p. 123. d.
- viii. 12. "four centuries" r. "570 years" and compare I. p. 19. l.
- xxxiii. y. 4. add "That *Antipho* was living, and at Athens, in B. C. 411 appears from Aristotle EuDEM. III. 5. p. 1232. 'Αυτίφων ἔφη πρὸς Ἀγάθωνα κατεψηφισμένος τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐπαινέσαντα."
- xxxv. d. 21. after "τραγικούς" insert "and in Syncellus p. 518. Dindorf. Θεόδεκτος στρατηγικός for Θεόδεκτης τραγικός."
- xxxvi. g. 31. col. 2. after "οὐδὲ ἐν" insert "Clem. Al. Strom. IV. p. 541. C. ἄγαμαι τὸν Ἐπίχαρμον σαφῶς λέγοντα
εὐσεβῆς τὸν νοῦν πεφυκαὶ οὐ πάθοις γ' οὐδὲν κακὸν
κατθανάντες ἄνω τὸ πνεῦμα διαμένει κατ' οὐρανόν.

εὐσεβῆς τὸν νοῦν is the reading of Grotius. *εὐσεβῆς οὐ* in the copies of Clemens. Mr. Kruger F. H. p. XXXVIII. ed. Lips. properly reminds me that the lines in Plutarch are trochaic tetrameters."

TABLES.

B. C. col. line

559. 4. 10. "B. C. 610—8th year" r. "B. C. 611—7th year"
553. 4. 13. "B. C. 610" r. "B. C. 611."
480. 1. 4. after "Diod. XI. 1." insert "Syncell. p. 250. D."

B. C. col. line

438. 4. insert as follows: “*Euripidis* ‘Αλκηστις. Arg. Alcest. in MS. Vat. No. 909. apud Dindorf. τὸ δράμα ἐποίηθεν ίξ. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Γλαυκίνου ἄρχοντος. τὸ ἔπος πρῶτον ἦν Σοφοκλῆς, δεύτερον Εὐριπίδης Κρήσσαις, ‘Αλκμαίον τῷ διαψεύσιλῳ, Τηλέφφῳ, ‘Αλκήστιδι. τὸ δὲ δράμα κωμικωτέραν ἔχει κατασκεψήν. For the archon see 439. 1. He is Γλαυκίνου in Diodorus, but in Schol. Aristoph., in a corrupt, or perhaps only in an abbreviated form, Γκίνου, with the same exhibition of the last syllable of the name as in the present *didascalia*. We may therefore fix the date of these tragedies, and of this victory of Sophocles, to the beginning of B. C. 438. That the Τηλέφφος was exhibited before B. C. 425 we already knew from Aristoph. Acharn. 430. The ‘Αλκηστις is quoted in B. C. 424 by Aristophanes Equit. 1252. referring to Alcest. 182. Aristophanes refers to the ‘Αλκηστις again in B. C. 422: conf. Aristoph. Nub. 1415. Eur. Alc. 707. and in B. C. 414: conf. Aristoph. Av. 1244. Eur. Alc. 691. That the Κρῆσσαι were exhibited before B. C. 422 appears from Aristoph. Vesp. 760 (763 Brunck.). From the mention of ‘Αλκμαίον (where we must read ‘Αλκμαίων τῷ διὰ Ψωφῖδος) we learn that the suspicion of Bentley Ep. ad Mill. p. 16., that there were two dramas of the name, is confirmed. The present tragedy is the first, the ‘Αλκμαίων which was exhibited after the death of Euripides (see II. xxxiv. c) was the second. The Dean of Christ Church, to whom I am indebted for this fragment recently published by Dindorf, justly observes that the ‘Αλκηστις being the last in the tetralogy, and occupying the place of the satirical drama, its comic character may probably be ascribed to this circumstance.”
423. 4. 26. after “truce” insert from B. C. 420. 4. “(*Eupolidis* Ἀστράτευτοι. Before the Εἰρήνη B. C. 421—‘Αστρατεύοις.)”
422. 1. 6. after “552” insert “Didascalia Aristoph. Pac. apud Dindorf.”
421. 4. 17. after “magna” add as follows: “The Κόλακες are now fixed to the *Dionysia magna* of the archon *Alcaeus* by the testimony supplied by Mr. Kruger and more fully by Dindorf—‘Απολλόδωρος.” Supply the passage from III. p. 598 and then add from 419. 4. “*Ion of Chios* was now dead—δῆλον.”
419. 4. omit “Aristophanis—δῆλον.”
407. 4. 5. “Birth of *Antiphanes* &c.” Transfer this paragraph to B. C. 404.
404. 4. 1. before “Anonymus” insert as follows: “Birth of *Antiphanes* the comic poet: Suidas. ‘Αντιφάνης—κωμικὸς τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας.—γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡγ' δλυμπιάδα, καὶ ἔγραψε κωμῳδίας τέξε. οἱ δὲ, σπ'. νίκας δὲ εἶδε τῷ. τελευτῇ δὲ ἐν Κίφῳ δέ. ἐτῶν ἵπαρχων. Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx. ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Χίῳ (sic).—ἔστι δὲ αὐτῶν δράματα σκ. γέγονε in Suidas is rendered by Kuster *vixit*, and *floruit* by Corsini F. A. III. p. 258., and is so understood by Scaliger Olymp. ἀναρρ. Ol. 93. 1. who has ‘Αντιφάνης ἐγνωρίζετο. But the word should be rendered *natus est*; because *Antiphanes* began to exhibit comedy after Ol. 98, and was actually exhibiting after B. C. 343, sixty-one years below the present date; and was still living after the accession of *Alexander*: Athen. XIII. p. 555. a. and after the victory of *Antipater* in B. C. 331. *Antiphanes*, then, was born B. C. 404, began to exhibit about B. C. 383, and died æt. 74 in B. C. 330. Conf. annos 383. 343. 331.”
387. 4. 1. “*Antiphanes*” &c. Place this paragraph at B. C. 383. 4. thus corrected: “*Antiphanes* began to exhibit: Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx. ‘Αντιφάνης—ῆρξατο διδάσκειν μετὰ τὴν ἡγ' δλυμπιάδα. “After Olymp. 98” will place his earliest exhibitions in Ol. 99. He was at this time about twenty-one years of age. He still wrote comedy in B. C. 343 and probably in B. C. 330 (the year of his death), a period of more than fifty years. Confer annos 404. 331. Within this space he alludes” &c. Then after “Athen. X.

B.C. col. line

p. 433. c." (lin. 21.) conclude thus, omitting the rest: "In other pieces *Antiphanes* noticed *Callimedon*, *Misgolas*, *Sinopē*, *Demosthenes*, *Adaeus*. Conf. annos 348. 343."

383. 4. Insert here from 387. 4.

343. 4. 34. for "sixty-four—387" substitute "sixty-one years of age, and had exhibited comedy about forty years: conf. annos 404. 383."

337. 3. 15. after "ed. Heyn." add "on the acts of *Lycurgus* conf. Pausan. I. 29, 16."

331. 4. Insert as follows: "*Antiphanes* the comic poet survived this year: Clearchus apud Athen. XV. p. 681. c. καλῶς περὶ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων εἴρηκεν ὁ κωμῳδιστοῖς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κιθαρᾷ."

εἰκὸν ἀφίσαν οἱ Δάκενες ὡς ἀπόρθητοι ποτε,
καὶ θέμηρενοντος ἔχοντες πορφυροῦς κεκρυφάλους;

Antiphanes probably refers to the measures described by Æschines in Ctes. p. 72, 33. which followed the defeat of *Agis* by *Antipater* in this year (see col. 2); which will fix this comedy to the beginning of B.C. 330. And, as he was born in Ol. 93 and died at the age of 76 (conf. a. 404), his death might occur soon after, about the summer of B.C. 330. On this fragment of the Κιθαρᾶ or Κιθαριστή; see Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 576."

317. 3. 15. for "τὸν Φαληρέα τὸν Θεοφράστου" r. "τὸν Φαληρέα [conf. Pausan. I. 25, 5] τὸν Θεοφράστου"

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APPENDIX.

195. See I. B.C. 582, 2.
215. 13. col. 1. after "396, 4" insert "Pausanias I. 13, 3. gives a short account of *Areus* and his ancestors."
248. 26. for "in reality six" r. "in reality five"
250. 2. for "6. *Lycurgus*" r. "6. To these five we may probably add a sixth: *Lycurgus*"
250. 5. for "so that—those who" substitute "Those who agree in this correction will add *Lycurgus* to those who"
250. 20. for "seven passages" r. "six passages."
264. on the era of Syracuse compare I. B.C. 734, 2.
266. 5. for "later than Agrigentum" r. "before Agrigentum"
297. q. 9. add "Better given in the Armenian copy p. 323—333."

OL.	B.C.	Ann.
20. 3.	699 <i>Gyges</i>	36
29. 3.	662 <i>Ardys</i>	38
39. 1.	624 <i>Sadyatess</i>	15
42. 4.	609 <i>Alyattes</i>	49
55. 1.	560 <i>Cræsus</i>	15

297. 24. for "546, 2) who all concur" r. "546, 2) and Eusebius; who all concur"
297. 25. omit "and Eusebius—higher."
297. r. for "Eusebius—capit" substitute "Eusebius in Chron. ed. Pontaci places it one year higher: *Olymp.* 57. 4. but in the Armenian copy at Ol. 58. 3. p. 333."
299. k. 14. In the genealogy in col. 2. compare I. p. 112. n.
321. 10. See I. p. 309. w.
368. h. 16. after "63. D." insert "1037. A."
371. q. See I. p. 347. g.
405. z. 16. On the war with Amyclæ compare I. p. 337.

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409. t. On the chronology of Apollodorus see I. p. 144.

409. t. 54. col. 2. see I. p. 140. a.

412. c. Compare I. p. 28. o.

412. e. 2. after "τελοῦντες" add "Aristot. Rep. II. 10—7, 3. ἔχει ἀνάλογον ἡ Κρητικὴ τάξις πρὸς τὴν Δακανικήν γεωργοῦσι γὰρ τοῖς μὲν Εἴλατες τοῖς δὲ Κρητίνοις περίσσους."

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TABLES.

B. C. col. line

271. 3. 10. after "Nº. 34." add "Grammaticus ms. apud Meineke Quæst. Scen. III. p. 3. *Alexander Ætolus et Lycophron Chalcidensis et Zenodotus Ephesius impulsu regis Ptolemæi Philadelphi cognomento—artis poëtices libros in unum collegerunt et in ordinem redegerunt, Alexander tragædias, Lycophron comedias, Zenodotus vero Homeri poëmata.* This passage confirms these dates for Zenodotus by placing his recension of Homer in the reign of *Philadelphus*; and refutes those who have placed it in the reign of *Soter*."
264. 3. 5. for "B. C. 36½" read "B. C. 26½"
249. 3. 17. after "ἰστόρησαν" insert "To the treatise περὶ νήσων we may refer Schol. Apollon. III. 1243. καὶ ἡ Καλαύρεια δὲ ιερά ἐστι Ποσειδῶνος, ὃς φησι Φιλοστέφανος."
226. 3. 15. after "p. 811. C." insert "ὁ Φασηλίτης Κριτίλαος Clem. Al. Strom. II. p. 374. A.—"
195. 3. 24. after "ἰστορίαις" add "Clem. Al. Protr. p. 29. C. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ἀγγσάρχου ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλοπάτορα ἐν Πάφῳ λέγει ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ιερῷ Κινύραν τε καὶ τοὺς Κινύρου ἀπόγονους κεκηδεῦσθαι."
188. 2. 44. for "Ludis Latinis" r. "feriis Latinis"
169. 4. 11. after "XVII. 6." insert "The Vcononian law is noticed by Augustine Civ. D. III. 21."
160. 4. 25. for "Lælius might be older" r. "Lælius was older: conf. Cic. de Amicit. c. 4."
149. 1. 5. after "XII. 5." insert "Acad. IV. 32."
149. 2. 18. for "against bribery at elections" r. "de pecuniis repetundis"
149. 2. 23. after "Col. 4" insert "The laws *repetundarum* provided against public functionaries receiving or taking money in the execution of their office. The law of *Calpurnius* referred to functionaries in the provinces. By subsequent laws *repetundarum* the provisions were extended to functionaries at Rome and to judges receiving bribes. See Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 88. 2."
149. 4. 30. for "against bribery" read "de pecuniis repetundis"
148. 4. for "Lucilius poëta—Ol. 158. 1." substitute this: "[*Lucilius poëta nascitur: Hieron. in Euseb. Chron. Ol. 158. 1.* His death is placed in B. C. 103: Idem Ib. Ol. 169. 2. C. *Lucilius satirarum scriptor Neapoli moritur ac publico funere effertur anno ætatis XLVI.* The numbers correspond. Ol. 169. 2 is the 46th year current from Ol. 158. 1. But the expression of Horace Sat. II. 5, 41. by whom *Lucilius* is called *senex* implies that he lived a longer term than 46 years. He was still a young man in B. C. 129: conf. a. But it appears from the expressions of *Crassus apud Cic. de Oratore I. 16. II. 6.* that he was already dead before B. C. 91, the supposed date of that dialogue. We may therefore accept an emendation suggested by Mr. Tate of *LVI* years for *XLVI*, and assume that the birth of *Lucilius* was a few years earlier, and his death a few years later, than the date of *Hieronymus.*]"

B.C. col. line

146. 4. 17. after "scripta essent" insert "On the books of *Numa* see Varro apud Augustin. Civ. D. VII. 34."
145. 3. "Apollodori χρονικῶν," &c. Place this whole article in B.C. 144. 3. For the reason see I. p. 125. v.
134. 4. 19. for "Lucilius—year" substitute "According to the dates of Hieronymus, which assign the birth of *Lucilius* to B.C. 148, he might be 15 years of age at the siege of Numantia. But we have shewn that he was born a few years earlier, and may assume that he was about twenty at this period: conf. a. 148."
129. 4. Insert as follows: "The first book of the Satires of *Lucilius* was published after the death of *Carneades*: Servius ad Virg. Æn. X. 104. *Totus hic locus de primo Lucili translatus est, ubi inducuntur dii habere concilium, et agere primo de interitu Lupi cujusdam; postea sententias dicere.* Hence this book is quoted by Lactantius IV. 3. p. 317. by the title of *Lucilius in Deorum concilio*. Idem V. 14. p. 459. *Apud Lucilium disserens Neptunus de re difficillima ostendit non posse id explicari, nec si Carneadem ipsum Orcus remittat.* Consequently published after the death of *Scipio*: see col. 2. But if all the 30 books of Satires were published after this period, we may conclude that *Lucilius* was still young in B.C. 129. Some of his Satires were written after B.C. 107: conf. a."
128. 3. 3. for "B.C. 145" r. "B.C. 144"
123. 1. 5. after "Alex." insert "Cic. Brut. c. 74."
121. 1. 10. after "IX. 4, 3." insert "Augustin. Civ. D. III. 24."
107. 4. 15. for "is now in his 42nd year" r. "according to the dates of Hieronymus is now in his 42nd year, but was probably a little older"
103. 4. 13. for "and of *Lucilius*—later period" substitute "[Hieronymus Ibid. places the death of *Lucilius* at the same date, at the age of 46: conf. a. 148.]"
100. 2. 23. after "procreatus est" insert "Lydus de Mens. p. 110. κατὰ τὴν πρὸ τεσσάρων εἰδῶν τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου τεχθῆναι."
87. 2. 14. after "finem accepit," insert "and Augustine Civ. D. V. 22. *Quintus ei annus finem dedit.*"
87. 4. 12. for "Ep. 79], r. "Ep. 79. Augustin. Civ. D. II. 25],"
85. 2. 3. after "85]." insert "On the destruction of Ilium by *Fimbria* conf. Augustin. Civ. D. III. 7."
83. 3. 17. expunge "*Polyhistor*—cujusdam filius." For the reason, see Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 88. 2.
72. 2. 49. after "concessi" add "The winter quarters at Cabira are placed in this year by Phlegon apud Photium Cod. 97. τῆς ροῦ δλυμπιάδος, ἐν ᾧ ἐνίκα Ἐκατόμνως Μιλήσιος στάδιον [Africanus apud Euseb. p. 157. Ol. 177: *Hecatomnus Eleus stadium*] καὶ δίσιλον καὶ δεκάτην, τρίς, Τυφλῆς Σικυώνιος δόλιχον, κ. τ. λ.—Λεύκολλος δὲ Ἀμιστὸν ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ Μουρήναν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλιορκίας καταλιπὼν μετὰ δυοῖν ταγμάτοιν αὐτὸς μετὰ τριῶν ἄλλων προῆγεν ἐπὶ Καβείρων, ὅπου διεχείμαζε [B.C. 7?]."
71. 2. 10. after "finis impositus" insert "conf. Augustin. Civ. D. V. 22."
69. 2. 15. after "fudit" add "Referred by Phlegon apud Photium Cod. 97. to Ol. 177. 4: τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει Τιγράνης καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἀθροίσαντες πέζοὺς μὲν τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἵππεας δὲ τρεῖς, καὶ τὸν Ἰταλικὸν αὐτὸν τάξαντες τρόπου, ἐπολέμησαν Λευκόλλῳ" καὶ νικῆ Λεύκολλος. which agrees with October B.C. 69."
23. after "XIX. 1." add "Phlegon apud Photium Cod. 97. τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει [Ol. 177. 4]—τὸ Καπιτάλιον ἐν Ρώμῃ Κάτλος καθιέρωσε. καὶ Μέτελλος ἐπὶ τὸν Κρητικὸν πόλεμον ὥριστας, τρία τάγματα ἔχαν, ἥλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ῥῆσον [sc. spring B.C. 68]."

B. C. col. line

63. 2. 11. for "Oros. VI. 6]" r. "Oros. VI. 6. τρισὶ γοῦν μησὶ πελιορκηθέντες Joseph. Bell. V. 9, 4]"
48. 2. 21. after "τὸν βίον" insert "But on his birthday in Plutarch Camill. c. 19. Ἀτταλος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Πομπήιος Μάγυνος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν γενεθλίοις ἀπέθανεν."
46. 3. 19. after "δύο" insert "conf. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 329. B."
38. for "sixty" r. "fifty"
54. for "Juba—A. D. 17." r. "Juba however probably died about A. D. 4: conf. a. 1."
44. 2. 91. after "Dion. l. c." add "Appian. Punic. c. 136. Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψάν τε καὶ συνόψισαν αὗτις μετὰ ἔτη τῆς σκαρφῆς ἐκατὸν καὶ δύο [sc. B. C. 146—44]."
42. 2. 21. after "Decembr." insert "[conf. Dion. LVII. 18]"
38. 2. 52. after εἰκοστικαιωπτά" insert "Repeated by Syncellus p. 306. D."
27. 2. 12. for "habuit" r. "habent"
1. 3. 16. For "Juba—conf. a. 46." substitute as follows: "Juba probably died within five years of this date, for Archelaüs the ethnarch married his widow: Joseph. Bell. II. 7, 4. Γλαφύρα ἡνὶ θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἀρχέλαου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως—συνώκησε δὲ Ἰόβᾳ τῷ βασιλεύοντι Λιβύῃς ὃ τε λευτήσαντος ἐπινελθοῦσαν αὐτὴν καὶ χρείουσαν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ θεατάμενης ὁ θυνάρχης Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτος ἥλθεν ὥστε παραχῆμα—ἴκείνην ἀγαγέσθαι. Conf. Ant. XVII. 13, 4. Glaphyra died μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς ἀφίξεως χρόνον Idem Bell. II. 7, 4. But as Archelaüs after his marriage was banished in A. D. 6 (conf. a. 4), the death of Juba could not well have happened later than A. D. 4."

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APPENDIX.

299. 37. for "first" r. "third"
302. d. 5. col. 2. for "Again, an" r. "An"
302. d. 22. col. 2. for "the date—copy" r. "This notice, which Hieronymus places at the year 1999, the 16th year of *Herod*, occurs in the Armenian copy; but it occurs at the year 1996, the 13th year of *Herod*, three years nearer to the true time than the date of Hieronymus."
309. m. 2. after "p. 238" add "For a short sketch of the reign of *Seleucus*, and his death by the hand of *Ceraunus*, see Pausan. I. 16."
317. h. 3. col. 2. after "p. 80." add "Eckhel tom. III. p. 221. supplies a third: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου μὲν anno 115. his 26th year."
327. e. 3. after "p. 100" add "Eckhel tom. III. p. 232. adds another: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς Διονύσου. θξρ'. anno 169. and another: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς. ζξρ'. anno 167. But this last is perhaps of doubtful authority."
332. 10. for "The spring—*Seleucidæ*" substitute the following: "If this was the spring of Ol. 162. 4, it might appear that *Antiochus Sidetes* fell in the beginning of B. C. 128. But that he was still living in the autumn of B. C. 127 is attested by a coin bearing his name, and dated in the 186th year of the *Seleucidæ*. Wherefore the winter and spring here described were probably the winter and spring of A. S. 186 B. C. 127. This arrangement, placing his defeat and death in the spring of B. C. 126, will make no alteration in the years of his reign. His nine years are terminated at the return of *Demetrius*. See this more largely discussed in the Philological Museum vol. I. p. 400."
332. 1. 3. "Posidonius" &c. See this interpretation vindicated in Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 401. 25.
332. m. 16. col. 2. for "he was slain—B. C. 129" substitute as follows: "Eckhel tom. III. p. 236. supplies two coins of *Sidetes* dated in the 185th year, and one of the 186th

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- (*annus 185 in æneis exstat duobus*): βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Εὐεργέτου επρ. βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Εὐεργέτου επρ. According to this last date *Antiochus* was living at least in October B. C. 127, eighteen months after the supposed date of his death."
334. 1. For "ALEXANDER ZEBINA—*Sidetes* died" substitute "ALEXANDER ZEBINA was set up by *Ptolemy* soon after the return of *Demetrius*. This is established by a coin of *Alexander* dated in the 184th year."
334. u. 1. for "XXXIX. 1. *Immittit*" substitute this: Justin XXXIX. 1., who had included the Parthian war of *Sidetes* within a single year, and placed his death in the winter of A. S. 184 B. C. 12½, dates the appearance of *Zebina* after the death of *Sidetes*: *Immittit*"
334. x. 15. after "p. 89" insert "Eckhel tom. III. p. 256 gives this coin to *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Commagenē*, and affirms that the date is ἑτ. ιρ. anno 110. sc. epochæ *Alexandrinæ* (*urbis ad Issum sitæ*)=U. C. 796=A. D. 4½. Eckhel p. 237. adds two coins of *Zebina*: βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου θηρ. ἡρ. annis 189. 190."
336. m. 12. col. 2. after "p. 95" insert as follows:
- "Eckhel supplies another tom. III. p. 238. βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας, βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. Σεβ. ιερ. ἀσ. αἰρ. anno 191. and another Ibid. βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας καὶ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. βῖρ. anno 192. The last year of *Cleopatra*."
25. after "p. 198." insert "Eckhel p. 239. βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. γῆρ. anno 196."
29. after "p. 97." insert "Eckhel p. 239. βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. γῆρ. anno 198."
337. q. 5. after "p. 99." insert "Eckhel tom. III. p. 242. supplies βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. Σεβ. ιερ. ἀσ. σ. *Sidoniorum*, anno 200."
14. for "A. S. 207" r. "A. S. 206. On the epoch of the Sidonians conf. Noris. p. 421."
339. m. 17. col. 2. after "p. 220" insert as follows: "Eckhel tom. III. p. 245.
1. βασιλέως Δημητρίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος Σωτῆρος. γησ. anno 218.
 2. βασιλέως Δημητρίου. Σδονίων. ακ. anno *Sidoniorum* 21=A. S. 222.
 3. βασιλέως Δημητρίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος Σωτῆρος. δκσ. anno 224.
- Insignes hi numi hactenus ignoti fuere, dum eos Belleyus ex museo Pellerinii vulgaret, post ipse possessor restitueret. In his non modo redivivos habemus annos epochæ inde ab Antiocho IX ex moneta extorres [see above p. 338. d], sed etiam ab ipsis his annis in historiæ et chronologiæ commodum hac ætate admodum implexæ illustres fructus capimus.* Eckhel Ibid. The dates of these coins are consistent with the times which have been here assigned. *Cyzicenus* died in the 217th year according to other testimonies; *Demetrius Eucærus* according to these coins began to reign in the 218th, probably towards the end of that year, the middle of B. C. 94. *Seleucus* came between them; and his reign of a year will remain at B. C. 95. During the years expressed in these coins the competitors *Demetrius*, *Philippus*, and *Eusebes* were reigning at the same time in different parts of Syria. The last date, the year 224, attests that *Demetrius* was not finally expelled by his brother *Philip* till after October B. C. 89, when that year commenced."
339. m. 20. col. 2. after "p. 113" add "This coin is given by Eckhel tom. III. p. 224. 247. to *Antiochus Epiphanes*."
340. 23. at "B. C. 96—56" add this note tt: "Eckhel tom. III. p. 247. supplies coins of *Tigranes* bearing a date: βασιλέως βασιλέων Τιγράνου γλσ. anno 236. It commenced Oct. B. C. 77, marking the 7th year of his occupation of Syria: βασιλέως βασιλέων Τιγράνου μεγάλου. αμσ. anno 241. In this year, commencing Oct. B. C. 72, *Mithridates* after the victory of *Lucullus* took refuge in Armenia. See the Tables B. C. 72."

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346. 30. In the Table for "death of *Sidetes*" &c. r. [death of *Sidetes* 162. 4.] omitting the other dates.
356. k. add "Theodoret. ad Zach. I. 7. tom. II. p. 1596. Ἐβραιοὶ τὸν Εαυθικὸν πρῶτον ἵστοι μῆνα· —ἐκεῖθεν τοίνυν ἀρχμένους ἐνδέκατος ὁ Σαβάτης εὐρεθήσεται· ἔστι δὲ ὁ κατὰ Μακεδόνας Περπτιος."
357. 27. after "'Απριλλίφ α'" add "Lydus de Mens. p. 75. Μάρτιος—Εαυθικὸς παρὰ Μακεδόνιον. He follows the computation of Pergamus."
363. 20. at "Tisri" add this note tt: "Tzetzes ad Hesiod. Opp. 502. compares various months: οἱ μῆνες κατ' Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Ρωμαίους καὶ Ἑλληνας καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἐβραιούς ὄνομά ζονται οὕτας· οἱ τὸν Αἰγυπτίων Τυβί, Μεχίρ, Φαμενόθ, κ. τ. λ. οἱ τὸν Ρωμαίων Ἰανουάριος, κ. τ. λ. οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήνων Αἰδηναῖος, Περίτιος, Δῦστρος, Εαυθικός, κ. τ. λ. The Athenian and Hebrew months are corrupted or transposed; the others are rightly placed in the following order:

ROMAN.	EGYPTIAN.	Macedonian.
1. January	5. Tybi	3. Audynaeus
2. February	6. Mechir	4. Peritius
3. March	7. Phamenoth	5. Dystrus
4. April	8. Pharmuthi	6. Xanthicus
5. May	9. Pachon	7. Artemisius
6. June	10. Payni	8. Dæsius
7. July	11. Epiphi	9. Panemus
8. August	12. Mesorë	10. Loüs
9. September	1. Thoth	11. Gorpiæus
10. October	2. Phaothi	12. Hyperberetæus
11. November	3. Athyr	1. Dius
12. December	4. Chæac	2. Apellæus

The Egyptian months are the fixed Alexandrine: the expression κατὰ Ἑλληνας is used by Tzetzes as it is used by Epiphanius (see p. 355), to express the Syrian Greeks."

380. k. 1. "Eusebius Chron." &c. Insert as follows: "Syncellus indeed places the library at Ol. 132, the close of the reign of *Philadelphus*: p. 273. B. τὴν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκῃ καθίστησιν ρλφ' ὀλυμπιάδι, ἢς πληρούμενης τελευτῇ. But Eusebius Chron." &c.
391. f. 10. col. 2. after "B. C. 89" add "Cleopatra is mentioned by Philo leg. ad Caium c. 20. τῆς ἀρχαῖς Κλεοπάτρας, ητις ἦν πρωμάμη τῆς τελευταῖς."
401. 27. at "'Αθήναιον" add this note ll: "Pausan. I. 8. 2. ὁ δὲ Ἀτταλος, Ἀττάλου μὲν ταῖς ὁν ἀδελφίδοις δὲ Φιλεταῖρου, τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὔμένους παραδόντος ἐσχει ἀνεψιοῦ. μέγιστον δέ ἔστιν οἱ τῶν ἥρων Γαλάτας γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἦτις καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν ἀναφυγεῖν ἡγάγασεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης."
442. l. 2. after "CCLX millia" add "Syncellus p. 276. C. also has εὑρέθησαν μυριάδες κτ'."
443. 28. for "Sempronius" r. "Sempronio"
453. c. This note appears in the wrong place. Expunge the reference c at p. 453. l. 26. and transfer this note to the end of note e. "ἄγων τὸν ἵππον. Phlegon apud Photium Cod. 97. gives the same date," &c.
473. f. 19. after "τοῦ Πλάτωνος" insert "Apollon. de Mirab. c. 40. Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς ἐν τῷ Τελεστον βίῳ φησί, φίπερ ἐτιαδίq συνέκυτεν, κ. τ. λ."
3. col. 2. after "ἐν Δήλῳ" insert "Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 300. D. Πυθαγόρας, ὃς Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τῷ Πυθαγόρων βίῳ καὶ Ἀρισταρχος καὶ Θεόπομπος, Τυρρηνὸς ἦν. For the reason why Pythagoras was called a Tyrrhenian see I. p. 96. s."

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474. f. 8. after “*αισχροῖς*” insert “Conf. Schol. Hesiod. Opp. 190. et Gaisfordium ad loc. Item Tzetz. ad Opp. 316.”
476. g. 15. after “subjects” insert “Idem p. 1095. A. μεμαθηκόσιν, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, γράφειν περὶ Ουμήρου καὶ περὶ Εὐριπίδου, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδης καὶ Δικαίαρχος. p. 384. D. Δικαίαρχος Εὐριπίδην οἴεται πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον εἰπεῖν, Οὐ βούλομαι πλούτοντι διερεῖσθαι πένης κ. τ. λ. [conf. Matthiae fr. Eur. p. 94]. These two passages perhaps occurred in §. 15.”
477. q. 10. after “intended” add “Clem. Al. Protr. p. 61. C. ἄγαμαι τὸν θεῖον σοφιστὴν· Θεόκριτος ὄνομα αὐτῷ· μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐπισκώπων ὁ Θεόκριτος τὰς δόξας τὰς κενὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἃς εἶχαν περὶ θεῶν, πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ‘Ἄνδρες, εἴπεν, θαρρεῖτε ἄχρις ἂν ὅρατε τοὺς θεοὺς πρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀποθνήσκοντας.’”
478. s. 20. after “ἀναγραφῆ” insert “Marcellin. Vit. Thuc. p. XII. κάθοδος, ἐδόθη τοῖς φεύγοντιν, ὡς καὶ Φιλόχορος λέγει καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν τοῖς ἀρχοντινοῖς.”
481. y. 27. col. 2. after “eloquium” insert “Augustine Ibid. VI. 7. remarks, *Euhemero, qui omnes tales deos non fabulosa garrulitate sed historica diligentia homines fuisse mortalesque conscripsit.*”
486. h. 3. col. 2. after “μέλει” insert “Herodian περὶ μν. λέξ. p. 19. quotes two lines of Rhinthon: ‘Ρίθων ἐν θαύλῳ Μελεάγρῳ
ὅλοισιν ὅμοιον ἐμπέφυκ’ εὐψυχία.
καὶ εὐνοιθάται [ἐν Ἱοβάτῃ Hermannus].
χρῆσα γάρ ὅλοιν μισθὸν αὐτὸς λαμβάνειν.’”
488. 16. at “Σαράπιδός ἔστι” add this note oo: “Related at large by Tacitus Hist. IV. 83. *Ægyptiorum antistites sic memorant, Ptolemaeo regi qui Macedonum primus Ægypti opes firmavit, cum Alexandriae recens conditæ mœnia templa et religiones adderet, oblatum per quietem—juvenem qui moneret ut fidissimis amicorum in Pontum missis effigiem suam acciret.—Ptolemaeus—Timotheum Athenensem e gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem ceremoniarum Eleusine exciverat, quænam illa superstitione, quod numen, interrogat, &c. Plutarch Mor. p. 984. A. again ascribes this to Ptolemy Soter. Clemens Alex. Protr. p. 31. B. by an error ascribes it to Philadelphus.”*
490. x. 11. col. 2. “Corcyra,” &c. See I. p. 135. w.
491. x. 5. after “χρόνον κ. τ. λ.” insert “And from his era for Rome: Dionys. Ant. I. p. 187. τὸν τελευταῖον τῆς Ρώμης γενόμενον οἰκισμὸν ἡ κτίσιν, ἡ ὅτι δήποτε χρὴ καλεῖν, Τίμαιος μὲν ὁ Σικελιώτης, οὐκ οὖδ' ὅτει κανόνι χρησάμενος, ἀμα Καρχηδόνι κτιζόμενη γενέσθαι φησίν, ὅγδιφ καὶ τριακοστῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος. =B. C. 813.”
495. 3. at “ad Sextum l. c.” add this note yy: “Aristarchus wrote in prose, but Eudoxus had written in verse: Plutarch. Mor. p. 402. F. οὐδὲ ἀστρολογίαν ἀδεξοτέραν ἐπάγταν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον καὶ Τιμόχαρι [see II. p. 331] καὶ Ἀρίστυλλον καὶ Ἰππαρχον [III. p. 532], καταλογάδην γράφοντες, ἐν μέτροις πρότερον Εύδοξου καὶ Ἡσίδουν καὶ Θαλῶν γραφόντων εἴ γε Θαλῆς ἐποιησεν, ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰπεῖν, τὴν αὐτῷ ἀναφερομένην ἀστρολογίαν. Wytttenbach ad l. suspects, perhaps without reason, that Eudoxus is not properly named here.”
498. a. 53. after “ἔκειτο” add “Etymol. v. Ἰήσε. Ἰήσος ὁ Ἀπόλλων λέγεται, ὡς μὲν Δοῦρις, ὅτι ἐν ἀγκάλαις βαστάσασα τὸν ἥλιον ἡ Δητὸς ἐνεκελεύσατο εἰποῦσα, ‘Ἴησε παιῖον.’”
506. o. 15. for “Idem Ant. I.” substitute “Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 329. A. Ναβονηδονόσορ πρὸ τῆς Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας, ἔτεσιν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐπὶ Φοίνικας καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἐστράτευσε, ὡς φησι Βήρωστος ἐν ταῖς Χαλδαικαῖς ιστορίαις. Josephus Ant. I.”
25. after “εἰσηγησαμένου” insert “The first and second books τῶν Βαθυλανιακῶν are quoted by Polyhistor apud Syncellum p. 28. B.—31. B.”

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506. 1. at "Metrodorus B. C. 277" add note oo: "Clem. Al. Strom. II. p. 417. C. Μητρόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ μεῖζον εἶναι τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν; αἰτίαν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων, Ἀγαθὸν, φησὶ, ψυχῆς τι ἄλλο ἢ τὸ σαρκὸς εὐσταθὲς κατάστημα, καὶ τὸ περὶ ταύτης πιστὸν ἔλπισμα; Conf. Cic. de Offic. III. 33. Tusc. II. 6. Plutarch. Mor. p. 1087. D. apud Potter ad loc."
511. a. 4. ἀρσέλοχος. Mr. Lewis suggests ἀρέλοχος.
 9. after "ἐν τῷ Ἀπ." insert "Parthen. c. 28. ιστορεῖ Εὐφορίων Ἀπολλοδόρῳ."
 20. after "Θρᾷξ" insert "Parthen. c. 26. ιστορεῖ Εὐφορίων Θρᾷκι. Idem c. 13. ιστορεῖ Εὐφ. Θρᾷκι."
 17. col. 2. after "χιλιάσι" insert "Steph. Byz. Χαενία. Εὐφορίων χιλιάσι."
 Ζηρὸς Χαενίου προμάντιες ηὔδαξαντο"
 18. col. 2. expunge [forte Χιλιάδαν] and substitute "[leg. Ἀλευάδαν cum Ruhnkenio ad Timaeum p. 22. post Valesium]." This work therefore of *Euphorion* περὶ Ἀλευάδαν is a distinct title, and is not to be inserted here.
512. a. 24. add from I. p. 133. p. col. 1. lin. 14.
 38. after "αιθαρίτας" insert "Eustath. ad Hom. Il. β'. p. 285. ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Περφυρίου—
 δὲ Εὐφορίων λέγει τοῦ αἴματος τοῦ ῥέντος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αἴαντος σφαγῆς ὑάκινθον ἐκφῦναι."
 44. after "μολοθούροις" insert "Schol. Eur. Phoen. 682. Εὐφορίων.
 ἀλλ' οὐπεὶ Θήβη πεπραμένα κεῖτο τάλαντα,
 τὴν δέ τοις Κρονίδης δόρον πόρει Περσεφονεῖ,
 ἐς γαμέτην δέ τοις ὀπαπήσασθαι ἔμελλε
 νυμφίδιον στέριον παρακλίνασσα καλύπτειν."
512. b. 5. "Απίς τ. Ἀπίς.
513. c. 50. col. 2. after "Antigonus Carystius" add as follows: "Mr. Lobeck Aglaopam. p. 749. thinks that *Ptolemy* mentioned in c. 23. is *Ptolemy Physcon*: *Aristocles illum non Pyrrhonis sed Pyrrhoniorum vitas scripsisse et κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον vivisse affirmat*; *neque impedit quo minus Physconis juventutem attigisse putetur*. But *Physcon* began to reign B. C. 146; 140 years after the death of *Pyrrho*. *Antigonus*, then, who lived near the times of the disciples of *Pyrrho*, could not have survived to that period. The disciples of *Pyrrho* (see p. 476) preceded *Epicurus*, and were not within the reach of *Physcon*, being contemporary with the disciples of *Aristotle*. Again, he writes the lives of *Pyrrho* and *Timon*; for *αὐτῶν* in *Aristocles* means *Pyrrho* and *Timon*. No others are mentioned. *Antigonus*, then, who lived near the times of *Pyrrho* and of *Timon*, must have flourished at least 80 years before the reign of *Physcon*; and *Ptolemy* named in c. 23. was some other *Ptolemy*."
519. k. 7. col. 2. after "lib. VII." insert "Lib. VIII. Apollon. de Mirabil. c. 14. Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ γ' τῶν ιστοριῶν καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀράβιν φησὶ κόλπον πηγὴν εἶναι θεῖον κ. τ. λ."
41. col. 2. after "Lib. XIX.—609. a." insert "Lib. XX. Apollon. de Mirabil. c. 18. Φύλαρχος ἐν κ' ιστοριῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς φησὶν ἐνεχθῆναι λευκὴν μύζαν κ. τ. λ."
521. 7. after "1136. C." insert "Clem. Al. Strom. V. p. 569. C."
524. s. 46. col. 2. after "Λ. ἀ." insert as follows:
 "15 * κτίσεις Ἰταλικῶν καὶ Σικελικῶν. Schol. Apollon. IV. 324. ὁ δὲ Καυλιακὸς σκότελος τῆς Σκυθίας πλησίον τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, οὗ μνημονεύει Πολέμων ἐν κτίσει [Cod. Par. κτίσειν] Ἰταλικῶν καὶ Σικελικῶν.
 15 * * περὶ τῶν Θήβησιν Ἡρακλείων. Schol. Pindar. Ol. VII. 153. Πολέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Θήβ. Ἡρακλ. φησὶ χαλκὸν τὸ ἀθλον εἶναι τοῦς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Δυκαίοις."
525. s. 40. after "more fully" insert "Clem. Al. Protr. p. 30. C. Πολέμωνα ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον."

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41. col. 2. after “Ιππον Νισαῖον” add “Clem. Al. Protr. p. 24. C. Πολέμων δὲ κεχρυότος Ἀπίλλωνος οὐδεὶς ἄγαλμα. p. 25. D. Πολέμων δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὴν Τρωάδα κατοικοῦτας ιστορεῖ τὸν ἐπιχωρίους μῆς, οὓς σμύθους καλοῦσι θρησκεύει κ. τ. λ. Schol. Pindar. Nem. X. 12. Πολέμων ιστορεῖ ‘Ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ἀργυρίποις ἄγριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ [Diomedis] ιερόν. Schol. Eur. Hippol. 230. Λέων δὲ πρῶτος Λακεδαιμονίος πόλις διλυμπιάδι ἐνίκασεν Ἐνέταις ἵπποις, ὃς Πολέμων ιστορεῖ, καὶ ἐπέγραψε τῇ εἰκόνι Λέων Λακεδαιμονίος ἵπποις νικῶν Ἐνέταις [I. νικῶν ἵπποις Ἐνέταισιν], Ἀντικλείδα πατέρ. This we may refer to No. 15.”
531. g. 28. col. 2. after “γάλακτι” add “Schol. Eur. Or. 304. νοσῆς: Καλλίστρατος τὴν ἑκτὸς τοῦ σγραφήν διδάσκει “κανὸν μὴ νοσῆ.” 424. διὰ τριῶν: ἐν τοῖς Καλλίστρατον γέγραπταις ἐπίζητησειν ἄν τις πῶς διὰ τριῶν εἰρήκει κ. τ. λ. 1030. γράφεται καὶ δόμον· οὕτω γάρ καὶ Καλλίστρατος φησὶν Ἀριστοφάνη γράφειν.”
531. k. 7. after “ἐπιλαθέσθαι” add “Clem. Al. Strom. V. p. 595. C. Ἀντίπατρος ὁ σταϊκός, τρία συγγραφάμενος βιβλία περὶ τοῦ ὅτι κατὰ Πλάτωνα μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν, ἀποδείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸν αὐτάρκης ἡ ἀρετὴ πόρος εὐδαιμονίαν· καὶ ἄλλα πλείω παρατίθεται δόγματα σύμφωνα τοῖς στωϊκοῖς.”
534. p. 35. after “τῷ περίπλῳ” add in another paragraph as follows:
- “5. συναγογὴ τῶν Δελφικῶν χρησμῶν. Schol. Hesiod. Theog. 117. Μνασέας ὁ Παταρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν Δ. χρ. συν. εὐρυστέρνας ιερὸν φησὶν ἀναστῆσαι. Conf. Gaisfordium ad locum. Schol. Pindar. Ol. II. 70. Μνασέας ἐν τῷ περὶ χρησμῶν γράφει· Δαίς Λαβδακίδη, ἀνδρῶν περιώνυμε πάντων. Schol. Eur. Phoen. 411. ὁ χρησμὸς ὑπὸ Μνασέου οὕτως ἀναγέγραπται·
- κουράνων δὲ γάμους ζεῦξιν κάπρῳ ἥδε λέοντι,
οὓς κεν ἰδῆς προθύροισι τεῦ δόμου ἔξι ιερῷ
ἀμοῦ στείχοντας, μηδὲ φρεσὶ σῆσι πλανηθῆς.
- which we may refer to the same work.”
19. col. 2. after “τὸν Σάραπιν” insert “Schol. Eur. Phoen. 651. ιστορεῖ γὰρ Μνασέας. on the birth of Bacchus.”
33. col. 2. after “καὶ Κόνων” insert “Schol. Eur. Rhes. 36. e cod. Vat. Μνασίας δὲ [I. Μνασίας δὲ] ξενικότερον ἀφηγεῖται τὰ περὶ Πᾶνα, κ. τ. λ.”
- 35—37. From the preceding insertions we must now for “six” and “twenty-nine” substitute “seven” and “thirty-three.”
535. 7. at “Diodorus—B. C. 111.” add this note: pp “Diodorus is mentioned by Clemens Strom. II. p. 415. C. Δεινόμαχος καὶ Καλλιφῶν τέλος εἴναι ἔφασαν τῶν τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν ἔνεκα τοῦ ἐπιτυχάνειν ἡδονῆς, καὶ τυγχάνειν ὅ τε Ιερόνυμος ὁ Περιπατητικὸς [conf. a. 250, 3] τέλος μὲν εἴναι τὸ ἀνχλήτως ζῆν, τελικὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν μόνον, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν· καὶ Διόδωρος ὄμοιας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως γενόμενος τέλος ἀποφαίνεται τὸ ἀνχλήτως καὶ καλῶς ζῆν.”
539. b. 35. Λυκιακά.] See I. p. 341. a.
55. expunge “9. περὶ παντοδαπῆς,” &c. For the reason see Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 88.
14. col. 2. περὶ Φρυγίας.] See I. p. 344. d.
540. b. 7. for “the Phrygian Alexander—by others” substitute “the Milesian Alexander was originally of Caria.”
20. for “was written” r. “written.”
15. col. 2. after “Syncell. p. 28. A.” insert—“31. B. These accounts Polyhistor derived from Berossus: Syncell. Ibid. τούτων δὴ ἀπὸ Ἀλ. τοῦ πολυτόπορος, ὃς ἀπὸ Βηρύσσου τοῦ τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ φενδυγορῶντος. Polyhistor on the Assyrian and Median kings is quoted again by Syncellus p. 78. For his account of Assyrian affairs see I. p. 269. seq.”
547. b. 5. col. 2. before “Josephus” insert “Lydus de Mag. Rom. p. 282. ὁ Κάστωρ ἐν ἐπιτομῇ χρονικῶν. Probably the χρονικά described by Eusebius.”
548. g. 15. col. 2. expunge “Hence perhaps Virgil—Æn. IV. 345.”

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549. g. 9. col. 2. after "γαῖς" insert "Etymol. apud Gaisford. ad Schol. Hesiod. p. 84. Ἀργει-
φύντης—παρὰ Παρθενίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τηλέφου."

551. m. 30. after "Heeren. ad locum" insert in separate paragraphs as follows:

"7. περὶ θεῶν. Simplic. ad Aristot. Phys. auscult. p. 32. b. 33. Νικόλαος, ἐν τῇ περὶ
θεῶν πραγματείᾳ Διογένην τὸν Ἀπολλωνιάτην ιστορεῖ τὸ μεταξὺ πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος τὴν ἀποφήνα-
σθαι. p. 32. a. 38. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ—Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς εἰς Διογ. τὸν Ἀπολλ. ἀνέτεμψεν. p. 6.
b. 1. Νικόλαος μέντοι τοῦτον ιστορεῖ μεταξὺ πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος τὸ στοιχεῖον τίθεσθαι.

8. περὶ τῶν ἐν πρακτικοῖς καλῶν. Simplic. ad Epictet. Enchir. p. 314. Schw. ἀπερὶ ἄλ-
λοι διὰ παλυστίχων πραγματειῶν συνέταξαν, οἱ μὲν περὶ καθηκόντων τὰς πραγματείας ἐπιγράψαντες, οἱ
δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν πρακτικοῖς καλῶν, ὀστερ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός.

Nicolaïus is quoted in another work by Simplicius ad Aristot. de Cœlo p. 97. a.
39. Νικόλαος ὁ περιπατητικὸς παράφρασιν ποιούμενος τῶν ἐνταῦθα λεγομένων ἐν τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίας
τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους λεγομένους ἔθηκε τὴν ἔννοιαν. p. 1. b. 15. Νικόλαος ὁ περιπατητικὸς περὶ πάντων
τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ κατ' ἔδος ποιεῖται λόγον. But the title of this work will not be quite clear
till we have the genuine text of Simplicius de Cœlo."

551. n. 6. col. 2. after "λόγου" insert "Schol. Aristoph. apud Dindorf. fragm. Aristoph. p. 147.

Περσικὸν ὄρχηστα, περὶ οὗ Ἰόβας μακρὸν πεποίηται λόγον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἱατρικῆς [corrigit Dindorf.
θεατρικῆς] ιστορίαις."

552. 1. after "7" insert this note: *nn* "Photius Cod. 83. makes *Dionysius* begin to write
his history at B. C. 7: οὐτας ἄρχεται τῆς πραγματείας. and after him Vossius Hist. Græc.
lib. II. c. 3. and Fabricius. But *Dionysius* himself in the passage partly quoted at
B. C. 29 implies that he had been employed twenty-two years in collecting materials,
and in preparing his history, and that B. C. 7 was the date at which his labours were
completed, and not the period at which they commenced. He says, I. p. 20. βούλομαι
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀφορμῶν εἰπεῖν αἵς ἔχρησάμην δτ' ἔμελλον ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ γραφῇ—χρόνον ἐτῶν δύο καὶ
ἕκαστοι μέχρι τοῦ παρότος γενόμενον ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατρίψας—ἐν πάντι τούτῳ χρόνῳ τὰ συντέινοντα πρὸς
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην διετέλουν πραγματεύμενος, καὶ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν λογιωτάτων ἀνδρῶν οἵς εἰς ὅμι-
λιαν ἥλθον διδαχῇ παραλαβόντα, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ιστορῶν ἀναλεξάμενος—τότε ἐπεχείρησα τῇ γραφῇ.
He had already been employed in writing, and the twenty-two years included not
only the preparation of materials but the composition of his history; and I agree with
Dodwell, who assigns this year as the period in which it was published. This is con-
firmed by another consideration. *Dionysius* survived his history some few years,
because he lived to compose an epitomē in five books of his own work; as we learn
from Photius Cod. 84. And yet he had been already dead some years before Strabo
wrote, as Dodwell justly determines. But if *Dionysius* had been dead several years
in A. D. 18, and yet lived a few years after the publication of his history, it is far
more probable that he completed it in B. C. 7, than that he began to write in that
year. His preface, then, like the preface of Pliny, was the last thing written; and
he there gives the year of its publication, as Pliny in his preface gives the date,
A. D. 79, at which his H. N. was finished."

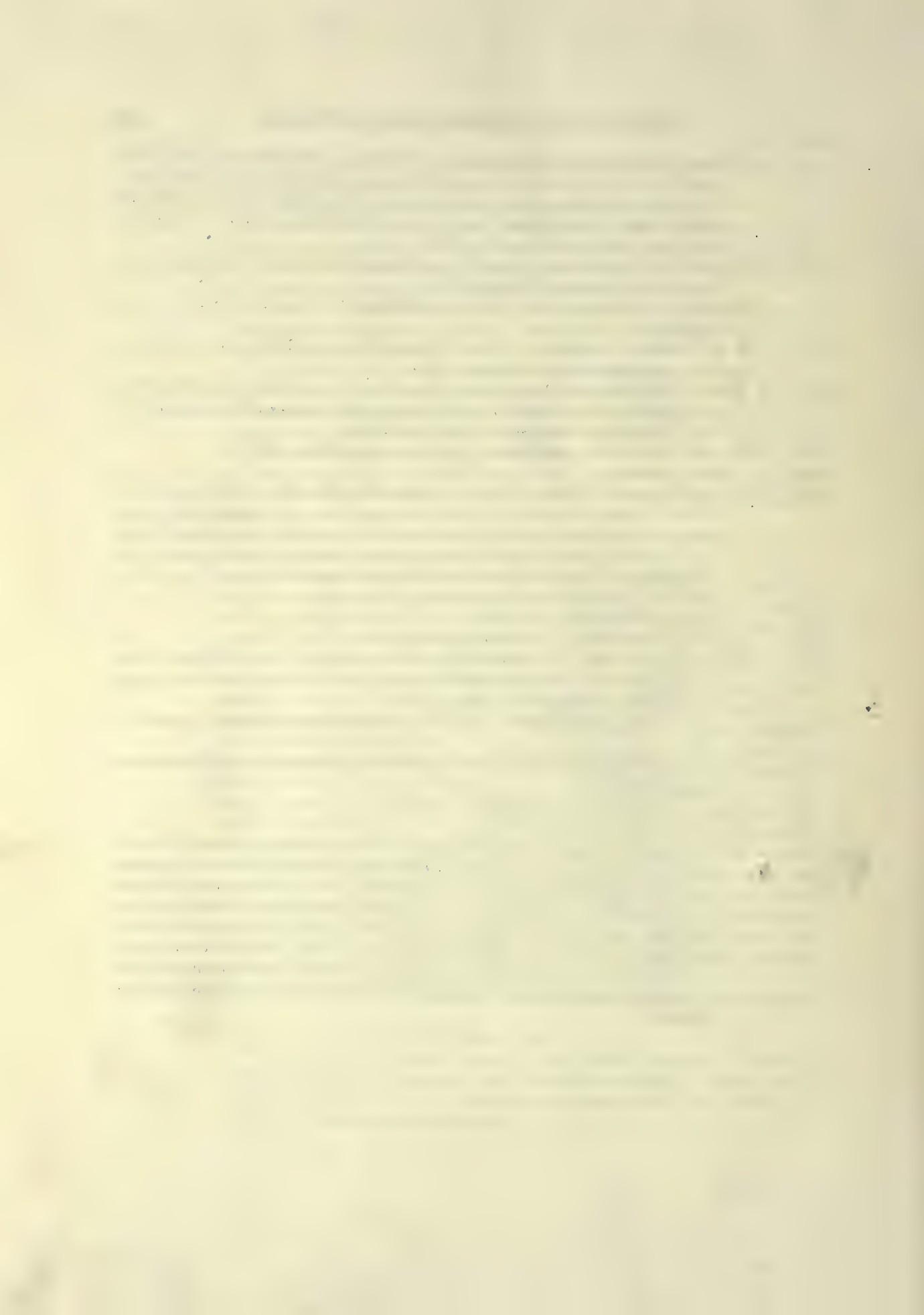
555. n. 7. after γραφαῖ) insert "Joseph. Apion. II. p. 1226. ὁ Ἀπίων φησὶν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Αἰγυπτια-
κῶν τάδε, κ. τ. λ."

21. after "δελφῖνα κ. τ. λ." insert in another paragraph:

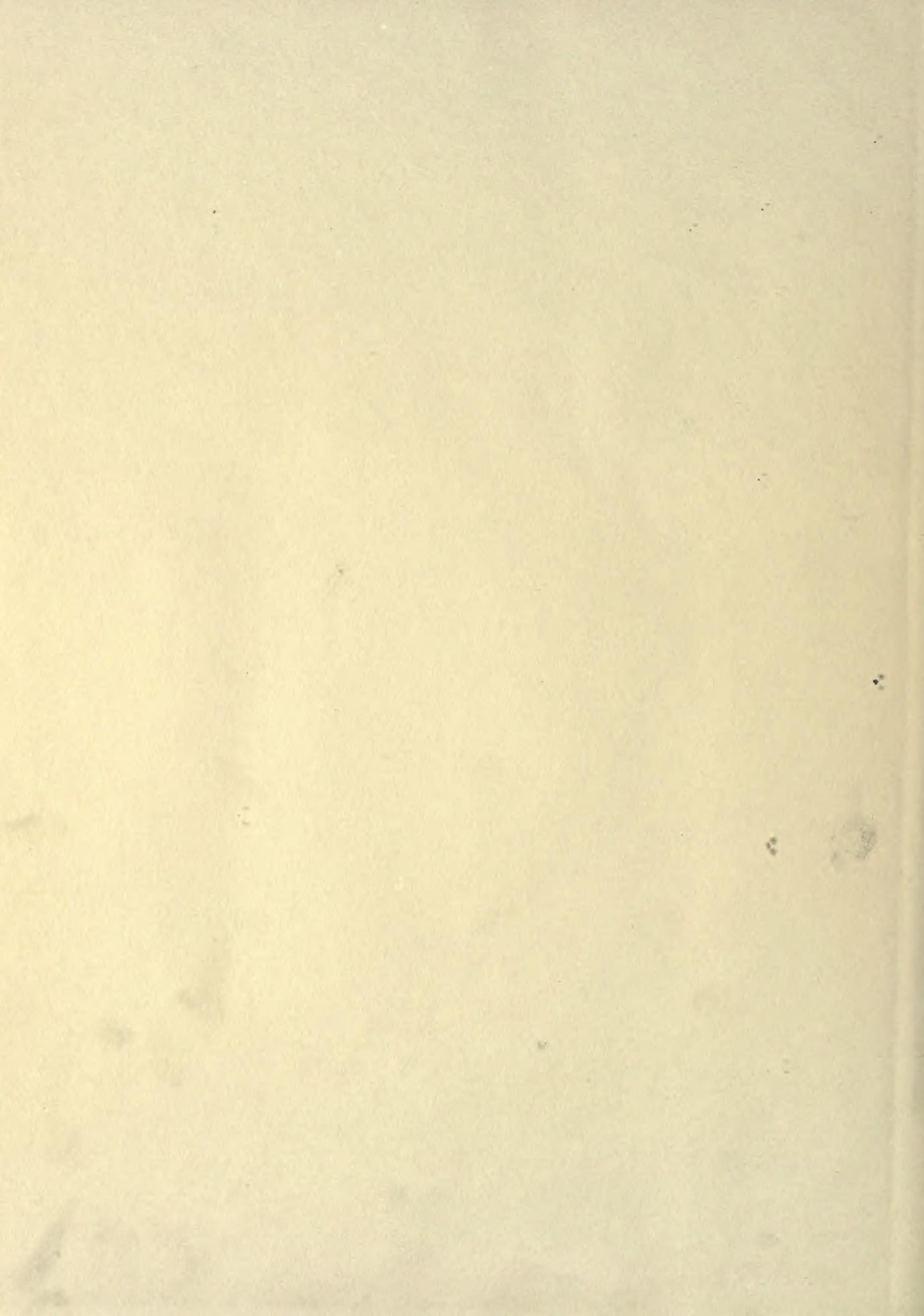
"4. κατὰ Ἰουδαίων. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 320. B. Ἀπίων ὁ γραμματικὸς, ὁ πλειστονίκης
ἐπικληθεὶς, ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ιστοριῶν καίτοι φιλαπεχθημόνως πρὸς Ἐβραιὸν διακειμε-
νος, ὃτε Αἰγύπτιος τὸ γένος· ὡς καὶ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων συντάξασθαι βιβλίον. The testimony of
Africanus has been given already I. p. 6. z."

Page note line

36. after "componebat" add "Josephus Ant. XVIII. 8, 1. attests that *Apion* was an ambassador at Rome at the same time with *Philo*; and consequently living in the winter of A. D. $\frac{3}{4}$. Josephus notices his origin *Apion*. II. 3. p. 1230. γεγενημένος ἐν Οάσει τῆς Αἰγύπτων, πάντων Αἰγυπτίων πρῶτος ὁν, ὡς ἀν εἴποι τις. 4. p. 1234. γενηθεὶς ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. And his death c. 13. p. 1252."
557. y. 10. after "Andron of Ephesus" insert "From Porphyry apud Euseb. l. c. it appears that he preceded *Theopompus*. See I. p. 257. r."
20. after "ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις" insert "Apollon. de Mirab. c. 8. Ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον θυσίᾳ."
557. z. 16. col. 2. after "ἀναιρεῖσθαι" κ. τ. λ. insert "Clem. Al. Protr. p. 27. B. Λυκτίους—'Αυτικλείδης ἐνόστοις ἀποφαίνεται ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Διῷ."
558. 4. after "Cod. Vat. apud Dionys." add "This author is quoted Schol. Eur. Rhes. 36. ε cod. Vaticano: Ἀρῆθος [l. Ἀρίσιθος] ὁ Τεγεάτης αἰθέρος αὐτὸν καὶ νύμφης Οἰνόης γενεαλογεῖ. de Pane. Whence we learn that *Ariæthus* was of Tegea."
558. 26. after "Ῥώμη" add "Conf. Euseb. Chron. I. 45. Syncellum p. 192."
559. f. See I. p. 347. g.
560. h. 5. after "Παλληνιακοῖς" insert as follows: "Schol. Eur. Rhes. 28. ε Cod. Vat. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τρίτην (Εὐρώπην) ἀναγράψαντες, καθάπερ Ἡγήσιππος ἐν τοῖς Παλληνιακοῖς, γράφων οὔτως· 'Κάδμος σὸν τῇ μητρὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης] Τηλεφάνη ἔπει [l. ἐπῆσι] περὶ Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπινθάνετο Εὐρώπην 'ἐχ . . . ἐν Θράκῃ, καὶ οὕτως ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸν κατ' ἀντίκεραν ἥπειρον, καὶ ἤρχεν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταῦτη 'πάντων Εὐρώπη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολειφθεῖσα, οὐχ ἡ Φοίνικος, ἀλλ' ἐπιχωρία τις γυνή. ἀφ' ἣς καὶ ἡ ἥπειρος ἀπαστα ἡ πρὸς Βορέας ἄνεμον Εὐρώπη κέκληται.'"
560. k. For some additions see I. p. 351. t.
561. k. 5. for "de Argonautis" r. "de Idmone Argonauta."
561. m. 16. after "ἔφη" insert "See Athen. XV. p. 702. a. quoting an ode of *Ariphron*, where the same lines occur. The coincidence is pointed out by Fabricius ad Sexti locum, although unnoticed by Brunck Anacr. p. 106."
562. o. 4. after "Ἐλαιτῆς" add "Quoted again XIII. p. 621. Μενεκράτης ὁ Ἐλαιτῆς ἐν τοῖς περὶ κτίσεων."
563. r. 6. after "παραδόξοις" add "Clem. Al. Protr. p. 20. A. αἱ μὲν Μοῦσαι τοιαύδε· ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Μυροῦντα τῷ Λεσβίῳ."
612. 10. for "agrees with me in observing" r. "observes"
614. 18. for "Ol. 70. 3." r. "Ol. 72. 3."
619. 13—15. for "But we know—24th *Metagitnion*" substitute as follows: "But as the intercalary month was interposed between *Loüs* of the intercalary year and *Dius* of the year following, throwing back the last day of *Loüs* 30 days farther from Oct. 28th than August 30th, the lowest date for *Loüs* would occur, not in the intercalary year itself, but in the year which followed (see above p. 363. v): and when *Dius* commenced on Oct. 28th, *Loüs* would terminate on Aug. 18th. But we know that in Ol. 110. 2 *Boëdromion* began Sept. 6. If, then, *Loüs* had been brought down to the lowest possible point, the last day of *Loüs* would have fallen upon Aug. 18=12th *Metagitnion*."







Clinton

Fasti hellenici

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v.1

